

Research for Development in the South Caucasus: Discussing Methodological Innovations

CRRC's 4th Methodological Conference

June 24th and 25th, 2016

Tbilisi, Georgia

DAY 1 June 24	
9:00 – 09:30	Registration & coffee
09:30 – 09:45	Opening remarks David Lee , Chair of the Board of Trustees of EPF and CRRC
09:45 – 10:15	Keynote speech 1: Accountability, Constituency, or Taken for Granted: Voter Preferences and Georgia's Elections (20 min) Julie A. George Q/A (10 min)
10:15 – 11:15	Session 1: Migration studies 1. Roland Hosner, Tamar Zurabishvili & Martin Hofmann – Putting the pieces together: Identifying emigration indicators for Georgia (15 min) 2. David Sichinava – Housing inequalities and migrant remittances in Tbilisi and Yerevan (15 min) Moderator: Tinatin Zurabishvili Discussants (10 min): 1. David Sichinava Q/A (20 min)
11:15- 11:30	Break

<p>11:30-13:00</p>	<p>Session 2: Politics, Ideology and the media</p> <p>1. Koba Turmanidze – Promise a little or lie: What policy proposals maximize votes in Georgia? (15 min)</p> <p>2. Rati Shubladze & Tsisana Khundadze – Price of being not populist enough: Georgian experience of dominant party defeat (15 min)</p> <p>3. Max Schaub – Outgroup threat and ingroup cooperation: Experimental evidence from rural Georgia (15 min)</p> <p>Moderator: Murad Nasibov</p> <p>Discussants (15 min):</p> <p>1. Max Schaub (5 min)</p> <p>2. Nino Abzianidze (5 min)</p> <p>3. Koba Turmanidze (5 min)</p> <p>Q/A (20 min)</p>
<p>13:00 – 14:00</p>	<p>Lunch</p>
<p>14:00 – 15:30</p>	<p>Parallel workshops</p> <p>1. Tim Blauvelt – Getting published</p> <p>2. Koen Geven – Causal Inference and Estimating Treatment Effects</p>
<p>15:30</p>	<p>Departure to Mtskheta: Sightseeing (conference participants only)</p>
<p>19:00</p>	<p>Dinner</p>

DAY 2 | June 25

9:00 – 9:30	<p>Keynote speech 2: Data visualization: How to effectively communicate relationships we find in data using visualizations (20 min) Eric Barrett Q/A (10 min)</p>
9:30 – 10:30	<p>Session 3: Research on trust and ideology in the South Caucasus 1. Hajar Huseynova et. al. - Do citizens of the former Soviet Union trust institutions and why: The case of Azerbaijan (15 min) 2. Nino Abzianidze – Nationalist discourse as a network? Analysing the structure of nationalist appeals in Georgian print media (15 min) Moderator: Heghine Manasyan Discussants (10 min): 1. Tina Zurabishvili (5 min) 2. Rati Shubladze & Tsisana Khundadze (5 min) Q/A (20 min)</p>
10:30 – 11:00	Coffee break
11:00 – 12:00	<p>Session 4: Labour and gender perspective 1. Lucy Wallwork - Gender division of labour in Azerbaijani dual earner households: Some preliminary research (15 min) 2. Lela Chakhaia - What's in a name? Gender discrimination on Georgian labour market (15 min) Moderator: Mariam Sikharulidze Discussants (10 min): 1. Lela Chakhaia (5 min) 2. Lucy Wallwork (5 min) Q/A (20 min)</p>
12:00 – 13:30	<p>Parallel workshops 1. Julie A. George – Methodological Approaches to Estimating Voter Fraud 2. Eric Barrett – Taking your data visualizations to the next level using Inkscape</p>
13:30 – 13:45	Closing remarks – Koba Turmanidze, Heghine Manasyan, Murad Nasibov
14:00 – 15:30	Lunch (& wine)

Keynote Speech 1

Accountability, Constituency, or Taken for Granted: Voter Preferences and Georgia's Elections

Julie A. George

What has been the role of elections in building democratic governance in Georgia? How have elections worked to assure political accountability and constituencies? In many postcommunist hybrid regimes, allegations of electoral inconsistency jeopardize public trust and undermine political institutions. In this presentation, I consider electoral processes in Georgia since its first contests after independence, examining patterns of electoral fraud, political campaigning, and party strategy. Comparing overall Georgian voting patterns to those of Georgia's ethnic minority communities, conventionally considered areas of rampant fraud and cooptation, it exposes other interests and variation in minority support for the ruling party. I document the development of fledgling constituencies in the population, arguing that the Georgian polity has an opportunity for real electoral accountability, but that nurturing such a culture requires nurturing greater political responsiveness.

Julie A. George is an associate professor of Political Science at Queens College and the Graduate Center at the City University of New York. Her work addresses state building, democratization, and ethnic politics in postcommunist states. She is the author of *The Politics of Ethnic Separatism in Russia and Georgia* (Palgrave Macmillan 2010). Her work has also been published in academic journals such as *Electoral Politics*, *Current History*, *Europe-Asia Studies* and *Post-Soviet Affairs*, among others."

Session 1: Migration Studies

Putting the pieces together: Identifying emigration indicators for Georgia

Roland Hosner, Tamar Zurabishvili & Martin Hofmann

Georgia has seen the second largest population decline in Europe between 2002 and 2014 (-15%) due to emigration. Yet little is known about recent emigration patterns, destinations and Georgia's migration system. Given the general difficulty of producing emigration statistics and the prevailing scarcity of detailed data on bilateral migration (origin-to-destination) this paper aims at identifying indicators for estimating emigration from Georgia. Based on destination country data, we have selected more than 30 indicators on migrant populations, stay and residence, remittances, regular migration flows, irregular migration flows and returns as well as refugee status determination. In summary, we argue that these indicators provide a comprehensive overview of migration processes and movements between countries and populations in the destination countries. These indicators will help answer remaining questions on where emigrants from Georgia are (stocks) and where they go (flows).

Roland Hosner is a migration and integration researcher at the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD). He covers various research components of the ongoing EU-funded project Enhancing Georgia's Migration Management (ENIGMMA). Roland serves as a focal point for survey design, migration and integration statistics at ICMPD. Recently he has completed a feasibility study with the aim of establishing a panel survey among recent immigrants to Austria and is currently involved in pioneer studies on qualifications of asylum seekers in Austria and labour market integration of refugees. Roland brings extensive teaching experience, particularly in methodology courses for the University of Vienna, ECPR and for IACA, has developed income analysis for Statistics Austria and investigated political participation at the Centre for Citizenship and Democracy at KU Leuven.

Tamar Zurabishvili currently works as a researcher at ICMPD's analytical unit

for the ENIGMMA project. Tamar has MA degrees in Media Studies from the New School University, in Sociology from the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences and Manchester University, and a PhD in Sociology from Ilia University. Along with teaching at various Georgian higher educational institutions, Tamar has been involved in several studies of emigration from Georgia and returnee reintegration. She served as a consultant/expert for IOM, the Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD), the European University Institute (Florence, Italy), the Europe Foundation (former Eurasia Partnership Foundation), the Heinrich Boell Foundation South Caucasus office and the Innovations and Reforms Center.

Martin Hofmann is a specialist on migration research and policy development. He is policy advisor to the Director General of ICMPD and coordinates the Centre's programme on legal migration and integration. Martin Hofmann holds a university degree in Political Science with a focus on European Integration, the Political System of the European Union and the Austrian Political System from the University of Vienna. He is a member of the Network of Excellence International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE) and has been lecturer at the Danube University Krems and at Vienna University.

Housing inequalities and migrant remittances in Tbilisi and Yerevan

David Sichinava

This paper seeks to unveil the effect of migrant remittances on housing inequalities in two capital cities of the South Caucasus. Capital cities of the post-Soviet space underwent a spectacular economic and sociocultural shift since transition from command to market economy. Privatization of formerly state-owned housing stock and transferring building activities to the hands of the private business has been key features of this process. As it is widely discussed in the literature, despite drastic changes in every aspect of life, at the first stage of the post-Communist transition housing inequalities were not dramatically affected, contrary to the expected.

However, currently different factors are influencing the widening in terms of housing quality and living conditions in the capital cities of the South Caucasus. Armenia and Georgia has been sources for the huge flows labor migrants who

were particularly targeting Russian Federation as well as selected countries of Western Europe and to a lesser extent, North America. It has been documented that labor migrants often invest remittances into improvement of the housing conditions of their immediate household back in the home country. Based on the pooled survey data from the Integrated Household Surveys of Georgia and 10% samples of the two most recent national census of Armenia I argue that migrant remittances positively improve per-capita living space in the three capital cities. Whilst the effect is profoundly expressed in Yerevan, there is a small yet positive significant influence in the case of Tbilisi.

David Sichinava holds a doctoral degree in human geography from Tbilisi State University. His research interests are located in the fields of political and urban geography, electoral behavior and post-Soviet transformation. Currently, Dr. Sichinava works for CRRC-Georgia as a senior researcher and also teaches research methods classes at various universities of Georgia. He has been awarded with Fulbright Visiting Scholarship and Heinrich Boell Foundation's scholarship for young scholars in the South Caucasus.

Session 2: Politics, Ideology and the Media

Promise a little or lie: What kinds of promises maximize votes in Georgia?

Koba Turmanidze

Voters' support of political parties has waned for the past few years in Georgia. At the same time, the country continues to face major problems with unemployment and poverty. This paper argues that in such a context political parties will be better off if they come up with vague, if not contradictory promises that signal solutions to pressing problems, but try not to alienate important segments of voters. To answer this question CRRC-Georgia administered a survey experiment in Tbilisi in February, 2016 (906 completed interviews). We randomly split the sample into four equal groups with various information treatments (vignettes) about the electoral policy proposals of a hypothetical party. The remaining survey questions measured respondents' issue salience, policy preferences, political efficacy, attitudes to political parties, political knowledge, and households' economic conditions.

We ran logistic regression models to relate type of policy proposals with reported readiness to vote and reported support to the party. Whereas the type of party's promise had no significant impact on reported turnout, most models confirmed that voters were more likely to support the party that put forward a general promise or promised something as inconsistent as low taxes and high spending on job creation by the state compared with a party that puts forward a consistent and coherent position. These findings may signal an accountability trap for developing democracies: the winner will under-deliver due to contradictions in the original electoral promises, while voters will become even more disillusioned with politics and get further detached from political parties.

Koba Turmanidze is the Director of CRRC Georgia. He has been working for the organization since 2007. He earned an MPA from American University (Washington, DC) and an M.A. in Political Science from Central European University (Budapest, Hungary). He also holds a diploma in history from Tbilisi

State University. Currently Koba is a doctoral candidate in Comparative Politics at Central European University. In 2005-2011 he was Assistant Professor at Tbilisi State University, where he taught comparative politics, economies in transition, research methods and applied statistics courses in the Department of Political Science and the Center for Social Sciences. Before joining CRRC, Koba worked in several civil society organizations as well as in civil service. His research interests include authoritarianism, regime change and voting behavior.

Price of being not populist enough: Georgian experience of dominant party defeat

Rati Shubladze & Tsisana Khundadze

The study is concentrated on policy making and vote obtaining related issues. Using the secondary data, public opinion surveys and semi-structured interview method the paper specifically aims to look at the use of public policy as a tool for achieving favorable electoral outcomes, thus stabilizing a ruling party's grip on power. This approach gives an opportunity to see the insiders as well as outsiders perspective on the events that took place during the rule of the United National Movement (UNM) in the period of 2004-2012.

Using the typical moves of the dominant party, described by Greene, UNM used social programs, unemployment reduction short-term projects and other populist policies for vote obtaining purposes. Besides wide usage of vote obtaining strategies, UNM still lost the elections in 2012 and several factors are named contributors to it, like negative attitudes toward the ruling party accumulated due to continued violation of human and property rights, economic problems etc. On the other hand, the emergence of strong opposition coalition led by Georgian billionaire, whose financial capacity could compete with the resources of the ruling party, made it possible to convince the people that UNM was defeatable. Also, certain pressure from the West constrained the ruling party from using force to cope with opponents. However, the main reason for the losing the power was the failure of the UNM in using clientelistic redistribution of resources to population, still focusing on the state capacity strengthening and modernization of the country.

Tsisana Khundadze has been working at CRRC-Georgia since 2011. She started as a participant of the Junior Fellowship Program and then became a researcher. Tsisana mainly works on qualitative and quantitative analysis of data and participates in making and checking datasets. Besides working at CRRC, Tsisana is also an invited lecturer at the faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. Tsisana holds B.A. and M.A. in Psychology from Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. Currently she is a PHD student at TSU and her specialization is Social, Political and Cultural Psychology.

Rati Shubladze has been working for CRRC-Georgia since 2013. He joined the CRRC-team as a junior fellow and then became a researcher. Rati is involved in the survey instrument and ODK form development process and participates in the data management procedures. Rati Shubladze holds an MA in Social Sciences from Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (TSU). Currently he is pursuing a Ph.D. degree at the Department of Sociology at TSU. His doctoral research is related to electoral behavior in Georgia. Currently he also gives classes at TSU on research methods. Before joining CRRC's Junior Fellowship Program Rati was involved in a 2012 UNDP pre-election project on media monitoring in Georgia.

Outgroup threat and ingroup cooperation: Experimental evidence from rural Georgia

Max Shcaub

Does ethnic fear cause communities to be more cohesive? Existing evidence suggests that it would. However, most of this evidence comes from the lab, drawing on experimentally induced competition between artificially created groups rather than naturally occurring conflict between ethnic groups. Here we present evidence from the field, exploring ethnic divisions in Georgia's Kvemo Kartli region. The region is unique in that it is home both to villages surrounded by co-ethnics and villages whose surroundings are dominated by other ethnic groups, providing a natural setting for a controlled comparison of behaviour in both situations. We ran lab-in-the field sessions in six villages involving 140 participants. Employing a novel analytic game to measure threat perception,

and a standard public goods game to measure cooperative behaviour, we find that both ethnic fear and cooperation are higher in villages more exposed to ethnic 'others'. We argue that these results can also help to make sense of some of the contradictions that the debate on ethnic diversity and social capital has produced.

Max Schaub is a PhD researcher at the Department of Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. His interests include social behaviour varying between cultures, countries and communities — and how these differences shape formal and informal institutions. He demonstrates an active interest in international (unauthorized) migration as well. Prior to starting his PhD, Mr. Schaub worked for various organisations involved in conflict regulation and migration issues, and spent a year teaching at Yerevan State University, Armenia.

Parallel Workshops

Getting your article published

Timothy K. Blauvelt

This workshop will provide strategies for getting your article published in international scholarly journals, including choosing the right venue for your work and passing the desk review stage; how to tackle “revise and resubmit”; negotiating the peer review process; working with proofs and final editing; and maximizing the exposure of your article once it is published to increasing citations and impact.

Timothy K. Blauvelt is Associate Professor of Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies at Ilia State University in Tbilisi, Georgia, and is also Country Director in Georgia for American Councils for International Education: ACTR/ACCELS. He has published numerous articles about political history, clientalism, nationality policy and nationalism in Russia, the Soviet Union and the Caucasus in *Ab Imperio*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Communist & Post-Communist Studies*, *Kritika*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Revolutionary Russia*, *Central Asian Survey* and *War & Society*. Together with Jeremy Smith, he is co-editor of *Georgia after Stalin: Nationalism and Soviet Power*, published by Routledge.

Causal Inference and Estimating Treatment Effects

Koen Geven

This workshop will introduce the theory and practice of causal inference in the social sciences. Causal inference has been important in the social sciences for a long time, and has made a revival in economics, political science and sociology in recent years. We will discuss the counterfactual framework of causal inference, and a mechanism-approach to get a better understanding of causality in social life. Examples of this approach include research using regression discontinuity designs, instrumental variables, fixed effects studies, and difference in differences. These approaches to causal inferences present an elegant alternative to traditional regression methods, and replace the need for more complicated modeling techniques to estimate relations in the social

world. Using research on education as an example, we will discuss how we can estimate the effects of treatments (e.g. a policy change) on various outcomes. The workshop will be light on math, and will have a hands-on approach. Students can use Microsoft Excel, Stata or R to implement the ideas in the workshop.

Koen Geven is finishing his PhD in social and political sciences at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. His research addresses the effects of policy changes on students and inequality in higher education. He holds an MA in public policy from the University of York (UK) and Central European University (Hungary), and a BSc in political science from the University of Amsterdam. He has actively contributed to education policy for various governments and civil society organisations.

Keynote Speech 2

Data visualization: How to effectively communicate relationships we find in data using visualizations

Eric Barrett

The presentation will discuss how to represent different data relationships visually and the systematic process that can help us solve our data communications problems. The speaker will start by highlighting good design principles using effective and ineffective examples. He will then demonstrate design concepts that underly common charts and graphs, and extend those concepts to solve more advanced data visualization problems.

Eric Barrett hails from Houston, Texas and received his B.A. from Boston University in 2000. He has lived and studied in Russia and France, and moved to Georgia in 2005. He worked as Transparency International Georgia's Digital Organizer from 2008 - 2010 and joined the Open Maps Caucasus team in 2010. In 2012 Eric stepped up as Executive Director and transformed Open Maps Caucasus into what JumpStart Georgia is today - a Georgian-based non-profit that shines a light on the complex issues that affect our lives and communicates their importance in heartfelt stories people can understand. Eric currently sits on the board of JumpStart Georgia's a non-voting member and on the board of Iare Pekhit's Membership Association, a local pedestrians' rights organization. He lives in Tbilisi, Georgia with his wife and daughter and enjoys running and hiking Georgia's trails.

Session 3: Research on trust and ideology in the South Caucasus

Do citizens of the former Soviet Union trust institutions and why: The case of Azerbaijan

Hajar Huseynova et al.

Trust in a political system is an important element for democratic reforms and economic development (Howard 2003; Fukuyama 1995); social order (Durkheim 1984), and institutional performance (McKee 2013; Bjornskov 2010; Putnam 1993). While social trust covers the attitudes of people to each other and participation in civil and/or voluntary organizations, political trust measures the attitudes of the public towards political institutions (Zmerli and Newton 2008). Trust in state institutions is the key factor underpinning political stability in the country. It contributes to economic development and market economy, social integration, political reforms, and democratic stability and even to good health and longevity (Newton 2001). Increases in trust levels leads to increases in levels of democratic action (Lukatela 2007), while declining trust undermines liberal domestic policy ambitions (Chanley, Rudolph and Rahn 2000; Hetherington 2005; Hetherington and Globetti 2002; Rudolph and Evans 2005).

Politics-centered theory, concentrates on the performance of governments. It is self-evident and plausible that political and economic performance has direct effects on political trust, and good performance can guarantee support by citizens (Newton 2005). However, society-centered theory of political trust focuses on social capital. Social capital theory argues that (generalized) social trust plays a great role in maintaining good (stable and effective) governance. Especially, in cases of consolidated democracies, research has produced robust and statistically significant correlations between (generalized) social trust, on the one hand, and confidence in and satisfaction with (political) governance on the other (Zmerli and Newton 2008). Good governance, in turn, enhance the conditions in which both social and political trust flourish, enabling citizens to cooperate effectively in private and public affairs (Zmerli and Newton 2008, p. 707). In this way, a virtuous triangle of a) social trust, b) political performance and c) political trust/support may emerge and reinforce each other over

time. To summarize the theoretical trust literature, social and political trust dimensions are closely associated and mutually supportive (Sztompka 2000; Dekker and Uslaner 2001; O’Neill 2002; Uslaner 2002; Rothstein and Stolle 2003; Newton 2007). It means that social mistrust may dampen political trust in and support of governmental actors and institutions; vice versa poor performance of government can not only lead to a decline in political trust and support, but also have detrimental effects on social trust and cooperative behavior in society.

This study examines the political trust in Azerbaijan using the data from the survey Caucasus Barometer (CB) conducted by the Caucasus Research Resource Center (CRRCC) in 2012-2013. Two hypotheses – cultural and institutional – were tested. The study partially confirms the previous findings that national culture, as well as individual socialization (macro and micro-cultural theories) are the main determinants of trust in Azerbaijan. Meanwhile, government performance and individual evaluation (macro-and micro institutional theories) did not affect much on the trust in the country.

Ms. Hajar Huseynova is working as a Specialist on Institutional Planning and Assessment at the Office of Vice Rector for Academic Affairs and Strategy of ADA University. Prior to this position she worked as a Research Assistant at the Caspian Center for Energy and Environment at ADA University. In that position she independently conducted policy analysis on renewable energy and water-energy nexus in Azerbaijan in cooperation with Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS). Hajar has received her MA degree in International Relations and Diplomacy from ADA University and BA in International Relations from Baku Slavic University. Ms. Huseynova has also been a researcher in a project on political trust and social capital in Azerbaijan. Her research areas include trust, social capital and environmental issues in Azerbaijan and wider region.

Dr. Anar Valiyev is an Assistant Professor and Associate Vice Rector for Academic Affairs and Strategy at ADA University. He received his Bachelor’s degree in History from Baku State University (1999) and Master’s degree in History (2001) from the same university. From 2001 to 2003 he studied public policy at School of Public and Environmental Affairs at Indiana University in Bloomington, where he received his second master. In 2007 he successfully

defended his dissertation at School of Urban and Public Affairs from University of Louisville, KY. From 2007 to 2008 he was working as assistant professor at Faculty of Social Studies of Masaryk University in Brno, Czech Republic. Dr. Valiyev is the author of numerous peer-reviewed articles and encyclopedia entries. In 2008 he joined ADA University. His areas of expertise are public policy of post-Soviet republics; democracy and governance; urban development and planning.

Dr. Azer Babayev is Assistant Professor at ADA University. He has received his PhD in Social Sciences from University of Mannheim, Germany. He holds BA degree in International Relations and International Law from Baku State University and MA degree in History and Social Sciences from Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. Dr. Babayev's prizes and fellowships include Postdoctoral Fellowship from Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), doctoral stipend from Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), and master's stipend from German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) & Open Society Institute (OSI). Dr. Babayev's is also the author of several articles and book chapters. His research area includes democracy and political transition, conflict studies, Post-Soviet politics with focus on Belarus and South Caucasus countries.

Ms. Khalida Jafarova works as a Specialist at the Office of Vice Rector for Academic Affairs and Strategy of ADA University. Khalida has received her MA and BA in International Relations from Baku State University. Ms. Jafarova's interest area is educational management and quality assurance.

Nationalist Discourse as a Network: Analyzing the Structure and Dynamics of Nationalist Appeals in Georgian Print Media

Nino Abzianidze

The literature on civil conflict has been nearly consent about the argument that democratization can bear risks of violent conflict among actors who have stakes in this process. This is particularly true for newly emerged states with ethnically diverse populations because exactly in this setting they face the highly contested questions of what constitutes a nation, how are the rights of each ethnic group defined and to what extent are they included in political power. With the purpose of maximizing mass support in this contestation actors start

to appeal to the nationalist feelings of broader publics through the means of mass media. The democratization setting seems to create favorable conditions for “playing a nationalist card” due to the partial monopoly of media market by diverse actors, lack of journalistic professionalism and vague legal framework regulating media.

While nationalist discourse in the media has been identified as a crucial factor driving the causal chain from democratization to a civil conflict, little has been done for analyzing it in a systematic (quantitative) manner. Therefore, we lack the knowledge about the constellation of actors around this rhetoric; about the relationship between actors and categories of nationalism used in their discourse and about the dynamics of this rhetoric across the democratization period.

The present paper addresses this gap by proposing the innovative way of measuring the structure of the nationalist discourse in the media content using the method of Social Network Analysis (SNA). The main argument is that SNA (specifically, the measures of in/out-degree centrality and structural equivalence) can provide very useful tools for identifying the structure of the nationalist discourse and its dynamics. Questions addressed include: who are the central actors pursuing exclusionary nationalist discourse; who are the central actors towards whom this rhetoric is pursued; is there a certain kind of regularity in the discursive interaction between/among actors on the one hand and in the use of exclusionary categories by different actors on the other hand; how sharply the Us/Them divide is structured along ethnic lines and most importantly whether and how this structure of the discourse changes over the course of the democratization period. The study is based on the extensive quantitative semi-automated content analysis of the Georgian print media (1991-2013). The original code-book used in the analysis comprises a fine grained list of actors across all the case-relevant ethnic groups allowing for the detailed study of the structure and dynamics of the nationalist discourse during democratization in Georgia.

Since 2011, **Nino Abzianidze** has been working on her doctoral research, which looks at the extent of exclusionary nationalist discourse in the Georgian

print media over the democratization period (1991-2012). One of the main contributions of her thesis is the innovative methodological approach to the measurement of the nationalist discourse quantitatively. Namely, by applying the method of the Social Network Analysis (SNA) to the data collected using the quantitative content analysis she is able to discern the structure of the discourse and identify if and how this structure changes across different phases of democratization.

Session 4: Labour and gender perspective

Gender division of labour in Azerbaijani dual earner households: Some preliminary research

Lucy Wallwork

Since gaining independence in 1991, official female workforce participation in Azerbaijan has risen steeply in tandem with a sharp rise in divorce rates. Given such trends, research in the US and other industrialised democracies predicts a shift toward a more equal distribution of domestic chores within dual-earner households as women become more economically empowered; this has been attributed by some scholars to the presence of a bargaining model whereby a woman's rising value in the external job market interacts with the increasing social acceptance of divorce.

Using a combination of quantitative and qualitative data on the 'new professional women' of Baku, I explore here how far that trend can be applied to the social and economic shifts noted in post-Soviet Azerbaijan. I found no significant correlation between a female's earnings and the burden of household chores and found instead strong evidence of a persistent 'second shift' of domestic work assigned to those surveyed and interviewed in Baku.

The findings suggest significant reticence in Azerbaijan to challenge prevailing norms on the part of both men and women, and a limited shift in attitudes across generations. Notably, despite a perception shared by 47% of the women sampled that they are responsible for an "unfair proportion of household duties", there is minimal recognition of an uneven division of household labour as an obstacle to career progression. This appears to refute the Western second-wave feminist slogan of 'the personal is political', whereby issues in the private domain became broadly accepted as political issues worthy of investigation. The fact that this paradigm holds no sway here, and the apparent 'stickiness' of cultural attitudes toward 'male' and 'female' tasks, raises interesting questions over the state of play for gender politics in Azerbaijan today.

Originally from the United Kingdom and a graduate of Russian and Spanish

Languages and Cultures from Durham University, **Lucy Wallwork** is currently an international scholar on the Master in Public Policy program at Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy (ADA). Her recent research focuses on gender politics and shifting cultural attitudes in Azerbaijan and the wider region. Prior to this, she spent her early career at Berlin-based OpenOil, focusing on open data and the governance of oil revenues and ‘resource curse’ issues, and in political risk analysis on the post-Soviet region.

What’s in a name? Gender discrimination on Georgian labor market

Lela Chakhaia

A number of theories as well as empirical evidence suggest that employers often discriminate among job applicants by certain characteristics that are not related to their skills, experience or any other objectively measured criteria that might be relevant in the process of hiring. Gender of the applicant is one of such characteristics and a lot has been written about the discrimination that women face when applying for jobs, particularly in managing positions. Likewise, there has been significant body of research regarding the discrimination of certain ethnic groups that constitute minority in a given country. Establishing the level of discrimination, however, is not often easy. Being women, or being a migrant, or a representative of ethnic minority might be associated with having different academic and work experience and profile and it is therefore difficult to pinpoint to discrimination. That is why in this study we use experimental research design. In particular, we employ the so-called CV experiment method that has already been successfully used by many scholars. We devise exactly similar CVs manipulating only the name of applicants (man vs. woman, Georgian name vs. Armenian and Azeri name) and send to same employers who advertise vacancies on the most popular Georgian job search webpage: jobs.ge. We assess whether women applicants who have exactly same education, working experience and skills as men applicants, would get similar number of call-backs for their applications; and whether this varies by the type of job (managing position vs. subordinate position). Similarly, we assess if somebody with an Armenian or Azeri surname would be as successful getting job interviews as their Georgian counterparts with exactly similar background.

Lela Chakhaia is a doctoral researcher at the European University Institute in Florence. Her research interests include inequalities in educational attainment, social stratification and inequalities during post-communist transition, education policy reforms and their outcomes, social science research methods. She has previously worked for UNICEF, Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia, Ilia State University and other organizations. She has degrees from Harvard University, Central European University and Tbilisi State University.

Parallel Workshops

Methodological Approaches to Estimating Voter Fraud

Julie A. George

One observation about hybrid, or competitive authoritarian, regimes is that while elections occur, they do so in conditions where the result does not necessarily reflect the will of the people. The nature, mechanism, and regional saturation of electoral fraud can inform scholars about the nature of constituency and accountability in a polity.

This workshop considers how electoral fraud occurs during elections and examines the statistical processes commonly used to detect that fraud. Using Georgian national electoral outcomes in multiple elections, with examples taken from both national, regional, and municipal level vote tallies, this workshop will show participants the causal logic behind the mathematical algorithms, as well as how to interpret the statistical output. Finally, the workshop will end with a discussion about the limitations of the statistical methods, given other factors that affect voter freedom in postcommunist settings.

Julie A. George is an associate professor of Political Science at Queens College and the Graduate Center at the City University of New York. Her work addresses state building, democratization, and ethnic politics in postcommunist states. She is the author of *The Politics of Ethnic Separatism in Russia and Georgia* (Palgrave Macmillan 2010). Her work has also been published in academic journals such as *Electoral Politics*, *Current History*, *Europe-Asia Studies* and *Post-Soviet Affairs*, among others.”

Taking your data visualizations to the next level using Inkscape

Eric Barrett

In this workshop, Mr. Barrett will discuss how vector graphic software such as Inkscape (free and open source software) or Adobe Illustrator (paid software) can enable us to take our charts and graphs to the next level for the effective communication of our data. The participants will be working with Inkscape,

downloadable on Mac OS X, Windows, and Linux at <http://inkscape.org/>.

Eric Barrett hails from Houston, Texas and received his B.A. from Boston University in 2000. He has lived and studied in Russia and France, and moved to Georgia in 2005. He worked as Transparency International Georgia's Digital Organizer from 2008 - 2010 and joined the Open Maps Caucasus team in 2010. In 2012 Eric stepped up as Executive Director and transformed Open Maps Caucasus into what JumpStart Georgia is today - a Georgian-based non-profit that shines a light on the complex issues that affect our lives and communicates their importance in heartfelt stories people can understand. Eric currently sits on the board of JumpStart Georgia's a non-voting member and on the board of Iare Pekhit's Membership Association, a local pedestrians' rights organization. He lives in Tbilisi, Georgia with his wife and daughter and enjoys running and hiking Georgia's trails.