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## **Rethinking Integration Policy – Dual Ethnic and Cultural Identity**

### **ABSTRACT**

The paper sheds light into the general facts and situation related to ethnic minority groups living in Georgia. While providing the small-scale survey of 280 ethnic minority students enrolled in Georgian language preparatory program of 5 higher education institutions of Georgia we argue the factors which play decisive role in successful inclusion of ethnic minorities in Georgian society. These factors include the identity and self-identification perceptions of ethnic minority groups and an acceptance of these perceptions by the dominant group. The study provides information about the positioning of ethnic minority students towards their cultural and ethnic identity, and about their perceptions regarding their belonging to Georgia. According to the results sufficient space and favourable ground for developing of dual ethnic and cultural identity among the ethnic minority groups are available. Referring to the results a meaningful concept for an integration of ethnic minority population is introduced for further discourse.

**Key words:** *Ethnic minority groups; Cultural identity; ethnic identity; integration;*

### **Ethnic identity and integration of minorities in academic literature: framework of the study**

Social scientists systematically identify and empirically study those ways in which individuals and groups of people define themselves in relation to others

(Barth, 1969; Erikson, 1968, 1974; Geertz, 1973; Goffman, 1959, 1961; Mead, 1934; Weber, 1922; Wheelis, 1959). While the modern scientists argue that the social identity theory considers the identity issues solely from the perspective of developmental psychology

and thus doesn't provide enough room to describe the multi-facial pattern of identity, the modern sciences create new visions and directions where the dynamic and diverse nature of identity is recognized and studied. The fact is that rapid changes, globalization, increased movement of immigrants merge demand of multiple identities on individual level.

According to Berry, by culturally plural societies, we mean those in which more than one cultural or ethnic group is represented in the population, and for which there is some likelihood that such groups will be able to maintain themselves into the future in such a situation, where a process of acculturation is likely to exist, such that the individuals and groups in contact influence each other, inducing some degree of change in each other's way of life and in their individual behaviour (Berry, 1980aA).

Phinney's (1990, p. 499) review of research on ethnic identity notes that "identity is central to the psychological functioning of members of ethnic and racial minority groups, but research on the topic is fragmentary and inconclusive."

This statement is true towards the ethnic minorities living in Georgia. The limited number of research-studies are mostly focused on conditions, level and opportunities for their successful integration into state life however less learn how the ethnic minority groups position themselves in the society. According to Phinney the main components of ethnic identity addressed in the literature included self-identification, sense of belonging, positive and/or negative attitudes, towards one's group, and ethnic involvement including language, friends, religion, area of residence, and political activity.

Lewin (1947) writes that the "social field" affects the individual and that individuals impact their social field. This concept makes possible to study the identity and identification of ethnic groups from dynamic, different perspective in the context of the majorities' culture where the ethnic minority population live.

Recognition of ethnicity and cultural identities emerge an urgent need to cope

with the ethnic and cultural diversity while developing policies which promote ethnic, cultural and religious minority groups' participation in, and access to the resources of society, while maintaining the unity of the country. The concept of integration is seen as a key solution and remedy for addressing those challenges which the diversity of the population can cause in case of inappropriate polities.

In his article *International Migration and Liberal Democracies-The Challenges of Integration*, Rainer Bauböck defined the term “integration”: as inclusion of outsiders or newcomers into an already established society, but sees it also as cohesion, as the internal integration of that society itself that makes it a stable and bounded social entity. The second purpose of integration, is relevant for case of Georgia and make possible to see the benefits promising an ethnic Armenian and Azeri minority groups living in Georgia.

From this perspective it's interesting a definition of the ethnic minorities by Juleschênes (1985) (ethnic minorities

are) “A group of citizens of a State, constituting a numerical minority and holding a non-dominant position in that State, endowed with ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics which differ from those of the majority of the population, having a sense of solidarity with one another, motivated, if only implicitly, by a collective will to survive, and whose aim it is to achieve equality with the majority in fact and in law.”

Going further in academic literature one can find the differences between the ethnic minority groups in the states while calling them “old” and “new” ethnic minorities.

“The terms historical, traditional, autochthonous minorities - the so-called “old minorities”- refer to communities whose members have a distinct language, culture or religion compared to the rest of the population, and became minorities as a consequence of a redrawing of international borders and their settlement area changing from the sovereignty of one country to another or did not achieve, for various reasons, statehood of their own and instead form part of a larger country

or several countries. it must be agreed that indigenous peoples constitute at the least a special type of ethnic minority.

While the “new minority” groups stemming from migration and refer to the groups who have left their original homeland and emigrate to another country generally for economic and, sometimes, also for political reasons. The term ‘new minorities’ is thus broader than the term ‘migrants’, as it encompasses not only the first generation of migrants, but also their descendants, second and third generations, who are individuals with a migration background often born in the country of ‘immigration’ and who cannot objectively and subjectively be subsumed under the category of ‘migrants’.

This definitions are interesting from the perspective of Walzer, who assumes that “immigrants or “new minorities” are considered to have made a choice to leave their own original culture, and they know that the success of their decision will depend on integrating into the mainstream of their new society. In these cases ethnic diversity arises from the voluntary decisions of individuals or families to

uproot themselves and join another society”. On the contrary, Walzer argues, old minorities are settled on their historic homelands. These groups find themselves in a minority position, not because they have uprooted themselves from their homeland, but because their homeland has been incorporated within the boundaries of a larger state. This incorporation is usually involuntary, resulting from conquest, or colonization, or the ceding of territory from one imperial power to another. Under these circumstances, it has been argued, minorities are rarely satisfied with non-discrimination-individual rights model and eventual integration. (Walzer, 1995, 139-154).

Even if the author talks about the leaving of origin culture by the “new minorities” which the ethnic Armenian and Azeri minorities are belonging to, he also talks about the choice. Which means that if the identity of ethnic minorities is forming within the model of dual ethnicity and “culturality”, then an integration to “another society” don’t require denial of origin roots but rather

creation of a new, unique identity through synthesis of origin ethnic and cultural self-identification and adaption of a culture and ethnicity of dominant society.

From this perspective it's also very interesting the concept of Jewish self-identity. Herman (1988, p. 2) differentiates between identification ("the process by which the individual comes to see himself as part of the Jewish group") and identity ("what being Jewish means in the life of the individual, the content of his Jewishness"). Another concept is based on the works of Gitelman, Kosmin, and Kovács (2003, p. 342) which distinguish between Jewish consciousness (strength of affiliation) and Jewish meaning (how Jews understand Jewishness). Interesting is that the conscious identification as a Jew and the meanings associated with Jewish identity simultaneously encompass issues of religion, nationality, culture, history, economics, demographics, psychology, theology, and sociology. The case of Jews is interesting because Jews were "ahead of the curve," having been forced to negotiate overlapping identities as they

struggled to maintain a distinct group identity while adapting to the various cultures in which they lived. From this perspective it's the most interesting the "development of a form of Judaism in the US which blends American values and behaviors with traditional Jewish ones". (Fishman, 2000). While adding to the identification and identity perspectives suggested by Herman the third concept of recognition and acceptance by the dominant society, the framework serves as a basic for development of new visions in integration policy of ethnic minorities of Georgia.

The paper argues the opportunities of integration of ethnic minority population from the perspective of "correct" identity and identification which is characterized for "new minorities".

### **Ethnic minority population in Georgia from the historical perspectives**

Georgia is a small country located on the coast of Black Sea and surrounding with the Caucasian mountains. According to the latest census (2014) the total population is 3 713 804 and is composed

of different ethnic groups. Ethnically Georgian population makes 86.8 % of total population and is respectively represents the largest ethnic group of the country. The table 1 below shows the ethnic composition of the country where the two minority groups namely, Azeri and Armenian population are the second and third representative ethnic groups comparing with others and make respectively 6.27% and 4.53% of total

population. Worth noting is also the particularities of geographical redistribution of ethnic groups in Georgia. Namely the fact that the ethnic minority groups are mostly living compactly in two regions of Georgia. At the same time Azeri population is predominantly living in urban settlements (81.26%). Armenian communities are represented with 48.5% share in urban territories while 40.21% of Georgians live in villages.

**Table 1: Population of Georgia redistributed by ethnic groups and geographical dislocation**

	Urban settlement	% of total urban population	% of each ethnic group population	Rural Settlement	% of total urban population	% of each ethnic group population	In total	%
Georgian	1,928,099	51.92%	59.79%	1,296,465	81.48%	40.21%	3,224,564	86.83%
Azerbaijani	43,666	2.06%	18.74%	189,358	11.90%	81.26%	233,024	6.27%
Armenian	86,538	4.08%	51.48%	81,564	5.13%	48.52%	168,102	4.53%
Russian	22,507	1.06%	85.08%	3,946	0.25%	14.92%	26,453	0.71%
Ossetia	6,981	0.33%	48.53%	7,404	0.47%	51.47%	14,385	0.39%
Yazidi	11,935	0.56%	98.04%	239	0.02%	1.96%	12,174	0.33%
Ukrainian	5,285	0.25%	87.59%	749	0.05%	12.41%	6,034	0.16%
Kist	230	0.01%	4.04%	5,467	0.34%	95.96%	5,697	0.15%
Greek	3,525	0.17%	63.58%	2,019	0.13%	36.42%	5,544	0.15%
Assyrian	1,620	0.08%	68.15%	757	0.05%	31.85%	2,377	0.06%
Other	11,224	0.53%	78.24%	3,122	0.20%	21.76%	14,346	0.39%
No answer	560	0.03%	94.75%	31	0.00%	5.25%	591	0.02%
Not defined	453	0.02%	88.30%	60	0.00%	11.70%	513	0.01%
<b>Totally</b>	<b>2,122,623</b>		<b>57.15%</b>	<b>1,591,181</b>		<b>42.85%</b>	<b>3,713,804</b>	

As mentioned below the ethnic minority groups are predominantly resided in two regions of Georgia as well as in capital of the country while Azeri population is living in Kvemo Kartli region and Armenians are consolidated in Samtskhe-Javakheti region and have a relatively smaller ethnic communities in Kvemo Kartli region too. Worth mentioning is that comparatively sizeable community of Azerbaijanian population

lives in rural settlements of Kakheti region and are represented by 10.2 of total population in the region, 13.9% of total Azerbaijanian population in the country and 0.9% of total Georgian population. The composition of the dominant ethnic groups in this two communities is presented on the table 2 below. The composition of the dominant ethnic groups in this two communities is presented on the table 2 below.

**Table 2: redistribution of ethnic Azerbaijanian, Armenian and Georgia population in Kvemo Kartli and Samtkhe-Javakheti regions**

	Region	Georgian	Azeri	Armenian	Totally
Total	Samtskhe-Javakheti	77,498	89	81,089	158,676
		48.84%	0.06%	51.10%	
	Kvemo Kartli	217,305	177,032	21,500	415,837
		52.26%	42.57%	5.17%	
Urban	Samtskhe-Javakheti	34,205	76	19,306	53,587
		44.1%	85.4%	23.8%	
	Kvemo Kartli	140,116	29,589	4,830	174,535
		64.48%	16.71%	22.47%	
Rural	Samtskhe-Javakheti	43,293	13	61,783	105,089
		55.86%	14.61%	<b>76.19%</b>	
	Kvemo Kartli	77,189	147,443	16,670	241,302
		35.52%	<b>83.29%</b>	77.53%	

Georgian population has meant a rich array of active religions. Apart from the Georgian Orthodox Church, Christianity in Georgia is

represented by followers of the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church, and a Georgian Catholic Church which mostly

follows either the Latin Rite or the Armenian rite. Muslims make up 10.74% of the population and are mainly found in the Adjara and Kvemo Kartli regions and as a sizeable minority in Tbilisi. There is also a comparatively sizeable Jewish community in Tbilisi. At the same time the Muslims make up 45.7% of population living in Kvemo Kartli and

12.8% follow Armenian Apostolic Church. 58.8% of population in Samtkhe-Javakheti belong to Armenian Apostolic Church. The table below shows the general redistribution of the population by region as well as redistribution in Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli per settlement type.

**Table 3: redistribution of different religious groups in Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti regions**

		total	%	Samtskhe-Javakheti	%	Kvemo Kartli	%
Total	Orthodox	<b>3,097,573</b>	<b>83.41%</b>	72,605	2.3%	217,724	7.0%
	Muslim	<b>398,677</b>	<b>10.74%</b>	6,060	1.5%	182,216	45.7%
	Armenian	<b>109,041</b>	<b>2.94%</b>	64,115	58.8%	13,926	12.8%
Urban	Orthodox	<b>1,911,164</b>	<b>51.46%</b>	35,815	1.9%	144,127	7.5%
	Muslim	<b>100,009</b>	<b>2.69%</b>	187	0.2%	30,272	30.3%
	Armenian Gregorian	<b>47,423</b>	<b>1.28%</b>	15,688	33.1%	1,102	2.3%
Rural	Orthodox	<b>1,186,409</b>	<b>31.95%</b>	36,790	3.1%	73,597	6.2%
	Muslim	<b>298,668</b>	<b>8.04%</b>	5,873	2.0%	151,944	50.9%
	Armenian Gregorian	<b>61,618</b>	<b>1.66%</b>	48,427	78.6%	12,824	20.8%

Along with the ethnic and religious diversity Georgia is characterized by the linguistic diversity too. During the Soviet Union, Russian was the main language of communication among various ethnic groups. The preschool, school and higher education institutions were offering

education in both languages by choice. Only following Georgia's independence, Georgian became the State language and very soon almost entirely replaced Russian. The lack of Georgian language command make the representatives of ethnic minority disadvantaged and



isolated from the country life. Even if various interventions has been taken since 2005 the Role Revolution the linguist situation remains to be heavy. The sizeable part of ethnic minority population can't communicate in

Georgian, has less chance for employment and economic advancement and accordingly is deprived from various state goods and services. The table below presents the general state language related situation in the country:

**Table 4: possession of state language by different ethnic groups in the country**

With own native language	Georgia population total	Possess Georgian well	Doesn't possess Georgian	Not indicated
Georgian	3,713,804	91.8%	7.1%	x
Abkhazian	3,254,852	59.9%	7.0%	33.1%
Osetian	272	84.8%	3.3%	11.9%
Azerbaijani	5,698	18.8%	74.4%	6.8%
Russian	231,436	63.5%	19.8%	16.6%
Armenian	45,920	39.6%	51.3%	9.1%
Other	144,812	62.1%	26.0%	0.0%

According to the statistics, only 18.8% of those Azeri population who live in the country possess state language and 19.6 of Armenians do so. If we analyze

the situation related to state language command in regional context the picture will be changing.

**Table 5: possession of state language by the ethnic Armenians and Azeris living in Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheri regions**

Language status	With native language:	Samtskhe-Javakheti	Kvemo Kartli
Has a proficiency in Georgian (state) language	Georgian	60.2%	51.8%
	Azerbaijani	54.1%	10.8%
	Armenian	20.9%	27.7%
Not satisfactory possession of Georgian (state) language	Georgian	X	X
	Azerbaijani	36.5%	82.9%
	Armenian	71.5%	66.8%
Not defined command of state language	Azerbaijani	9.5%	6.3%
	Armenian	7.6%	5.5%

Here worth is mentioning that in 1993 the Georgian Parliament adopted the Law on Citizenship that granted citizenship to all persons who were permanently residing in Georgia for the five years before adoption of the law, and resided in Georgia at the moment of its adoption and in the period of three months did not submit a written request refusing citizenship (Article 3a).

### **Kvemo Kartli**

Kvemo Kartli contains six districts, namely: Bolnisi, Dmanisi, Gardabani, Marneuli, Tetrtskaro and Tsalka. According to the 2014 census, 75.97 % of these are concentrated in Kvemo Kartli. National minorities are concentrated in Bolnisi, Dmanisi, Gardabani, Marneuli and Tsalka: according to the same census, Azeris form the absolute majority of the population of Marneuli, Bolnisi and Dmanisi districts and are represented more than 40% of the population in Gardabani. Most of the Azeri population settled in the area in 16th-17th centuries

with the wave of the Turkic migration. The conflicts of Georgian Kingdoms and then of the Russian Empire with the Ottoman Empire have left most of the Kvemo Kartli province significantly depopulated. Depopulation opened the way to settlement of Armenians and Greeks in mainly 19th century as they fluid the Ottoman Empire (mainly Anatolia).

Bordering Azerbaijan Kvemo Kartli district has an great influence of Azerbaijanian government and still heavily rely economically and politically from it

### **Samtskhe-Javakheti**

In Samtskhe-Javakheti 51.1% of population are ethnic Armenians. The Samtskhe-Javakheti province incorporates Akhaltsikhe Adigeni, Aspindza, Akhalkalaki, Borjomi and Ninotsminda districts. According ot the 2014 census, Akhalkalaki and Ninotsminda are predominantly resided by Armenian communitéis (94 +%). In

Akhalsikhe the sizeable part of total population is also Armenian (35+%).

According to Georgian historical sources, the presence of Armenians coming in particular from the Ottoman Empire increased in 19th century, when Russia drove out the Ottoman Empire from the South-West Caucasus. Later in the 1910s, this process continued.

Samtskhe-Javakheti, especially the Armenian majority areas, is isolated from the rest of Georgia for several major infrastructural and geographic reasons. Akhalkalaki is situated at an altitude of approximately 1,700m above sea level and Ninotsminda is at 1,950m. Harsh winter is a severe handicap for the area which predominantly relies on subsistence agriculture and cattle-breeding. In addition, Akhalkalaki housed a major Soviet military base, with estimated 15 thousand soldiers and personnel. As an area adjacent to NATO-member Turkey, the province was strongly fortified. Access to the province was limited to special permits. This led to high level of physical isolation from the rest of Georgia and did nothing to

encourage the sense of belonging to the rest of the country. Due to high level militarization, the province also stayed isolated from the processes of liberalization in the rest of Soviet Union and in Georgia in mid and late-1980s.

### **The interventions done by the state for integration of ethnic minority into the different domains of state life.**

Georgia is adhered to the major international regulations and ratifications defining and protecting rights of ethnic minorities. In 1998 Georgia signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of the Council of Europe. In 2005 Georgia ratified the Framework Convention on National Minorities of Council of Europe. The state law doesn't contradict the internationally recognized concepts, mechanisms and vision of ethnic minorities. The national integration of ethnic minorities is seen as a country priority since 2009 when the concept of civil integration and strategy and action plan were developed and enforced by the parliament. There are six pillars seen as

strategic for successful national integration. Equal and quality Education and preservation and development of cultural heritage and identity are two of them.

The interventions focusing on ethnic minority education started in 2005 and gradually covered all education stages. Even if the programs and activities implemented by the government and financed from the state budget target diverse areas of education there are two main challenges which make the endeavours less effective. The study-researches undertaken recently and targeting ethnic minority education in Georgia revealed several factors for insufficient effect of the minority education strategy. The factors include: (a) inconsistency of the planned and implemented interventions; (b) lack of financial resources; (c) lack of professional human resources including teachers and education administration cadres; (d) vagueness of the education policy vision and directions (Mekhuzla, Roshe, 2009; Grigule, 2010; Tabatadze, 2011; report of office of ombudsman,

2012; Tabatadze, Gorgadze, 2013, 2014; report of the Ministry of Reconciliation and Civic Equity, 2014; Tabatadze, Gorgadze, 2015;) The study research of an effectiveness of quota system in higher education system of Georgia revealed that and importance of active engagement of Georgian society in integration processes of ethnic minority groups is underestimated by the integration policy. The same research revealed the narrowed perspective of the policy which is entirely focused on improvement of state language command and fails to see multiple perspectives for inclusion of ethnic minority society in the mainstream of country life.

### **Methodology**

The students of Armenian and Azeri ethnicity studying in Georgian state universities were identified as target group of the study. More specifically students enrolled in one year Georgian language preparatory program of 5 state universities of Georgia were selected. Since the survey took place in the end of June 2017 the students had one year of

experience of studying in universities. The target institutions include: Tbilisi Javakhishvili State University; Tbilisi Medical State University; Tbilisi Technical University; Ilia State University and Samtskhe-Javakheti State University. Totally 280 students were

surveyed where n=577, confidence level = 95%, confidence interval = 4.2%, the response distribution = 100%.

The table below shows the distribution of the surveyed students per university:

**Table 6: redistribution of the surveyed students per university**

University	# of surveyed students	Share of surveyed students per university
Tbilisi Javakhsivhili State university	114	40.9
Samtskhe_Javakheti State university	17	6.1
Ilia State university	71	25.4
Medical State university	32	11.1
Technical State university	43	15.4
Don't identified	3	1.1
Totally	280	100%

139 (49,8%) males and 137 (48.7%) females were surveyed, sex for 4 surveyed persons isn't identified. As for the geographical distribution of the surveyed students, 58 (20.8%) come from Samtskhe-Javakheti, 185 (66.3%) from Kvemo Kartli, 23 (8.2) from Kakheti, and 14 (4.7) from Tbilisi.

Standard questionnaire with 12 questions was used for surveying purposes. The standardized questionnaire included 6

close-ended and rating scale questions and 6 questions of demographic character which collected information about students such as sex, age, region, district and university. The survey took app. 20 minutes.

The questions of the questionnaire included:

1. Assessment of their integration level in Georgian society by the level of intensity from 0 – “not

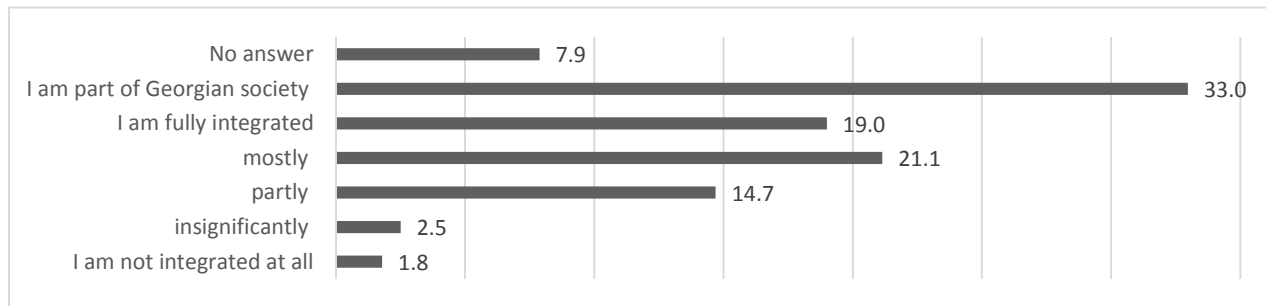
- integrated” at all to 5 “I am part of Georgian society”;
2. Rating the factors which impact an integration of ethnic minorities in Georgian society by their importance;
  3. Statement about their cultural belonging while choosing between their origin ethnic, Georgian, both – their ethnic and Georgian, and other cultures;
  4. Statement about their ethnic belonging while choosing between their origin ethnicity, Georgian, Georgian-Armenian or Georgian-Azeri ethnicity, and other ethnicity;
  5. Their feeling about their discrimination on the ethnic background;
  6. Their feeling about the awareness of Georgian society about his/her ethnic and cultural particularities;

The questions should determine the ethnic and cultural identity of students

and perception of self-integration in the society and thus their preparedness for acquiring the concept of ethnical and cultural duality.

### **Results of the survey**

The showed the perception of surveyed students of their integration level in Georgian society. According to the results the one third of surveyed students say that they are part of Georgian society while 19 percent feels to be fully integrated in the society. 21.1 percent of students stated to be mostly and 14.7 percent partly integrated in Georgian society. Only 1.8 percent considers not to be integrated and 2.5 insignificantly integrated. App. 8% didn't respond the question. Totally more than 70% of the ethnic minority students think that they are mainly, fully integrated into the Georgian society or belongs to the society.



**Diagram 1: perception of integration by the ethnic minority students**

The next question was related to the factors which might be important for their integration into the Georgian society. The important factors included:

1. Possession of Georgian language
2. Knowledge and adoption of Georgian culture and traditions
3. My self-identification as a child of Georgia
4. Attitude of ethnic Georgians towards the ethnic minorities
5. Effectiveness of state policy towards the minorities
6. Economic relations between the different ethnic groups
7. Equal education opportunities for ethnic minorities
8. Messages spread by mass and printed media

The informants should rate each statement in accordance with its importance from 0 –“not relevant” to 5 – “decisive”.

Among the factors which are specifically important for integration in Georgian society the highest score was given to the statement about the self-identification as a child of Georgia (70.5%). It means that majority of students think that perception of their own role, their positioning is the most important factor for their full integration in Georgian society. The second most important factor for successful integration is a possession of Georgian language (62.3). The knowledge and adoption of Georgian culture and traditions (60.7) and equal education opportunities (60.2) are

the third important factors for successful integration of ethnic minorities.

For clarity below is provided the responses of the informants disaggregated into rated intensity of their importance:

Important factors for an integration of ethnic minorities	N/A	Not important at all	Less important	Somewhat important	Important	Decisive
1. possession of Georgian language	1.7	2.0	10.7	23.3	38.6	23.7
2. Knowledge and adoption of Georgian culture and	1.8	.8	9.1	27.9	36.5	24.1
3. My identification of myself as a child of Georgia	3.3	2.4	4.1	19.5	38.0	32.5
4. Attitude of Georgians towards the ethnic minorities	2.6	1.7	5.6	28.4	28.6	31.0
5. Effectiveness of state policy towards the minorities	2.0	3.1	9.2	29.1	35.3	21.0
6. Economic relations between the different ethnic groups	4.2	2.4	7.1	26.7	41.6	18.2
7. the equal education system towards the ethnic minorities	2.3	1.9	3.4	33.1	36.6	23.6
8. Messages coming from mass and printed media	1.7	1.7	14.2	31.4	30.1	18.5

*Diagram 2: The factors disaggregated into level of impacting of ethnic minorities in state life*

Interesting is the results of the survey which was conducted by the UN Association of Georgia (UNAG) almost in the same period as the study of ethnic minority students. The study of UNAG targeted 1500 youth of age 15-26 in 12 urban and 12 rural settlements of Georgia. The sampling was based on three-stage cluster purposive randomization where ethnicity was defined as a quota. The structured questionnaire included the question about the factors defining to be Georgian. To be born in Georgian territory, religion and traditions,

language, and patriotism and citizenship were defined as factors. According to the results, both groups, Georgian and non-Georgian youth define patriotism and citizenship as the most important factor for feeling to be Georgian. At the same time the ethnic minority groups consider the religion and traditions and patriotism and citizenship to be more important than do their Georgian counterparts. As for language and place of born, more Georgians see it important for being Georgian than ethnic minorities.



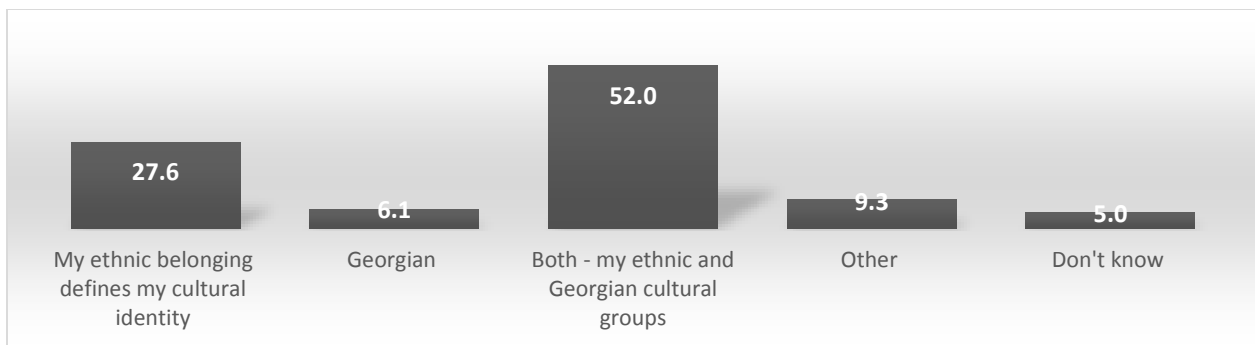
What defines to be Georgian?		
	Ethnic Georgian	Non-Georgian
Born in Georgia	42,7%	40,2%
Religion (Orthodox Christianity) and traditions	59,7%	62,1%
Language	30,0%	27,5%
Patriotism and citizenship	65,9%	69,2%

**Table 7: the attitude towards the factors defining to be Georgian**

As shown, 32.5% consider that self-identification as well as the attitude of Georgians towards the ethnic minorities (31) is decisive factors for meaningful integration of ethnic minorities into the mainstream of public society. 24.1% think that knowledge of Georgian culture and traditions is decisive for integration. 23.7 and 23.6 percent of students think that possession of Georgian language and equal education opportunities are decisive

respectively. Interesting is that possession of Georgian language is rated to be important by the highest number (38.67) of students.

As for the ethnic belonging – more than half of the students perceive to belong to both – their origin ethnic and Georgian culture, 6.1 to Georgian, 27.6 to the culture which is defined by their ethnic background.

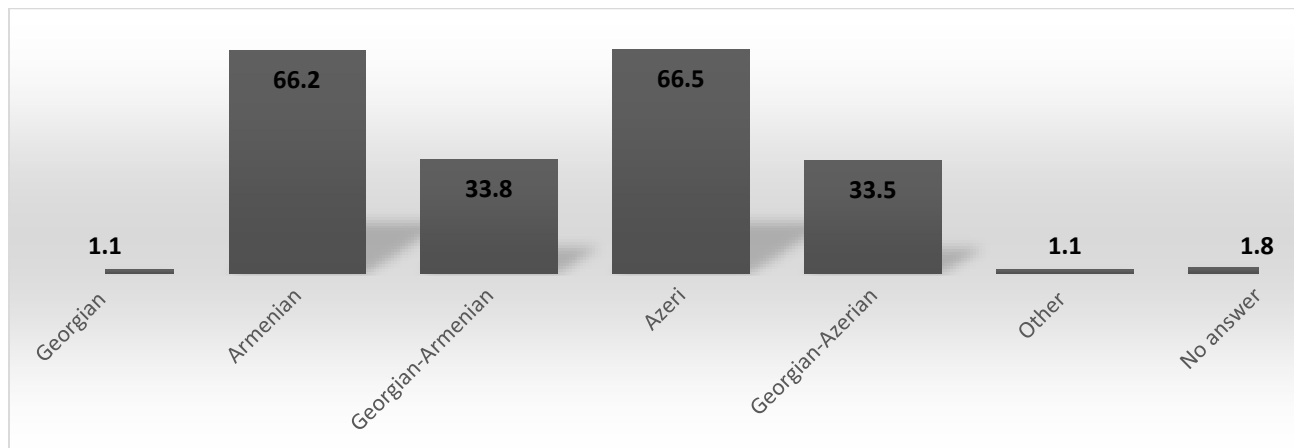


**Diagram 3: responded related to cultural belonging of the informants**

Even if the number of surveyed students is different for Armenians and Azerbaijanian students (in accordance

with their representativeness in the universities) the share of those students who belong themselves to dual as well as

their origin ethnicity is almost equal for both ethnic minority groups.



**Diagram 4: perceived ethnic belonging of the informants**

Interesting is the tendency which is shown on the diagram 5. Namely is shows that those who culturally belong itself to both – his/her origin ethnic and Georgian cultural groups feel to be more integrated

into Georgian society whereas those who believe to belong to both their origin ethnic and Georgian cultures consider themselves to be part of Georgian society.

Which cultural group do you belong yourself	Assess you integration level into Georgian society						
	I'm not integrated at all	Insignificantly	Partly	Mainly	Fully integrated	I am part of the Georgian society	No answer
My ethnic belonging defines my cultural identity	0.0	1.4	13.7	19.8	30.9	22.7	11.5
Georgian	0.0	0.0	19.4	0.0	20.9	38.8	20.9
Both - my ethnic and Georgian cultural groups	1.8	4.5	10.1	25.2	16.8	38.9	2.5
Other	4.4	0.0	5.4	3.4	3.4	42.0	41.4
Don't know	0.0	29.3	4.1	32.8	1.2	31.1	1.5

**Diagram 5: perception of integration level in accordance with the cultural belonging**

The survey showed that those students who belong themselves to both, their origin ethnic and Georgian cultural groups are more tend to feel themselves as Georgian-Armenians and Georgian-

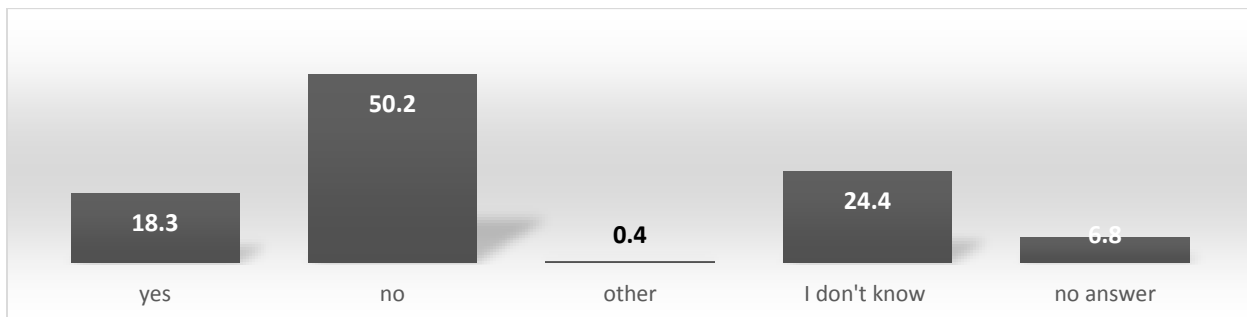
Azerbaijanians. The survey showed that Armenian students are more inclined to belong themselves to both cultural groups than Azeri students.

Which cultural group do you belong to?	My ethnic belonging defines my cultural identity	Georgian	To both, my ethnic and Georgian cultural groups	Other	I don't know
<b>Which ethnic group do you belong to?</b>					
Armenian	34.7%	6.1%	53.1%	2.0%	4.1%
Georgian-Armenian	8.0%	0.0%	<b>88.0%</b>	4.0%	0.0%
Azeri	34.9%	3.9%	41.1%	14.0%	6.2%
Georgian-Azeri	15.4%	12.3%	<b>64.6%</b>	6.2%	1.5%

*Table 8: perception of cultural belonging in accordance with perceived ethnic belonging*

On the question whether the informant feels that is discriminated on ethnic background slightly more than half of surveyed said no however almost half

of students stated to feel discriminated, don't know whether is discriminated or not respond the question.



*Diagram 6: redistribution of answers about perception of the discrimination on ethnic background*

Interesting is to compare this answers to the results of the survey conducted by the UNAG; according to this survey, more Georgians report unfair treatment of individuals on the ground of an ethnicity or other factors which differ minority

groups from Georgians. Noteworthy is that the ethnic background is most frequently reported as reason for unfair treatment (Georgians 28.3 and non-Georgians 14.9 respectively).

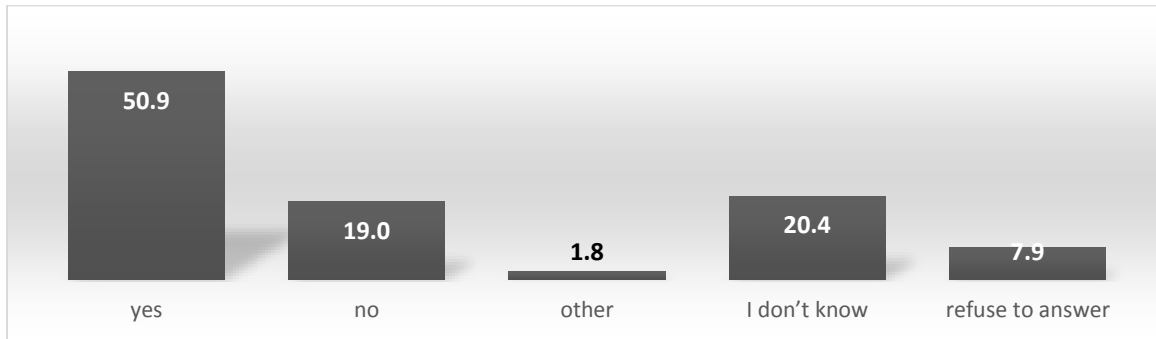
<b>Do you hear during the last two years about the cases when the individuals were treaded unfairly in Georgia because of:</b>				
	Ethnic Georgians		Non Georgians	
	yes	No	Yes	No
spoken language	6,0	94,0	3,6	96,4
religious belonging	14,1	85,9	10,4	89,6
ethnic background	28,3	71,7	14,9	85,1
lack of Georgian language knowledge	23,1	76,9	12,8	87,2

**Table 9: survey of youth about the cases of unfair treatment based on different grounds**

On the question: “Do you believe that ethnic Georgian population sees correctly yours as an ethnic minority role, importance, influence, identity, cultural and ethnic belonging” the responded were distributed as shown on the diagram xxx below:

More than half of informants say believe that the statement is correct towards ethnic Georgians, 19% answers negatively though and more than 20 percent don’t know and almost 8 percent

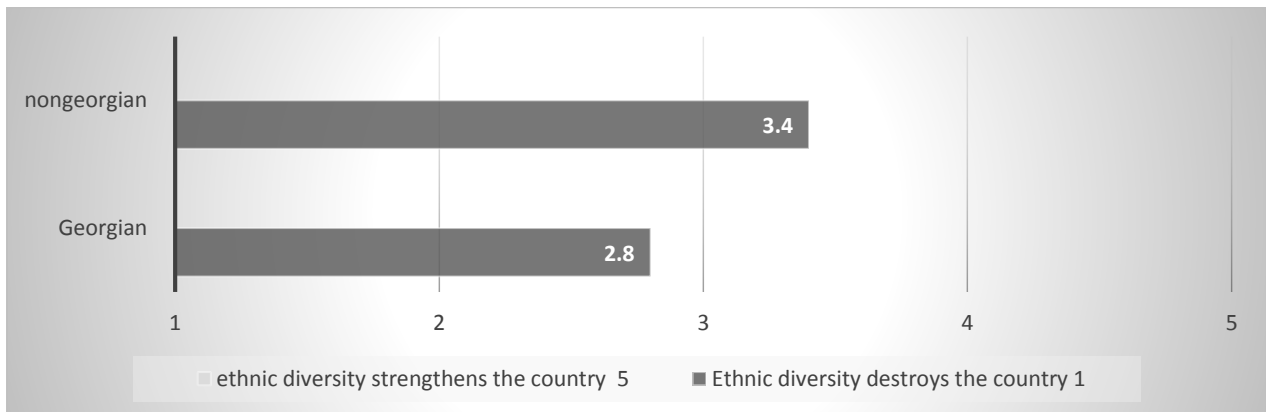
refuse to answer the question. The distribution of answers on the question about the real awareness and attitude of Georgians towards the ethnic minorities is worth of attention and it speaks about the necessity for policy planning where ethnic Georgian society is more actively considered as accountable player of integration processes of ethnic minorities and the integration policy which facilitates dialogue between the diverse groups of society.



**Diagram 7: distribution of answers about the attitude of ethnic Georgians**

Interesting is the results of the same survey undertaken by the UN Association in Georgia related to the attitude towards the ethnic diversity in the country. The respondents should assess the diversity outcomes from 1 point (ethnic diversity destroys the country) to 5 (ethnic minority strengthens the country). According to the

results of the survey both groups – ethnic Georgians and non-Georgians are more inclined to consider the ethnic diversity favourable for the country. Ethnic minorities assess diversity more positively though (M= 3.4) than ethnic Georgian youth (M=2.8).



**Diagram 8: Mean of the answers of Georgian and non-Georgian youth about the ethnic diversity in the country.**

To add to this the 10% of surveyed students desired to add something they

believe to be important for the study. Absolute majority say states that it's

important to know well the feelings, assumptions and perceptions of youth of Georgian and non-Georgian ethnicity in order to plan and implement need-based, well-adjusted policies for successful integration.

### **Conclusions**

The historical perspective and demographic patterns of ethnic Armenian and Azeri population show that both groups belong to “New Minorities”. Even if both ethnic groups have a century long history of living in Georgia the policy planning and implementation should aim at meaningful inclusion of ethnic minority groups in all domains of state life while having a great potential and space for dynamic, multi-dimensional approaches.”

The state policy towards ethnic minorities isn't focused on renewal of ethnic and cultural identity of the minority population. Rather it emphasize the concept of citizenship. The idea to build the integration plan around the idea of citizenship has some limitations since it taints the idea of strong, particular self-identity, has tend to the universality and

thus, fails to ensure the strong attachment to the Georgia as a motherland independently. The survey showed the relevant preparedness of students for evolvement of and adhering to the concept of dual ethnic and cultural identity. The integration of dual identity concept in state policy towards the ethnic minorities may contribute to meaningful inclusion of those groups in state life and strengthen their belonging to Georgia.

The survey underlined the imminent need for facilitation of the social exchanges between the ethnic minority groups and ethnic Georgian groups in order to ensure genuine transmission of different patterns ethnic and national identity. This require strengthening of engagement of ethnic Georgian population in state policy development and implementation processes, clear definition of the role, function, and responsibilities of broad society.

At the same time the fostering of the concept of dual ethnic and cultural identity is a multi-componential, complex proposal where the relevant resources, channels, actors and context need a

careful and restless development and preparation.

And to the end, the paper introduces the small attempt of exploring the concept of a dual ethnic and cultural identity and

its relevance to Georgian context, consequently the necessity of rigorous research of various factors and conditions is obvious for broadening the discourse on the suggested concept.

### Tables and Diagrams

*Table 1: Population of Georgia redistributed by ethnic groups and geographical dislocation*

*Table 2: redistribution of ethnic Azerbaijani, Armenian and Georgia population in Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti regions*

*Table 3: redistribution of different religious groups in Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti regions*

*Table 4: possession of state language by different ethnic groups in the country*

*Table 5: possession of state language by the ethnic Armenians and Azeris living in Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti regions*

*Table 6: redistribution of the surveyed students per university*

*Table 7: the attitude towards the factors defining to be Georgian*

*Table 8: perception of cultural belonging in accordance with perceived ethnic belonging*

*Table 9: survey of youth about the cases of unfair treatment based on different grounds*

*Diagram 1: perception of integration by the ethnic minority students*

*Diagram 2: The factors disaggregated into level of impacting of ethnic minorities in state life*

*Diagram 3: responded related to cultural belonging of the informants*

*Diagram 4: perceived ethnic belonging of the informants*

*Diagram 5: perception of integration level in accordance with the cultural belonging*

*Diagram 6: redistribution of answers about perception of the discrimination on ethnic background*

*Diagram 7: distribution of answers about the attitude of ethnic Georgians*

*Diagram 8: Mean of the answers of Georgian and non-Georgian youth about the ethnic diversity in the country.*

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