

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 Inacker, 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

S. Kuftinec



Ethnos Und Demos:

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

Democracy and Its Others Jeffrey H. Epstein, 2016-02-25 Today's unprecedented levels of human migration present urgent challenges to traditional conceptualizations of national identity nation state sovereignty and democratic citizenship Foreigners are commonly viewed as outsiders whose inclusion within or exclusion from the people of the democratic state rests upon whether they benefit or threaten the unity of the nation Against this instrumentalization of the foreigner this book traces the historical development of the concepts of sovereignty and foreignness through the thought of philosophers such as Plato Locke Hobbes Rousseau Derrida and Benhabib in order to show that foreignness is a structural feature of sovereignty that cannot be purged or assimilated Understood in this light foreignness allows for new forms of democratic political unity to be imagined that reject local practices which deprive individuals of political membership solely on the basis of national citizenship This cosmopolitan model for citizenship provides a novel conceptual framework that simultaneously upholds the legal importance of democratic citizenship for political justice while ceaselessly contesting the exclusionary logic of the nation state that reserves democratic rights for members of the nation alone

Rethinking the French New Right Tamir Bar-On, 2013-04-12 This book focuses on the philosophy politics and impact of the New Right which originated in France and has since influenced activism ideology and policy in a number of European countries This book explores the idea that revolutionaries do not necessarily need to come from the left nor use arms in order to overturn liberal democracy In the post World War Two era the extremists of the revolutionary right took three different paths 1 parliamentary 2 extra parliamentary and 3 metapolitical The New Right nouvelle droite ND in France took the metapolitical path but that did not mean it abandoned its revolutionary desire to smash liberal democracy throughout Europe The book examines four interpretations of the New Right These interpretations include

the following 1 The New Right as a fascist or quasi fascist movement 2 The New Right as a challenge to the traditional right left dichotomy which has structured European political debates for more than 200 years 3 The New Right as an alternative modernist movement which rejects liberal and socialist narratives of modernity accepts the technical but not political or cultural effects of modernity and longs for a pan European political framework abolishing liberal multiculturalism and privileging ethnic dominance of so called original Europeans and 4 The New Right as a variant of political religion and conversionary processes The book concludes by analysing the positions cultural and political impact and relationship to democracy of the New Right This work will be of great interest to students and scholars of racism fascism extremism

European politics French politics and contemporary political theory **The Fifth Cleavage** Giovanni Barbieri, 2021-03-12 The Fifth Cleavage Genealogy of the Populist Ideology proposes an in depth analysis of populism as one of the central phenomena in the contemporary public and political debate In particular this study aims to investigate the causes of the emergence of populism and its possible effects on the political system and on the democratic institutions The central thesis of the book is that populism is originated by a cleavage between two opposite groups the people and the elite which appeared for the first time soon after the democratic revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries This cleavage is not constantly active but it tends to reactivate itself only under certain circumstances when certain critical junctures occur thus giving rise to different waves of populism When the populist cleavage is active the other lines of division and conflict of class of religion etc lose their relevance What are the features of this cleavage What kind of relationship does it have with the well known traditional cleavages capital labor state church urban rural center periphery What are the characteristics of the recent wave of populism And what are its effects on the functioning of democracy These are the main questions to which this book is devoted Theories of Secession Percy B. Lehning, 2005-06-23 Theories of Secession presents a systematic analysis of the rise of secessionist movements in global politics Bringing together a collection of experts in the field it provides a timely forum for debate in this contentious area of study Reconsidering Religion, Law, and Democracy Anna-Sara Lind, Mia Lövheim, Ulf Zackariasson, 2016-03-01 How are Western mostly secular societies handling religion in its increasingly pluralistic and complex forms In Reconsidering Religion Law and Democracy the authors study the interaction and negotiations between religious organizations and religious citizens on the one hand and the state the judicial system the media and secular citizens on the other Religion has become increasingly visible in contemporary society and is more often than before recognized as a public matter and not merely a private issue As such it presents new challenges or opportunities to scholarly research and to society at large The contributors to this volume shed light on what follows when expressions of religion meet different spheres of society The authors explicitly point to the need to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the roles played by religion in society today By presenting case studies fresh perspectives and new questions they suggest that deeper knowledge is best achieved by further increasingly nuanced interdisciplinary research

Right Radicalism in Party and Political Systems in Present-day European States Natalia Eremina, Sergei Seredenko, 2015-06-18 This book explores a broad range of concepts of and approaches to far right parties and ultranationalist ideology and studies the legal and political discourses within which they are often embedded Offering detailed insights into the nature of the far right and its viewpoints the book provides a multidimensional study of the evolution of the far right and its impact on the contemporary European political and party system society and state In addition a clear definition of the substantial amount of criminal far right parties in the Annex of the book dispels the illusion that far right ultranationalist groups do not represent a danger for both society and state This book has several unique aspects particularly its use of catalogues that allow for the researching of far right parties and ideology according to concrete definitions

Sovereignty Across Generations Alessandro Ferrara, 2023-02-16 Every cohort of voters may dream of being the people under the sway of serial visions of sovereignty or understand itself more modestly as co author of a constitutional project in a cross generational sequence rooted in the past and extending into the future Sovereignty Across Generations offers a theory of democratic sovereignty and constituent power grounded in John Rawls s political liberalism Neither exegetic nor abstractly analytic this book assumes that political liberalism is broader than Political Liberalism In answering the question How is it possible for there to exist over time a just and stable society of free and equal citizens who remain profoundly divided by reasonable religious philosophical and moral doctrines the paradigm implicit in Political Liberalism enables us to address facets of that question that Rawls sidelined in the context of his time Following populist threats to democracy which were still latent in 1993 this book responds to the urgency of clarifying the proper relation of the people as transgenerational author of the constitution to its pro tempore living segment in its capacity as electorate and as co author of the constitution An explanation of that relation brings constituent power into the picture and unfolds in seven steps that form the conceptual backbone of this book By taking new steps in updating and revisiting political liberalism this book reconstructs Rawls s implicit view of constituent power beyond the pages dedicated to it in Political Liberalism and brings that view into conversation with major constitutional theories of the twentieth century This book is a must read for all those interested in the fields of politics philosophy and constitutional law

A Post-Colonial Reconstruction of Africa Pieter H. Coetzee, 2024-02-21 A Post Colonial Reconstruction of Africa surveys the significant reconstruction work undertaken in the social and political organization of sub Saharan African society in the decades following the colonial interruption and subjects these efforts to rigorous criticism in order to establish whether they can carry the weight of modernization efforts in Africa To examine the significant trends it highlights the work of African intellectuals such as Kwasi Wiredu Kwame Gyekye Paulin Hountondji Kwame Nkrumah Anthony Appiah Ato Sekyi Otu and Bernard Matolino Pieter H Coetzee argues that reconstruction inspired by traditional communitarian systems of social organization including the modified form presented by Matolino do not adequately do justice to the liberty aspirations of individuals in an era when the demand for increased

democratization has become globally paramount Reconstruction efforts inspired by appeal to native traditions of liberalism including native conceptions of individual rights fare better in this regard However current reconstruction efforts have done little to rescue Africans from the negative economic effects of colonialism and neo colonialism and fail to alleviate self perception problems created by Western racism Appiah s cosmopolitan option and Sekyi Otu s left universalism are notable exceptions

Habermas between Critical Theory and Liberalism Kire Sharlamanov,2024-03-04 This book identifies the turning points in Habermas s work and his transition from one stage to another in the development of his theoretical oeuvre Habermas began his academic career as part of the Frankfurt School but the two key points at which his career changes trajectory are moving from historical materialism to normative idealism and playing with some of the ideas of liberalism Normative idealism is an ahistorical theory that insists on the independence of the normative from material reality severing the connection between base and superstructure that Marx wrote about The break with the basic concepts of Marxism enabled Habermas to build his own discursive critical theory which especially since the end of the 1980s takes the ideas of liberalism seriously This book makes a systematic multidimensional and detailed analysis of Habermas s theoretical oeuvre in two dimensions chronological in the order in which Habermas worked on certain topics and thematic enclosing certain thematic units

The Norms of Answerability Greg M. Nielsen,2012-02-01 Greg M Nielsen brings Mikhail Bakhtin s ethics and aesthetics into a dialogue with social theory that responds to the sense of ambivalence and uncertainty at the core of modern societies Nielsen situates a social theory between Bakhtin s norms of answerability and J rgen Habermas s sociology ethics and discourse theory of democracy in a way that emphasizes the creative dimension in social action without reducing explanation to the emotional and volitional impulse of the individual or collective actor Some of the classical sources that support this mediated position are traced to Alexander Vvedenskij s and Georg Simmel s critiques of Kant s ethics Hermann Cohen s philosophy of fellowship and Max Weber s and George Herbert Mead s theories of action In the shift from Bakhtin s theory of interpersonal relations to a dialogic theory of societal events that defends the bold claim that law and politics should not be completely separated from the specificity of ethical and cultural communities a study of citizenship and national identity is developed

Jahrbuch des Offentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart. Neue Folge Peter Haberle,1996-12-31

Re-Imagining Democracy in the Mediterranean, 1780-1860 Joanna Innes,Mark Philp,2018-10-25 Mediterranean states are often thought to have democratised only in the post war era as authoritarian regimes were successively overthrown On its eastern and southern shores the process is still contested Re imagining Democracy looks back to an earlier era the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and argues it was this era when some modern version of democracy in the region first began By the 1860s representative regimes had been established throughout southern Europe and representation was also the subject of experiment and debate in Ottoman territories Talk of democracy its merits and limitations accompanied much of this experimentation though there was no agreement as to whether or how it could be given

stable political form Re imagining Democracy assembles experts in the history of the Mediterranean who have been exploring these themes collaboratively to compare and contrast experiences in this region so that they can be set alongside better known debates and experiments in North Atlantic states States in the region all experienced some form of subordination to northern great powers In this context their inhabitants had to grapple with broader changes in ideas about state and society while struggling to achieve and maintain meaningful self rule at the level of the polity and self respect at the level of culture Innes and Philip highlight new research and ideas about a region whose experiences during the age of revolutions are at best patchily known and understood as well as to expand understanding of the complex and variegated history of democracy as an idea and set of practices

Quality of Life David Phillips,2006-02-16 Quality of life is one of the most important issues facing the world today and is central to the development of social policy This innovative book discusses this crucial topic assessing the criteria for judging attempts to raise quality of life including the satisfaction of basic and social needs autonomy to enjoy life and social connectivity It considers key topics such as individual well being and health related quality of life human needs living fulfilling and flourishing lives poverty and social exclusion social solidarity altruism and trust within communities Quality of Life is the first systematic presentation of this subject from both individual and collective perspectives It provides a powerful overview of a concept which is becoming increasingly prominent in the social sciences and is essential reading for students of social policy sociology and health studies

Theatre, Facilitation, and Nation Formation in the Balkans and Middle East S. Kuftinec,2009-06-10 How might theatre intervene in violent inter ethnic conflicts This book addresses this question through detailed case studies in the Balkans and the Middle East showing how theatrical facilitations model ways that ethnic oppositions can move towards ethical relationships

The Essentials of Habermas Xunwu Chen,2021-09-15 This book offers a conceptual map of Habermas philosophy and a systematic introduction to his work It does so by systematically examining six defining themes modernity discourse ethics truth and justice public law and constitutional democracy cosmopolitanism and toleration of Habermas philosophy as well as their inner logic The text distinguishes itself in content and perspective by offering a very clear conceptual map and by providing a new interpretation of Habermas views in light of his overarching system In terms of scope the book touches upon Habermas broad range of works As for method the text illustrates key concepts in his philosophy making it a useful reference aid It appeals to students and scholars in the field looking for a current introductory text or supplementary reading on Habermas

Populism and The People in Contemporary Critical Thought Alexander Stagnell,David Payne,Gustav Strandberg,2023-01-12 Is populism the unsurpassable horizon of our own time or is it a temptation that should at all costs be resisted Who and to what end does the jargon of populism serve To answer these questions Alexander Stagnell Gustav Strandberg David Payne and their contributors trace the socio historical significance of the concept of The People in western philosophy and its relationship to the trend of populist politics today Bringing together scholars from the fields of aesthetics

critical cultural and political theory philosophy and rhetoric this volume critically explores the issues facing contemporary society today With an international team of authors each chapter speaks to a range of contexts recently affected by populism today including Sweden Brazil Germany Austria France and the UK As political and economic establishments face a crisis of legitimacy Populism and The People in Contemporary Critical Thought reveals the shaky foundations on which the concept of The People rests Engaging with critical theory feminist theory Marxism phenomenology and psychoanalysis this collection highlights how The People comes to stand in for both belonging and exclusion enabling us to see the uses and abuses of such terminology as pressing theoretical and political concerns

Legitimation by Constitution Frank Michelman, Alessandro Ferrara, 2021-11-22 Legitimation by Constitution is the phrase coined by distinguished authors Frank Michelman and Alessandro Ferrara for a key idea in Rawlsian political liberalism of a reliance on a dualist form of democracy a subjection of ground level lawmaking to the constraints of a higher law constitution that most citizens could find acceptable as a framework for their politics as a response to the problem of maintaining a liberally just stable and oppression free democratic government in conditions of pluralist visionary conflict Legitimation by Constitution recalls collects and combines a series of exchanges over the years between Michelman and Ferrara inspired by Rawls encapsulation of this conception in his proposed liberal principle of legitimacy From a shared standpoint of sympathetic identification with the political liberal statement of the problem for which legitimation by constitution is proposed as a solution these exchanges consider the perceived difficulties arguably standing in the way of this proposal s fulfillment on terms consistent with political liberalism s defining ideas about political justification The authors discuss the mysteries of a democratic constituent power the tensions between government by the people and government by consent the challenges posed to concretization by judicial authorities of national constitutional law and the magnification of these tensions and challenges under the lenses of ambition towards transnational legal ordering These discussions engage with other leading contemporary theorists of liberal democratic constitutionalism including Bruce Ackerman Ronald Dworkin and Jürgen Habermas

From Yugoslavia to the Western Balkans Robert Hayden, 2012-10-12 This book brings together important original contributions to scholarly and political policy debates over the disintegration of Yugoslavia and especially the war in Bosnia The analyses are grounded on empirically based arguments about social and political dynamics resonate with much larger enduring issues of social science inquiry and consistently challenge commonly held beliefs about the Balkans that are based more on ignorance misunderstanding or outright prejudice than on intimate knowledge of the region its peoples and their histories When first published some of these essays represented sharply distinctive analyses which have since then become common wisdom Hayden s arguments about how this multinational European federation collapsed following a severe economic crisis are disturbingly relevant to analyzing the crisis of the European Union twenty years later

In From the Margins, 2006-01-01 This book focuses at the margins of adult education work and civil society Rather than focusing on active participants and

active participation the objective is to scrutinize the whole adult population in terms of participation and to pay special attention to those who are so easily left out of studies concerning adult education learning at work or active participation in civil society The aim of the book is to bring into the discussion the views of those who do not find attending adult education possible and who thus form a challenge for the promotion of active citizenship In the collection of articles researchers from various disciplines and with cross disciplinary interests in adult education and marginalisation meet and discuss with each other within and beyond their own disciplines

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Table of Contents **Ethnos Und Demos**

1. Understanding the eBook **Ethnos Und Demos**
 - The Rise of Digital Reading **Ethnos Und Demos**
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying **Ethnos Und Demos**
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an **Ethnos Und Demos**
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from **Ethnos Und Demos**
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - **Ethnos Und Demos** User Reviews and Ratings
 - **Ethnos Und Demos** and Bestseller Lists

5. Accessing Ethnos Und Demos Free and Paid eBooks
 - Ethnos Und Demos Public Domain eBooks
 - Ethnos Und Demos eBook Subscription Services
 - Ethnos Und Demos Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating Ethnos Und Demos eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Ethnos Und Demos Compatibility with Devices
 - Ethnos Und Demos Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Ethnos Und Demos
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Ethnos Und Demos
 - Interactive Elements Ethnos Und Demos
8. Staying Engaged with Ethnos Und Demos
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Ethnos Und Demos
9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Ethnos Und Demos
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Ethnos Und Demos
10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Ethnos Und Demos
 - Setting Reading Goals Ethnos Und Demos
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Ethnos Und Demos
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Ethnos Und Demos
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
13. Promoting Lifelong Learning

- Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
- Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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