

**Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University  
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences**

**The 7<sup>th</sup> International Scientific Conference**

**“Space, Society, Politics – European Integration as a  
Catalyst for Development”**

**PROGRAM**

**and**

**ABSTRACTS**



**20 - 22 June, 2019**

**Tbilisi**

20-22 June, 2019

The 7<sup>th</sup> International Scientific Conference

**“Space, Society, Politics - European Integration as a Catalyst for Development”**

**Editors:** Tamar Dolbaia, Valerian Melikidze, Teona Mataradze, Salome Dundua

**Technical Group:** Teona Tabuashvili, Miranda Mikadze, Nino Abesadze, Jonas Lichterfeld

20-22 ივნისი, 2019

VII საერთაშორისო სამეცნიერო კონფერენცია

**“სივრცე, საზოგადოება, პოლიტიკა - ევროინტეგრაცია, როგორც განვითარების ფაქტორი”**

**სამეცნიერო რედაქტორები:**

თამარ დოლბაია, ვალერიან მელიქიძე, თეონა მატარაძე, სალომე დუნდუა

**ტექნიკური ჯგუფი:** თეონა თაბუაშვილი, მირანდა მიქაძე, ნინო აბესაძე, იონას ლიშტერფელდი

# PROGRAM

## 20 June, Thursday

Building I, room #107  
Chavchavadze Ave. #1

**09.30 - 10.00** Registration of conference participants

**10.00** Conference speeches and welcomes:  
Building I, room: #107

**Giorgi Sharvashidze** - Rector, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

**Tamar Dolbaia** - Dean, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

## **I Session (Working Language - English)**

Building I, room: #107

Chairpersons: **Alexandre Kukhianidze, Marek Pietra**

10.20 **Marek Pietra** - Prof. dr hab. Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Poland. *“European Union in an Environment of Two-Level Changes”*

10.40 **Boris Vuki evi** - Associate Professor, University of Montenegro, Montenegro. *“The Impact of European Integration on Montenegrin Politics and Society”*

11.00 **Alexandre Kukhianidze** – Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“The Problem of the Definition of Organized Crime”*

11.20 **Onur Kulac** – Assistant Professor, Pamukkale University, Turkey.  
*„Public E-Procurement Policy of Turkey within the Context of EU Integration“*

11.40 **Bulent Arpat** – Assistant Professor, Pamukkale University, Turkey. *“Turkey’s Integration to European Union in Terms of Occupational Health and Safety and Transformations in Work Life”*

12.00 **Jaba Urotadze** – Assistant Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Comparative Analysis of Working and Rest Time Regulations in Georgia and European Union”*

12.20 **Domenico Valenza** – PhD Candidate, United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies, Belgium. *“Projecting Ideal Selves: EU’s and Russia’s Competing Cultural Narratives in the Post-Soviet Space”*

12.40 **Kür at Güç** – Research Assistant, Ankara University, Turkey. *“Routinization of Conflict in Ukraine as a Security Dilemma”*

13.00 **B. Alper Torun** – Research Assistant, Ankara University, Turkey. *“Russian Counter Attack to European Integration in the Near Abroad: Frozen Conflict Strategy”*

**13.20 - 14.30 Lunch**

## II Session (Working Language - Georgian)

Building I, room: #107

Chairpersons: **Malkhaz Matsaberidze, Manana Shamilishvili**

14.30 **Malkhaz Matsaberidze** – Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Constituent Assembly of Georgia and Formation of Party System”*

14.50 **Revaz Gachechiladze** – Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, **Giorgi Robakidze** – PhD Candidate, Caucasus International University. *“European Integration: Goals and Reality (Comparing Central European, Baltic and the South Caucasus States)”*

15.10 **Valerian Melikidze**, Associate Professor, **Vladimer Chkhaidze**, Assistant Professor, **Salome Kobaidze**, PhD Candidate – Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Adoption of the Coastal Zone of the Black Sea in Georgia Based on the Principles of Blue Economy”*

15.30 **Manana Shamilishvili** - Associate Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *„A Caricature as a Mean of Visualization of the Nazi Editorial Policy and an Anti-Bolshevik Ideological Weapon”*

15.50 **Marina Burdzenidze**, Associate Professor, **Marina Kevkhashvili**, PhD Candidate - Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Transformation of Journalism in European Countries: Professional Journalists Views and Perceptions”*

16.10 **Nino Popiashvili** - Doctor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“The Post-Socialist Transformation of Mining Cities”*

16.30 **Natela Donadze**, Associate Professor, **Marekh Devidze**, PhD Candidate - Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Globalization and Traditions in Students’ Focus”*

## 21 June, Friday

### III Session (Working Language - English)

Building I, room: #107

Chairpersons: **Tengiz Verulava, Nikoloz Esitashvili**

10.00 **José G. Vargas-Hernández** - Research Professor, University of Guadalajara, Mexico. *“Critical Analysis on the Institutional Design of Democratic Decentralization in the Public Sphere and Urban Spaces of Local Governments”*

10.20 **Dogan Nadi Leblebici**, Professor, Hacettepe University, **Cenay Babaoglu**, Associate Professor, Nigde Omer Halisdemir University, Turkey - *“The Interaction Between Local Governments and NGOs in Disability Policy in Ankara”*

10.40 **Mariam Gersamia**, Professor, **Maia Toradze**, Associate Professor – Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Media Psychology: Challenges of Competence-Based Curricula and Employment”*

11.00 **Hubert Kotarski** – Assistant Professor, University of Rzeszow, Poland. *„Life and Professional Aspirations of Students as a Factor of European Integration in Poland and Ukraine, on the Example of Research into the Quality of Life in the City“*

11.20 **Magdalena Pokrzywa** – Assistant Professor, University of Rzeszow, Poland. *“Men and Women in the Social Assistance System in Poland”*

11.40 **Dorota Rynkowska** – Assistant Professor, University of Rzeszow, Poland. *“The Role of the Polish Red Cross as a Non-Governmental Organization in the Social Sector”*

12.00 **Nikoloz Esitashvili** – Visiting Professor, International School of Economics at Tbilisi State University. “*Exponential Capacity of Power and its Impact on Military Alliance Dynamics*”

12.20 **Tengiz Verulava** – Associate Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. “*Access to Medicines for Pension Age Population in Georgia*”

12.40 **Svetlana Akkieva** – Professor, Kabardin-Balkar Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia. “*The European Integration for the South Caucasus*”

**13.00 - 14.00 Lunch**

#### **IV Session (Working Language - Georgian)**

Building I, room: #101

Chairpersons: **Salome Dundua, Tamar Karaia**

09.20 **Giorgi Beridze** – PhD Candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. “*Electronic Propaganda of Ideological-Political Platforms in Modern Georgia (Internet Activities of Left-Wing Organizations)*”

09.40 **Elene Gelashvili** – PhD Candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. “*Salome Zurabishvili’s Inaugural Speech – New Messages in Georgian Politics*”

10.00 **Natia Zedginidze** – PhD Candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. “*The Importance of Codes of Professional Ethics in Public Moral Renewal and the Process of Legal State Building*”

10.20 **Lika Tetradze** - PhD Candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. “*Negative Narrative and Affect on Electoral Behavior*”

10.40 **Nino Maisuradze** - PhD Candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Electronic Propaganda of Ideological-Political Platforms in Modern Georgia (Ideological Profile of Internet Editions of Georgian National-Patriotic Direction)”*

11.00 **Inga Mikhanashvili** – Researcher, Institute of Political Sciences at Ilia State University. *“Issue of Minorities after the 2016 Parliamentary Elections Based on the Analysis of the Ombudsman’s Reports”*

11.20 **Lika Mukbaniani** – PhD Candidate, Georgian Technical University. *„Catch-all Policy of the Parties in Member and Non-Member Countries of European Union (on the Example of Sweden and Georgia)“*

11.40 **Tamar Orjonikidze** – PhD Candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“The Constituent Assembly of Georgia and Batumi Region”*

12.00 **Davit Sidamonidze**, PhD Candidate, **Nana Deisadze**, MA Student – Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“European Integration and Development of Georgian Land Transport”*

12.20 **Salome Kareli** – PhD Candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“How Do the EU and Georgia Defence Policies Respond to the New Face of the Conflict the "Hybrid War"?”*

12.40 **Mariana Kevkhishvili** – PhD Candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Lobbying in Georgia”*

**13.00 - 14.00 Lunch**



## V Session (Working Language - Georgian)

Building I, room: #101

Chairpersons: **Zviad Abashidze, Avtandil Tukvadze**

14.00 **Zviad Abashidze** – Associate Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Discourse on Ethnic Minorities and Civic Integration in Georgia during 1991-90: Analysis of Zviad Gamsakhurdia’s Official Speeches, Statements and Interviews”*

14.20 **Ala Bibilashvili** – Associate Researcher, Institute of Political Sciences at Ilia State University. *„The Role of Islam in Politicization of Religious Discourse in the Northern Caucasus“*

14.40 **Eka Darbaidze** – Doctor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Crisis of Democracy and a New Class in Georgia”*

15.00 **Valerian Dolidze** – Assistant Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“The Process of European Integration and Cycles of Political Development of Georgia”*

15.20 **Giorgi Kvinikadze** – Associate Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Geo-economic Landscape of the South Caucasus”*

15.40 **Vakhtang Maisaia**, Associate Professor, **Miranda Mikadze**, PhD Candidate – Caucasus International University. *“What is Hybrid Warfare and its Geostrategic Aspects (Fourth War Generation) – Cyber War Case-Study”*

16.00 **Giorgi Melikidze** – Doctor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Civil Society in Hybrid Regimes: The Challenges of Democratization in Georgia”*

16.20 **Avtandil Tukvadze**, Associate Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, **Irakli Ubilava**, Peoples' Friendship University

of Russia – *“The "Sovereign Democracy" - a Dynamic Model of Russian Democracy”*

16.40 **Tamar Karaia** – Assistant Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *“Peculiarities of Social Protest Formation in Georgia”*

## **22 June, Saturday**

**Tour for Foreign Guests:**

**Uplistsikhe - Gori - Mtskheta**

## **ABSTRACTS**



## **Marek Pietra**

Professor. dr hab.

Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Poland

### **European Union in an Environment of Two-Level Changes**

Nowadays, the functioning of the European Union as an institution, as a community of values and its integration process is conditioned by changes on two levels. On one hand, these are changes at the level of the international system and, on the other, at the internal level of member states. In the methodological sense, both are treated as independent variables, and the European Union's functioning is a dependent variable.

Firstly, for many years in the EU study on the conditions of globalization processes, growing international interdependencies, and a changing polarity of the global system, the main focus was on the independent variables functioning at the international system. Therefore, we speak of forces operating at the level of the international system that condition the EU and integration processes. These "forces" in so far research were given a dominant meaning, marginalizing the internal ones in the conditions of a shaped political consensus of the European Union as a community of liberal values and the nature of political systems of member states.

Nowadays, the main forces determining the functioning of the European Union at the level of the international system include: 1) climate change, 2) United States foreign policy and the transatlantic relations, 3) China's economic power and economic penetration processes.

Secondly, in the conditions of crisis in the Euro zone, but especially in the previously unknown migration pressure, processes of euroscepticism and populism are changing the preferred values and are creating challenges for both the liberal political order and for the political cohesion of the European Union and even some member states. Thus, a second, intra-state

level of independent variables, conditioning the functioning of the member states and integration processes appeared.

Therefore, the purpose of the presentation – on one hand – is to focus on ontology and to identify independent variables existing at both levels, conditioning the European Union and integration processes. On the other hand it is to focus on the epistemological analysis of the functioning of the European Union and the proposal of a research tool. A proposal is made to identify variables that condition the functioning of the European Union at the same time at the level of the international system and at the level of internal affairs of the Member States.

**Keywords:** European Union, levels of analysis, the level of the international system, the level of member states, euroscepticism, populism

## **Boris Vuki evi**

Associate Professor  
University of Montenegro, Montenegro

### **The Impact of European Integration on Montenegrin Politics and Society**

Montenegro is the smallest of all former Yugoslav republics, and the last to become independent, in 2006 (except for Kosovo, whose status is still a matter of dispute).

The European integration is an important topic on Montenegrin political scene, and, actually, it was an important topic in the discussions surrounding the referendum on independence in 2006. Ever since then, Montenegro is in the process of joining EU which is the most important goal of the country's foreign policy and probably the only one which is, at least nominally, adopted by all political parties.

Since Montenegro passed through tumultuous 1990s as a part of the internationally-isolated union with Serbia (led by Slobodan Milosevic at the time), while it was kept out of outright war, it still entered the new millennium economically, politically and culturally underdeveloped and far, not only from the EU-standards, but also from its own standings back in 1989.

European integration gave impetus to various reforms Montenegro has been passing through since (re)gaining independence. It can be regarded on different levels – as mentioned before, it marks a unifying goal in the still highly divided nation. It also helped many reforms in legislation in order to harmonize a mostly communist-era legal system with the EU legislation. It also helped political changes in a country that still has to oversee the democratic transfer of power (the ruling party, DPS, originates from the League of Communists). On that very field the impact of European integration is huge, but it remains also the most vulnerable point for Montenegro. The EU integration (as well as NATO accession) also aided in setting up stronger economic ties with the Western countries,

and the rise of Western investments and number of tourists from the EU visiting Montenegro (where tourism remains a very important source of income). This is contrary to the previous decade when Russian and Serbian tourists, as well as Russian, Turkish, Arab and Azerbaijani investments dominated.

The foreign policy of Montenegro also saw a shift, which led it away from its historic ally, Russia, and firmly into the Western orbit to an extent, that it is being labelled by detractors of its foreign policy as a satellite without a will of its own).

Overall, the impact of the European integration process on Montenegrin society and politics remains strong and is mostly beneficial for the country's interests and its future development.

The goal of this paper is to evaluate the role of European integration in Montenegrin politics and Montenegrin society as a whole, by analyzing available data and relevant papers on this matter.

**Keywords:** Montenegro, Western Balkans, European integration, post-communism, divided societies



## **Alexandre Kukhianidze**

Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **The Problem of the Definition of Organized Crime**

By nature, organized crime is a complex phenomenon and has legal, economic, psychological, social and political aspects. Consequently, organized crime requires an interdisciplinary approach. Despite the fact, that there are many criminological definitions of organized crime, the political science definition is absent of academic literature and the topic of organized crime in political science is less analyzed. At the same time, politicians (especially in weak democracies) are often involved in scandals, where politics, organized crime and corruption are overlapped.

On one hand, any influential mafia style organization seeks to be closely linked to politics and even penetrate into politics. On the other hand, politicians use organized crime for their purposes, for example to falsify elections. But that does not mean that we deal with politically motivated crime. The interest of the mafia style organized crime participation in politics is aimed only to ensure criminal business security and profit growth.

It is acknowledged in special literature on organized crime, that a crime can be committed by an organized group that has political and ideological motivation instead of profit. But such type of crime is not given the qualification of an organized crime, which is not logical and harmful in practical terms. For example, the Nuremberg process of 1945-46, have recognized the Nazi leaders as international criminals - not as the prisoners of war - and the Nazi organizations were recognized as criminal organizations.

The definition of organized crime is of theoretical and practical importance. On one hand, it defines the quality and direction of research, and on the other hand, security, prosecution, and investigation in a country. Usually, most definitions consider organized crime as profit

motivated criminal organizations such as the Sicilian Mafia, Ndrangetta, Camorra, Cacra Corona Unita, Triads, Yakuza, Mexican Cartels, Colombian Mafia, Outlaw Motorcycle Club “Hells Angels”, Institute of Thieves in Law, etc. As a result, politically motivated crimes, which are committed by leaders of radical and extremist political parties or terrorist organizations are not qualified as forms of organized crime, and in many cases it has practical consequences when the arrested politicians and terrorist activists position themselves not as criminals but as fighters for justice. In this presentation the author divides organized crime in two classes – professional organized crime and political organized crime. The first one represents the Mafia style profit oriented criminal activities and the second one – politically motivated crimes which are committed by leaders and members of political parties, states or terrorist organizations. An analytical review of different definitions of organized crime in academic publications and by international organizations is given in the presentation.

**Keywords:** definitions, politics, professional organized crime, political organized crime, mafia, political parties, state, terrorist organizations

## **Onur Kulac**

Assistant Professor  
Pamukkale University, Turkey

### **Public E-Procurement Policy of Turkey within the Context of EU Integration**

Public policy is a set of legal practices of the governments in an effort to offer effective solutions to addressed problems and social needs. Even though the public policy-making process is primarily the responsibility of the official policy actors in the countries, international actors generally have massive impact on the various national policies. The European Union (EU) is one of the prominent international organisations that play crucial roles in shaping the policies of member and candidate countries. Since Turkey has a long history of affairs with the EU, it is possible to observe the effects of the EU on the policies of Turkey. Regular progress reports for Turkey, which have been prepared since 1998, are the main indicators, that allow us to find out and analyse the determinations of the EU about the various policies of Turkey. Especially in the last two decades, Turkey carried out plenty of reforms with the aim of creating a functional public administration system. With the spread of globalisation, the expectations of citizens have risen, and innovation in the public sector has become mandatory in order to provide citizens with more accessible public services. In this context, Turkey launched its e-government gateway for the purpose of having a portal for e-government services both on central or local government services levels. Thanks to this, Turkish citizens have online access to numerous public services through the e-government portals of the various government bodies. Thus, it is ensured that the public services have become more practical, efficient and reliable. The public procurement policy of Turkey has become a significant part of public administration with the increase in the volume of public services. Moreover, public procurement is one of the essential chapters covered in regular progress reports. Turkey established the Electronic Public Procurement Platform in 2010, so as to maintain the integration with the EU and comply with the *acquis* on public procurement. By doing so, the

priority was given to e-procurement system and processes. The most important aim of this study is to examine the e-procurement policy of Turkey by analysing regular progress reports, national actions plans, the programme for alignment with acquis, and e-procurement regulations. The study reveals that although the public procurement policy of Turkey is not yet in line with the EU acquis, the progress in e-procurement practices has been promising from a number of aspects.

**Keywords:** E-Procurement, E-Government, public policy, EU integration

## **Bulent Arpat**

Assistant Professor  
Pamukkale University, Turkey

### **Turkey's Integration to European Union in Terms of Occupational Health and Safety and Transformations in Work Life**

In 2012, the Law No. 6331 Occupational Health and Safety Law entered into force in Turkey with the European Union directive no 89/391/EEC, dated 12.06.1989. Upon this development, ILO contracts, no. 155 and no. 161, were added to the Turkish employment legislation. Up until 2012, Turkey has had a compensation-based approach with regards to occupational health and safety. In this approach, Turkey is mostly behind the EU legislation and practices on the prevention of occupational accidents and diseases. The main characteristics of the new approach adopted with the Law No. 6331 are the establishment of continuous improvement and prevention policy, the participation of employees to management, and continuous training of employees and their representatives on determined issues. The most important part of the EU integration in occupational health and safety legislation is to have the employees covered. The legislation before 2012 had very little employee coverage. With Law No. 6331, people in different employee statuses are now included in the legislation's scope regarding occupational accidents and diseases. The most important feature of the new period, which started with the entry into force of Law No. 6331, is that it has implemented a country policy supported by social parties and other stakeholders. The workplaces were classified during this period into "less dangerous", "dangerous", and "very dangerous" in accordance with NACE1; and employer responsibilities were determined in increasing levels according to this classification. The most important element of the preventive approach in the new period is the obligation for "Risk Assessment". Risk assessment can be defined as determining the risks in the working environment and make the threats, that employees may face, known in

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<sup>1</sup> Nomenclature générale des Activités économiques dans les Communautés Européennes

advance. The aim is to prevent occupational accidents and diseases before they occur.

The weakest group with regards to occupational health and safety are subcontracted workers. It is known that a great number of work accidents originating from the lack of coordination between the sub-employer and the principal employer are recorded. Law No. 6331 guarantees the coordination of the sub-employer and the principal employer by introducing healthy conditions. Ensuring integration to the EU in occupational health and safety legislation in Turkey also brings new improvements in working life. While dependent employees are not able to effectively exercise their right to work, because the subcontracting method is a pervasive employment model, the regulation in 2018 put about one million subcontractors working in the public sector into the permanent status. In all sectors, new maternity leave and wage rights for working women have been put into effect. Pensioners' economic rights have been improved by giving them two bonuses each year. In the resolutions currently discussed in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, improvements in the personal rights of many public employees are addressed. Turkey addressing the occupational health and safety regulations with the aim of integration into the EU has opened the doors to many substantial improvements in working life that are revolutionary.

This study aims to evaluate the new working life rights that were introduced with the integration of occupational health and safety into the EU and continued with the domino effect within the context of the EU acquis. In the study, the transformation of working life starting with Law No. 6331 until today will be discussed with all its phases. This study highlights the essential effects of Turkey's integration efforts to the EU on the improvement in working life.

**Keywords:** occupational health and safety (OHS), transformation of working life, EU integration in OHS

## **Jaba Urotadze**

Assistant professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **Comparative Analysis of Working and Rest Time Regulations in Georgia and European Union**

In 2014, the “Association Agreement” was signed between the European Union and Georgia, which aims at deepening political and economic relations between the parties. According to the Agreement, Georgia will approximate its legislation with EU law in different spheres, including decent working conditions. The “Association Agreement” has annexes, where there is a list of EU legal acts and Georgia has to gradually harmonize its legislation with these acts.

The Labour Code of Georgia regulates labour and its concomitant relations in the territory of Georgia, unless they are otherwise governed by other special law (e.g. Public Service Law) or international agreements of Georgia. In 2006, within the frame of liberal social-economic policies, a new Labour Code was adopted, which significantly worsened the labour rights of employees. The process of elaboration of labour legislation should not be conducted only according to the wish to alleviate burden on business and ignore minimal safety and health requirements at work – this is against European values. In June 2013, significant amendments to the Labour Code were made, after which the labour relations between employer and employee became more balanced. Although, in order to approximate Georgian labour law with EU standards, there still are some legislative amendments to be made.

In the research, special attention is paid to one of the central aspects of labour law – working and rest time. In Georgia, the upper limit of weekly working time (including overtime) is much higher than in EU member states; the employer is not obliged to ensure that, per each seven-day period, every worker is entitled to a minimum uninterrupted rest period of 24 hours; in relation to working and rest time, there are other discrepancies with EU standards.

According to article 26 of the Constitution of Georgia, the right to safe working conditions and other labour rights shall be protected by the organic law; it is also mentioned that the freedom of enterprise shall be guaranteed. Therefore, it is important to keep an adequate balance between these two constitutional rights: the law governing labour rights should not impose an unbearable burden on the employer, which will hinder economic development and job creation; in the meantime, the government should ensure that the labour law will provide protection of health and safety at work according to the EU standards.

In the research:

- a) EU Directives given in the “Association Agreement” and related to organization of working and rest time are studied;
- b) Several EU member states’ experience on transposition of relevant directives are studied;
- c) Comparative analysis of above mentioned legislation with Georgian labour law is conducted and recommendations are given to amend Georgian legislation on working and rest time.

**Keywords:** working time, rest time, leave, labour rights, Association Agreement.



**Domenico Valenza**

PhD Candidate

United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional  
Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS), Belgium

**Projecting Ideal Selves: EU's and Russia's Competing Cultural  
Narratives in the Post-Soviet Space**

This article attempts to analyse the European Union's (EU) and Russia's cultural diplomacy in the post-Soviet space (Eastern neighbourhood and Central Asia) and in particular their cultural narratives in the region. At the EU policy level, awareness of the role of cultural relations has risen sharply in the past decade, and in 2016 a more precise European approach to the role of culture in external relations was issued for the first time in a joint communication by the European Commission and the High Representative (EC and EEAS, 2016). In the Eastern Neighbourhood cultural relations have been an integral part of bilateral and multilateral agendas, and the EU has developed a sound experience in supporting the cultural sector. As the other key regional player, Russia's soft power rationale arose in the aftermath of the colour revolutions in order to counter western activities and enhance Moscow's image. This quest for attraction resulted in a number of policy initiatives and in the creation of a number of public and mixed agencies dealing with cultural goals.

To analyse EU's and Russia's cultural narratives it is proposed to apply Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory and methodologies (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) to a selection of key legal and policy documents from European and Russian key institutions and agencies, together with political declarations released in pan-European and Russian media.

Overall, this study hypothesises that the EU and Russia promote two contrasting approaches to cultural diplomacy in the region. Whereas the EU seeks co-creation and mutuality and targets the civil society sector, Russia displays a nexus of culture and security and the broader idea that cultural difference leads to conflict. Somewhat close to Huntington's analyses (1997), to ensure its national security Russia portrays itself as 'doomed' to lead and reshape its neighbourhood through its culture and

spiritual values. Similarities nevertheless appear when it comes to the way 'others' are depicted: in both actors' narratives, civil society and broader foreign people are not synonymous with the best-representative sample of post-Soviet populations, but rather a cherry-picked selection of those forces and grouping that uphold European or Russian (and Eurasian) values.

**Keywords:** cultural diplomacy, cultural relations, European Union, Russia, post-soviet space, eastern neighbourhood

## **Kür at Güç**

Research Assistant, PhD Candidate  
Ankara University, Turkey

### **Routinization of Conflict in Ukraine as a Security Dilemma**

The conflict in Ukraine left behind its fifth year. The clashes that caused the deaths of thousands of people and hundreds of thousands of internally displaced people are the sources of the political and humanitarian crises in Eastern Europe and the Black Sea. Although the conflict situation and territorial instability in Ukraine may seem like a major security problem for the country, the Ukrainian political decision-makers are also benefiting from the impasse of the problem. Because Ukraine uses Russia's so-called intervention in conflicts to obtain the support of the West. Thus, it is thought that the conflict would cause the West, especially Europe, to embrace and support Ukraine against the aggression of Russia. Thus, with the support of the West, Ukraine will prevent the entire country from entering the sphere of influence of Russia. Ukraine, which wants to use the image of the “expansionist and aggressive Russia”, which is created by the routine conflict, in the negotiation processes with the West, is about to disregard a part of the country and guarantee the rest. But this situation has been shaking the process of entering the European Union, which Ukraine has been looking for a long time. The European Union does not want to include a country which has lost control in a certain part of its borders and whose territorial integrity is unclear and there is a possibility of a hot conflict at any time. Therefore, the political uncertainty and conflict in both the Donbass region and the Crimea, on the one hand, will provide Kiev with external support and partial security, while at the same time deeply shaking the European integration process, which will provide full security. This is a paradoxical conclusion for the security of Ukraine.

**Keywords:** Ukraine, routinization, conflict, security dilemma, Russia, EU Integration

## **B. Alper Torun**

Research Assistant, PhD Candidate  
Ankara University, Turkey

### **Russian Counter Attack to European Integration in the Near Abroad: Frozen Conflict Strategy**

In the mid-2000s, the European Union (EU) enlargement strategy has become the key element in the EU foreign policy. The EU reached out to post-Soviet states to promote democracy and provide integration and security. In this respect, the EU has both supported the democratic and economic development of these states and also tried to ensure to construct an area where the stability and regional security had been provided. Within this scope, in 2004, EU Commission launched the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), toward 16 partner states, and, in 2009, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan and, Georgia became the members of the Eastern Partnership. In post-Soviet space, the most prominent obstacle to EU's integration policies is the Russian security policy toward its 'near abroad'. Moscow, which defines the post-Soviet space as the 'sphere of influence' by declaring the Near Abroad Doctrine in 1993, is pursuing a foreign policy to prevent the western effects on the region. The most effective tool of Russian Federation to prevent the EU integration of these states, which are on an important route for energy transfer from Central Asia and Caspian Basin to Europe, is to exacerbate the ethnic-based conflicts within these states. These conflicts, defined as Frozen, pose an important obstacle to EU integration, in terms of security, while undermining the economic and democratic development of the region states. Georgia's relations with the EU began officially in 1992 but reached its highest level with the participation in the Eastern Partnership Program established in 2009, as mentioned earlier. The unilateral independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia in Georgia, defined as separatist zones since independence, is seen as an important problem for Georgia's EU integration. In this framework, first of all, the concept of frozen conflicts as an obstacle to European integration will be analysed and tried to specify the determinants of this concept, and subsequently it

will be evaluated how the frozen conflicts were instrumentalized by the Russian Federation as a counter-move against European integration over the South Ossetia and Abkhazia cases.

**Keywords:** Frozen Conflict, European Integration, Russian Federation, Near Abroad, Security

## **Malkhaz Matsaberidze**

Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **Constituent Assembly of Georgia and Formation of Party System <sup>1</sup>**

By the time of the declaration of independence (May 26, 1918), different political parties and groups, formed in the Russian Empire functioned in Georgia. After the formation of an independent state, locally based parties were supposed to form the basis for the party system in the country, while others were forced to disappear from the political arena. The real influence of the parties should have been proved through elections of the Constituent Assembly. Those elections were held on February 14-16, 1919.

15 political units participated in the elections. They can be divided into four groups:

- Political parties and their breakaway parts – 7 units;
- Political groups created by the Georgian intelligentsia – 3 units;
- Political associations of ethnic minorities – 3 (4) units;
- Foreign political parties – 2 units.

Political parties, which were created by intelligentsia hurriedly, on the eve of elections (Union of non-party members, Shota Rustaveli Party, Aesthetic League of Patriots) did not win the support of the electorate and no single deputy of the Constituent Assembly was elected from these parties. Representatives of the political units of national minorities (National Council of the Muslims of Georgia, Union of Muslims of Borchalo district, Democratic Group of Georgian Greeks, National Party of Abkhazians) ended the elections with the same result. From the foreign parties, Revolutionary Federation “Dashnaksjutjun” won three seats in

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<sup>1</sup> The paper was prepared in the framework of the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation project “Constituent Assemble of Georgia: Experience of the Georgian parliamentarism”, Code: FR – 18 – 20157.

the Assembly; Social-Democratic Party of Russia did not collect enough votes.

As for the first group of parties in our classification, initially 4 out of the 7 units won the elections, later on, 6 units were represented in the Assembly. The composition of parties in the Constituent Assembly looked as follows:

| Political parties                           | Main elections<br>-<br>February 1919 | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>additional<br>elections –<br>August<br>1919 | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>additional<br>elections –<br>May 1920 |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| Social-Democratic<br>Party of Georgia       | 109                                  | 105  | 102  |
| National-Democratic<br>Party of Georgia     | 8                                    | 7  | 8  |
| Socialist-Revolutionary<br>Party of Georgia | 5                                    | 5  | 6  |
| Socialist-Federalist<br>Party of Georgia    | 8                                    | 9  | 9  |
| “Dashnaktsjutjun”                           | -                                    | 3  | 3  |
| National Party of<br>Georgia                | -                                    | 1  | 2  |

The elections of the Constituent Assembly and two years of its activities revealed some trends in the development of the Georgian political spectrum, in particular, a domination of the leftist political parties (they had 122 and, later on, 120 seats out of 130 in the Assembly), a weakening of the Social-Democratic Party (the number of deputies decreased from

109 to 92), a formation of the radical leftist wing (“Akhali skhivi” group) by 1921, and a unification of the Right political forces (formation of the “Democratic Party”).

The party composition of the Constituent Assembly by February 11, 1921, looked as follows:

| Party   | Seats in the Constituent Assembly |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Social-Democratic Labor Party of Georgia            | 92                                |
| Independent Social-Democratic faction “Skhivi”      | 10                                |
| Democratic fiction (union of non-socialist parties) | 10                                |
| Socialist-Federalists                               | 9                                 |
| Socialist-Revolutionaries                           | 6                                 |
| “Dashnaktsjutjun”                                   | 3                                 |

In the Autumn of 1921 elections of the Parliament of Georgia should have been held on the basis of the Constitution of 1921, however, the Soviet occupation led to dramatic changes in the development of the country.

**Keywords:** The founding Council of Georgia; Party System; Elections; Electoral Subjects; Party Spectre;



## **Revaz Gachechiladze**

Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

## **George Robakidze**

PhD Candidate

Caucasus International University

### **European Integration: Goals and Reality (Comparing Central European, Baltic and the South Caucasus States)**

The predecessor of the European Union – European Economic Community (EEC) – was established as an economic alliance of western (later -- southern) European states. The EU, which came into being in 1993, appeared to become an example of the most successful economic integration case in history, which brought welfare and secured peace to the western part of the European continent.

After the collapse of the USSR, the example of European integration turned out to be attractive for the former communist states of central and eastern parts of Europe.

The core of the European Union – its founding members – agreed to accept new members from Central and Eastern Europe. Ten countries – Cyprus, Malta, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia joined the EU in 2004, Bulgaria and Romania - in 2007 and Croatia - in 2013. Thus, the total number of EU member states reached 28.

For all these countries, the membership in the EU turned out to be very beneficial. Multiparty democracy has strengthened and economic development accelerated.

In 2004, the total GDP of the former Communist countries of Central Europe, better known as "Visegrad four" (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary) amounted to \$521.7 billions, while in 2017 to

\$975,07 billions, in other words, after joining the EU, the total sum of the GDP of these countries increased by 86,9%.

After restoring the independence (September 1991) the three Baltic states – Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which were forcibly included by Moscow in the Soviet Union in 1940, had undergone a fast process of re-westernisation and they joined the European Union in 2004. Their total GDP grew by 111% in 2004-2017.

Meanwhile the EU has focused its attention further eastwards to the former Soviet republics. In 2009 for six of them (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine) the Eastern Partnership (EaP) programme had been established as a specific Eastern dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). This programme is still ongoing.

Unlike the Central European and Baltic states, where a common pro-western public opinion existed and the efforts of the political elites were directed towards European integration, in the three states of the South Caucasus no similar spirit of solidarity is to be felt. Their foreign policy is also affected by factors outside of the region. E.g. prior to September 2013, Georgia and Armenia worked in parallel to achieve a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) with the EU, which is an initial step on their way to the European integration. But Moscow has forced Armenia to abandon this policy in 2013. As for Azerbaijan, it was from the beginning rather sceptical about the EU integration process.

The incompatibility of foreign policy vectors and unresolved conflicts hinder the South Caucasus to be presented in the world as a single region that, in its turn, hampers the process of its integration with the European Union.

**Keywords:** South Caucasus, Central Europe, Baltic States, European Integration, Eastern Partnership, Association Agreement

**Valerian Melikidze**

Associate Professor

**Vladimer Chkhaidze**

Assistant Professor

**Salome Kobaidze**

PhD Candidate

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State university

### **Adoption of the Coastal Zone of the Black Sea in Georgia Based on the Principles of Blue Economy**

One of the most important resources for the sustainable development of Georgian economy is the coastal zone of the Black Sea which has to be developed under the principles of blue economy. The term of blue economy is a new concept for Georgia which is oriented to the sustainable development representing the extension of the concept of green economy in the water areas of the seas and oceans. Blue economy emphasizes on the rational utilization of the existent resources and maintaining the sustainability of the specific eco-system. The priorities of blue economy are: Fishing industry, Aquaculture, Fishery resources, Marine and coastal tourism and the sea transportation.

The objective of the given work is to evaluate and assess the natural and resource-related potential of the Black Sea coastal zone in Georgia, explore the biodiversity and estimate its current level of economic development based on the principles of the blue economy.

The presented work is current and important as, on the one hand, it is preconditioned by understanding and implementing the principles of blue economy which is nominated as priority in the economic agenda of the European Union and, on the other hand, it defines and explores the capacity and potential of the development of this concept in the coastal zone of the Black Sea in Georgia as a whole and at the level of the municipalities of Zugdidi, Lanchkhuti, Khobi, Poti, Ozurgeti, Kobuleti, Batumi and Khelvachauri. The development of the coastal zone of

Georgia according to the principles of the blue economy has to become an integral part of the social and economic politics of Georgia.

The work researches the capacity of nature and the potential of resources on the coastal zone of the Black Sea in Georgia, it also concentrates on the marine and land biodiversity. Moreover, it assesses the existent conditions of economic development and the prospects for the future implementation. The paper focuses on the major economic activities realized in the coastal regions. The four leading sectors operating in the coastal zone of the Black Sea in Georgia are: Private sector, Public, Non-Governmental Organizations and educational/expert and their knowledge and awareness to share their competence and preparedness to implement the principles of the blue economy are assessed and explored.

The research incorporates several methodical combinations. On the first stage of researching the relevant scientific literature is reviewed. Statistical data of the National Statistics Office of Georgia are analyzed, the database of the entrepreneurs is learnt and the investigations of the bordering countries of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean are elaborated. On the basis of the analysis of the secondary data the questionnaire of the empirical research is structured and afore-mentioned four target groups are stood out. In the process of research, the awareness regarding the blue economy and related realized activities and future perspectives are salient. The semi-structured interviews used on the first stage served to find the competent interviewees in the field of blue economy to then hold in-depth interviews respectively.

**Keywords:** Blue economy, Biodiversity, Protected Areas, Natural resources, Marine litter, Economics, Coastal zone, Integrated coastal zone management.

## **Manana Shamilishvili**

Associate Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **A Caricature as a Mean of Visualization of the Nazi Editorial Policy and an Anti-Bolshevik Ideological Weapon**

Our presentation for the conference deals with a topical issue. It focuses on the importance of the political caricature and its propagandistic function. A caricature plays a major role in informing the public and understanding topical socio-political problems critically. The ideological-political intensions of satirical drawings emotionally illustrate an image of a particular epoch. This form of self-expression is an effective weapon for an author to expose shortcomings of their time. It almost acquired a function of a documentary source in the totalitarian governance, when through a visual message it was possible to say anything symbolically, sarcastically or sometimes enigmatically what was prohibited and punishable.

The sarcastic language acquired a special meaning during the Second World War when an artist who was critical to the Soviet system gave it a function of an effective weapon of a denunciator and fighter against it. This is clearly demonstrated by the cases of detainees charged with anti-soviet activities during the Second World War and the following period. We have studied them within the grant project “Bolshevism and Georgian Literature since the Beginning of the Second World War until the CPUS 20th Conference (1941-1956)” financed by Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation.

Based on the materials found in the Archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia, we present the newspaper activities of those Georgian cartoonists, who fought on the side of Nazi Germany in order to free Georgia from the Bolsheviks. With the efforts of Georgian publicists and legionnaires gathered around the Nazi newspaper “Georgia” published in Berlin, the Anti-Stalin Campaign was widely disseminated aiming to free the homeland from the Bolshevik tyranny with the help of Nazi Germany.

In the paper we present the exposing style of Georgian cartoonists on the basis of the analysis of the samples published in the newspaper “Georgia”. Despite the apologia of German Nazism, the visual material adapted to the editorial policy hid the idea of fighting for the independence of the homeland. In those propagandistic messages declared as visual narratives, the brutality of the Stalinist regime and the wish to fight against it were clearly seen.

We have used “Four Theories of the Press” by famous American media researchers Fred. S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, Wilbur Schramm, as well as William Hachten’s revolutionary concept of the press as a theoretical framework of the research. We have chosen the connotational semiotic analysis as a research method. In this way, the purpose of the use of the non-verbal semiotic system is better illustrated that aims to strengthen the messages delivered through the verbal code. In the end, reading the allegorical truth of the caricatures using this methodology, enables us to clearly show the picture of the epoch and to expose the violent attitudes of the Soviet regime.

**Keywords:** caricature, the Nazi newspaper “Georgia”, Bolshevism, Anti-Stalin campaign

**Marina Burdzenidze**

Associate Professor

**Marina Kevkhishvili**

PhD Candidate

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

**The Transformation of Journalism in European Countries:  
Professional Journalists Views and Perceptions**

This conference paper discusses the views, opinions and perceptions of professional journalists on the current transformation in journalism in Europe. It covers the global understanding of the state of journalism in terms of economic and political influences and changes.

Our work is grounded on the data of international comparative research, conducted in 2012-2016 in 67 countries in order to study the state of journalism worldwide. This research was carried out within the framework of the project the "Worlds of Journalism Study". It systematically examines the field of journalism through comparative research, in order to explain the state of journalism globally. The project is a platform for the exchange of data, knowledge and experience, which offers an analysis of different ways of how journalists perceive their duties at their work.

In the frame of the project, more than 27,500 journalists were interviewed on a common methodological basis. The selection method was determined by stratified systematic sampling. According to the survey data, professional journalists' views are described by their profession and activities, the role of journalism in society, journalism ethics, journalistic autonomy, the trust in public institutions, the transformation of journalism and other issues.

In the proposed paper, we have focused specifically on the transformation and impacts of journalism in European countries. Consequently, the study of the issue has been made on the analysis of the data collected for the international comparative research. We have provided a secondary

analysis of the data, by taking into account the analysis of the research in the perceived transition and the influences of European journalists. We present a re-analysis of the quantitative data at the aggregated level, regarding professional orientations of European journalists. Our analysis has included a sample of 18 countries of Western Europe and 12 countries of Eastern Europe.

The results have been reflected on the similarities and differences that were revealed during the analysis of the data. This, in return, allows us to think in a new way to see the challenges and difficulties, that journalists face today around the world in fulfilling their obligations.

The majority of the respondents pointed out, that the development and strengthening of the influences, that have resulted in changes, are connected with profit, advertising views, social media, etc. The effect of enhanced influence has not encountered on journalism education only, on the contrary, according to this parameter the influence has weakened. Interestingly, European journalists beliefs about technical skills and the use of search engines have changed over the last five years. The relationship between the audience and journalists in a news work is considered to be a major challenge for current journalism.

The analysis of secondary data of the project the “Worlds of Journalism Study” will help us to understand the transition of journalism through the views of European professional journalists better. The research suggests the differences, that refer to peculiarities of national journalistic cultures. The research data shows the existence of certain similarities between journalism cultures across the globe, but the significant differences also persist, owing to a variety of political, economic, cultural, technological and historical factors (Hanusch and Hanitzsch 2017).

**Keywords:** the worlds of journalism study, transformation of journalism, influences, comparative analysis, secondary analysis of the data.



**Nino Popiashvili**

Doctor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

**Literary Text as a Space in the Context of Interculturality and Migration Processes**

The theory of interculturality includes the fields of politics, economics, education, as well as science, among them questions of sociology, art, and literature. It reflects the relations, influences and identities of different cultures. Interculturality can represent the peaceful coexistence of cultures, as well as conflicts and the fixation of cultural differences.

In the context of globalization and migration processes, intercultural relations have become particularly intense. Cultural differences, along with cultural diversity, create an important intercultural unity, which is expressed in various areas.

The literary text, as a space, reflects those important processes that are taking place at the global and local levels around the author. Intercultural literature as a phenomenon had existed for centuries, but over the past decades, this trend has acquired a special purpose. Intercultural literature represents literary texts, whose authors write under the influence of several cultures. The same term also refers to the synthesis of cultures and its representation in the literary text.

The study of interculturality is one of the most important and key issues of modern science. From this point of view, one should mention the views on the interculturality of the German scholar of Hungarian origin Csaba Földes and the German-Iranian philosopher and cultural researcher Hamid Reza Yousefi. In particular, culture is defined as a program, which together with identity is one of the main actors.

Interculturality is analyzed as a reaction and result of globalization and changes in the electronic era. The issue of culture is considered as an

example; the problem of the existence of common culture in connection of their own culture and a foreign culture. The study of interculturality marks out both the issue of the existence of universal values, which are based on common values, and cultural differences, unacceptability of cultures, which create conflicts and confrontation.

In the report we will discuss the representation of interculturality and migration processes in literary texts. We will consider the migration experience of modern Georgian authors according to literary works.

**Keywords:** the theory of interculturality, globalization, migration, literary text

**Natela Donadze**

Associate Professor

**Marekh Devidze**

PhD Candidate

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **Globalization and Traditions in the Students' Focus**

The major objective of our report is to show the influence of globalization on traditions in students' focus.

There are different sources to gain knowledge about the social reality, but only on the basis of a sociological (or social) research, it is possible to get scientific knowledge adequate to it, hence it is a profound approach to a problem, which is an issue under study.

For this purpose, we conducted sociological research in the autumn of 2010 and in the winter of 2019.

Our target groups were the students of Tbilisi State University. We have considered it reasonable to show students' – the most active and progressive social agents' – attitudes towards the impact of globalization on the Georgian culture, especially the traditions, also to analyze their estimations and opinions of this influence.

In the XXI century globalization is changing both the being and consciousness of people, especially of students. For them there are vast possibilities of self-realization and self-assertion of developing a new personality, appropriate to a new, informational society.

As a consequence of globalization, the human being perceives himself/herself not only as a member of his/her social environment, social groups, social community and society, but also as a part of the whole world.

Modern Georgia is gradually and successively integrating in the worlds global processes. Globalization causes changes on different levels of our

society. Especially the Georgian culture, on the whole, and its components - values, norms of behaviour, traditions, customs, opinions, language, etc., - are influenced by globalization, by local and global processes and shifts.

In the report we focus on the impact of globalization on the Georgian traditions, which secure the functioning and developing of the society.

As the investigations have shown, different factors influence the interviewed students' understanding and awareness of modern Georgian traditions and the impact of globalization on them. It's natural that the students, as independent individuals and personalities with diverse values, a value hierarchy and a value system, differently interpret one and the same social fact, phenomenon and process.

The representatives of students, our target group, have cognitive and estimation attitudes towards the traditions, which are handed down from generation to generation. Traditions are components of culture, of social norms, that are socially required and accepted rules for behaviour in a particular situation. Norms determine the life style and order of people, their needs and standards of action. In the process of socialization individuals learn norms of their social groups, culture and society, and are costumed to them.

As to traditions, elements of culture, they are a "social heritage" of a society.

The majority of the interviewed students expresses their respect and love of the Georgian traditions. They mark that the traditions are very significant for the identity of the nation. According to them it is necessary to maintain the traditions that don't contradict democratic principles and liberal values which are widespread all over the world.

Some of the students show positive but different ideas. They are ready to accept new traditions respective to our society, though they consider that an alternation of traditions will take a lot of time, and take place over generations.

It's notable, that some students underline their resistance to cultural changes. They have constant fear and anxiety that the Georgian traditions will lose their originality and unique characteristics and will vanish. The process of traditions' change will be dangerous for Georgia. This will cause a loss of Georgian identity. These students think that globalization is a real menace for Georgia. Only a very small part of the interviewed students think that traditions restrict, limit the freedom of people, especially the young generation, keeping them within concrete bounds. According to them, a blind worship for traditions provokes hampering of society development.

As we have seen students have different attitudes towards the impact of globalization on the traditions. This is a result of their diverse life experience, interests, tastes, different information, identities, values, education, culture, background, etc. Therefore, they show various understandings, meanings, opinions, attitudes and estimations.

Almost all students consider, that the social processes and changes occurring in modern Georgia are connected with globalization, that becomes a basis of democratization and liberation of students' values interest and opinions.

**Keywords:** globalization, tradition, attitudes, students

**José G. Vargas-Hernández**

Research Professor

University of Guadalajara, Mexico

**Critical Analysis on the Institutional Design of Democratic  
Decentralization in the Public Sphere and Urban Spaces of Local  
Governments**

The purpose of this paper is to conduct a critical analysis based on the institutional design of the democratic processes of the public sphere and urban spaces in the empowerment of local governments. The approach consists of a theoretical construction after reviewing some important developments in the issues of the roles of the state, economy, civil society and the media on the decentralization processes of empowerment of local governments in their public spheres and urban spaces. This critical analysis is sustained on the political ideology, macro institutional design, political leadership and authority, developed by the New Left's theoretical approach. With this critical analysis, it is pretended to further develop the ongoing debate of the democratic decentralization and the implications of the roles of state, the economy, civil society and the media on the public sphere and urban spaces in the empowerment of local governments.

Democratic deliberation analysis requires to understand the social and cultural dimensions of political contestation in new democratic spaces. New democratic spaces for political deliberation, not always rational, were more sites dedicated to manifest plural expressions of political activism and construction of alliances. Contestation is the core issue of democratic conduct that enables differences of political actors to surface rather than be suppressed. Urban democracy can be expressed as urban scale in democracy in cities through more radical democratic practices as creating a more democratic society under a neo-liberal agenda. Democratic decision-making in urban localities, as a right of the city, must contribute to the production of urban space, clearly differentiating from democratic enfranchisement in liberal democracies of the state.

Local neighborhood control over local urban spaces for those that inhabit and make decisions over their future, are more democratic than the control exerted by the city authorities which may not result in democratic outcomes.

Art expressions in urban spaces may contribute to make a more democratic city, as the urban places and town squares in ancient Athens used to be, where the theater and other art expressions were performed. One important difference between modernism and postmodernism urban spaces should be how to abandon antidemocratic local settings to build more democratic and social green areas where people can meet and have more freedom to express themselves and get more involved in democratic deliberation for decision making processes.

**Keywords:** democratic decentralization, institutional design, local government, public sphere, urban public spaces

**Dogan Nadi Leblebici**

Professor

Hacettepe University, Turkey

**Cenay Babaoglu**

Associate Professor

Nigde Omer Halisdemir University, Turkey

### **The Interaction Between Local Governments and NGOs in Disability Policy in Ankara**

There are many important factors encouraging the non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) participation in the generation and implementation of public policies, especially of disability policies. Many countries and organizations such as the European Union (EU), the United Nations (UN) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) are trying to ensure a more effective and extensive participation of civil society actors in disability policies, as compared to other policy areas. The case in Turkey is also quite similar to those. Moreover, both international and national legislations support the effective and extensive participation processes in the area of disability policies in Turkey. Participation platforms for people with disabilities are developed by adopting the approach of transforming urban spaces into livable places for citizens with disabilities. And it can only be possible with the participation of people with disabilities in political, social and economic life. Non-governmental disability organizations try to be more effective on political pressure groups for issues of disability policies, especially on a local level.

The aim of this study is primarily to examine the influence of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) on disability policies of the government in urban areas. Theoretical discussions have shown that public policies are generated by the participation of various actors within the society. Disability policies are also generated and implemented by these actors including NGOs. In this study, an urban area, the Ankara province, was selected to evaluate the influence of NGOs which are in the



interest of disability issues on the generation and implementation of disability policy. Their involvement was examined within the legal and institutional context of participation mechanisms. The study aims at examining the policy participation in disability issues and it analyses the attitudes of actors towards public policy generation processes. In this context, interviews were conducted with urban administrators, and NGO managers who have disabilities. The findings showed that NGOs have certain problems of participation in disability policies. This study proposed a better participation model for NGOs in the generation and implementation of disability policy.

**Keywords:** disability policy, civil society, NGO, participation, public policy analysis, engagement

**Mariam Gersamia**

Professor

**Maia Toradze**

Associate Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **Media Psychology: Challenges of Competence-Based Curricula and Employment**

The purpose of this research is to identify the core competencies for media psychology curricula and common criteria, which employers consider in the process of employing media psychologists. The research holds significance for adjusting interdisciplinary educational programs and in particular, advancing media psychologists' competency matrix (graduate program's learning outcomes).

This research answers the questions as it follows:

1. What core educational competencies/learning outcomes are to be met by media psychologists (by completing graduate level)?
2. According to what criteria (in employers' opinion), knowledge and skill-based competencies media psychologists might be employed in Georgia?
3. What are the basic gaps and recommendations to be considered for adjusting higher educational programs?

Employers from 35 organizations (media, marketing and research organizations, governmental and non-governmental agencies) in Georgia answered the close and open-ended questions in 2018.

Media psychology is an emerging sphere and in Georgia it has already started to develop in an interdisciplinary context. The field might have a unique condition for development in the region for its unique media landscape: Georgian media managed to survive under omnipresent Soviet propaganda, but the legacy still looms large on the country's media

landscape. For now, Georgia is in a condition of so-called *hybrid war* and struggles with anti-western propaganda.

According to the results, 71 % of employers do not have in staff media psychologists and up to 45 % wish to employ specialists with such competencies; there is a low awareness about media psychologists and 39 % still do not know if they want to employ them in Georgia. Still 75 % of employers would offer a trial period to them. The majority of the respondents (82%) answers, was that knowledge and skill based competencies with emphasis of psychology are critically important (61 %) or important (21 %) for journalists (in particular); 88 % of employers think that media employees should have a good understanding of the negative and positive phenomena/effects of Media (TV, Radio, Print and online) products, and that they should be ethical (reduce stigmatization and strengthening stereotypes, not use hate speech, etc.); They should know, how fake, biased news and propaganda effects peoples' minds and their perception of reality.

According to the research, the core competencies for media psychology curricula have been shaped. The research is a valuable resource for educators in modernizing educational programs by taking into consideration employment requirements and fine-tuning accreditation standards.

**Keywords:** media psychology, education, employment

**Hubert Kotarski**

Assistant Professor  
University of Rzeszow, Poland

**Life and Professional Aspirations of Students as a Factor of  
European Integration in Poland and Ukraine, on the Example of  
Research into the Quality of Life in the City**

In the post-modern world, also known as postmodernism, we observe clear transformations not only in economic, political and social areas, but also in cultural areas. The interest in social sciences in the issues of youth aspirations in recent years is socially justified. The needs of social development require shaping the personality of the young generation, appropriate values, needs and aspirations. Social sciences define life aspirations as aspirations, intentions, needs and interests of a given individual, which condition its behaviors and plans, and also affect its planned way of life. Life aspirations are also related to the values accepted by the individual. Research on the life aspirations of young people is therefore particularly socially important, and due to their dynamics they should be constantly replenished, because as a result of constant transformations they undergo certain modifications. Poland and Ukraine are the two closest neighbors. Rzeszów and Lviv are two university cities, that are also partner cities. The main objective of the study was to get to know the opinions of students of the University of Rzeszów and the University of I. Franki in Lviv on selected topics related to the quality of life in Rzeszów and Lviv, as well as life and professional aspirations of students in Poland and Ukraine. The aim of the study was both cognitive and practical, as on one hand, the focus was on obtaining information on specific topics related to various aspects of the quality of life in the city and the aspirations of young people, on the other hand, an attempt will be made to obtain information, which may prove to be useful for the authorities of both universities and cities in the context of using the considerable potential of the young inhabitants of these cities. Broad research issues related to the quality of life and aspirations of students in the context of European integration, force to narrow the problem to

several basic research areas: 1) State of satisfaction with housing in Rzeszów and Lviv and detailed aspects of the quality of life in the city (communication, security, housing market, culture, recreation, labor market for students, etc.). 2) Ways of spending free time. 3) Student social and cultural capital. 4) Life aspirations and student value system. 5) Professional aspirations, migration plans in the context of European integration, etc.

**Keywords:** life aspirations, students, quality of life, social capital, youth

## **Magdalena Pokrzywa**

Assistant Professor  
University of Rzeszow, Poland

### **Men and Women in the Social Assistance System in Poland**

Poverty in Poland is a complex and diverse phenomenon. In a situation when limited income is not sufficient to meet families' needs, the representative of the family (or a single householder) can go to the social assistance institutions. In those institutions he can apply for various types of support, which is to enable the family and the individual to overcome difficult life situations. The essence of this support is, on the one hand, enabling social functioning in conditions corresponding to human dignity, and on the other hand, bringing about a situation in which the family (or individual) will not have to use this help anymore. The purpose of the speech is to present the situation of women and men in the social assistance system in Poland. In Poland the majority of social assistance workers (social workers) are women. The occupation of a social worker is undoubtedly a highly female-dominated trade. Visible are the negative sides of the feminization of the profession of social workers associated with the lower assessment of the profession and the low wages compared to other professions, in particular those made mostly by men. An important aspect of the speech is also the presentation of the functioning of men-social workers in the feminised work environment and determining whether the sex of social workers influences their treatment by social assistance clients, supervisors and co-workers. Statistical data collected by various social welfare centres in Poland show that the use of social assistance is strongly determined by gender. Over 80% of the people applying for social support in Poland are women, and they are as a rule not single mothers, but represent a full family in dealing with social assistance institutions. Such a situation results, according to some social workers, from the fact that the families receiving assistance often represent the traditional model of a family with fixed roles, where gender is the main criterion for the division of tasks in the family. Men avoid contact with social welfare institutions and turn to help only when they run a single-person household. The problems that men and women report are also differentiated by gender. The presentation will be based on

empirical research which had a qualitative (90 In-depth Interviews - IDI) and quantitative (500 Computer assisted telephone interviews CATI) nature. Researches were carried out with social workers from the whole area of Poland.

**Keywords:** social assistance system, social welfare institutions, social assistance institutions, social assistance to the family

**Dr. Dorota Rynkowska**

Assistant Professor  
University of Rzeszow, Poland

### **The Role of the Polish Red Cross as a Non-Governmental Organization in the Social Sector**

One of the characteristic phenomena of the modern world is the growing importance of non-governmental organizations. In the case of developed capitalist societies, where NGOs are a permanent and significant element in the space of social institutions, they view the base for the social economy, whereas in the post-socialist countries the third sector takes on a completely new dimension with which hopes for the development of civil society are associated.

Establishment, development and activity of non-governmental organizations should be treated as one of the main determinants of the development of civil society. Organizations referred to as this are the third type of state and market institutions that meet collective needs in the sphere of social services. In each case, non-governmental organizations are presented as significant entities of social policy. Inclusion of public sector institutions and non-governmental organizations in the process of creating local social policy is an element of building a civil society.

For more than a dozen years, Poland has been in the phase of forming a new social reality, in which actions aimed at improving the situation of the weakest members of society are particularly important. The systemic transformations and difficulties related to them in many areas of life evoke and begin to reveal new needs and challenges, and consequently cause the necessity to undertake assistance activities towards the weakest social groups. Difficulties with finding a new social situation, especially the older generation, helplessness and inability to organize one's life, mean that an increasing group of people in the social welfare are in need of various forms of support. This broad social context becomes the determinant of organizing various forms of care, help, upbringing and social support for many needy social groups, including the elderly.



Non-governmental organizations, complementing the institutional structure of the state, become an important element of social cooperation and self-help. Their main strengths include: independence of operation, accurate recognition of community needs and existing social problems, relatively low operating costs, the ability to use various sources of financing, and above all, the capital inherent in people who selflessly engage in the common good.

Changes in contemporary social assistance cover various areas of its functioning. Of important among them is the organization of caring, nursing or activating activities, which are increasingly and more often carried out by non-governmental organizations. After many years, the non-governmental sector was in the field of interest of the authorities, both from the national and local level, and non-governmental organizations were included in the landscape of functioning in the local dimension as well as the entire social system.

The basis for their implementation are still mostly employees and institutions of a public nature, but more and more often their activities are supplemented by non-governmental organizations, such as the Polish Red Cross or self-help institutions operating in the immediate environment of the mentee.

Among the Polish organizations, associations and foundations dominate. One of such examples is the activity of the Polish Red Cross, which is the oldest Polish humanitarian organization that provides social services. The aim of the presentation is to present various forms and scope of assistance offered by the Polish Red Cross to its beneficiaries.

**Keywords:** non-governmental organization, social sector, humanitarian organization, Polish Red Cross

**Nikoloz Esitashvili**

Visiting Professor

International School of Economics at Tbilisi State University (ISET)

**Exponential Capacity of Power and its Impact on Military Alliance Dynamics**

The Cold War ended in 1989, yet the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) endures despite the disappearance of the Soviet Union—the principal rival that prompted the military alliance’s formation<sup>1</sup> and purportedly warranted its endurance for over four decades.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the number of cooperative programs has steadily increased after the Cold War and currently, the US and its allies are cooperating in over 20 military programs.<sup>3</sup> The enduring capacity of NATO is, indeed, a puzzling political event and a counterintuitive development regarding the internal logic of military alliance theory<sup>4</sup>.

The central goal of the study is to find out why the cooperation among NATO members has endured and even increased since the end of the Cold War. The proposed study aims to advance an important theoretical contribution to the literature on military alliance theory. Its aim is to show, that the political economy of military production, a variable generally omitted when explaining military alliance dynamics, might be among important causal factors influencing the alliance decisions of states. The study employs a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods to find out why NATO members continued and deepened their military

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<sup>1</sup> David Reynolds, *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe: International Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 10-15.

<sup>2</sup> David C. Isby, and Charles Jr. Kamps, *Armies of NATO's Central Front* (London: Jane's, 1985), 13.

<sup>3</sup> “SIPRI military Expenditure.” Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Accessed February 12, 2014, <http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex>.

<sup>4</sup> According to realist scholars, alliances are temporary partnerships among states to defend themselves from immediate threats or achieve certain political goals. However, military alliance theory—proposed by Realist Scholars—as it stands cannot explain the endurance of NATO. More on this below.

cooperation after the Cold War, in the absence of an external or extra-alliance threat. The explanation is based on the compatibility of interests among great powers and political economy of military production: the size and extent of scale economies, economies of scope, learning-by-doing and escalating R & D costs. The variables are measured with data available in industrial censuses and national trade statistics. Because there are only a few cases, the study employs the focused method of comparison in order to shed light on the compatibility of national interests of NATO members after the Cold War. The applied method is to be mixed with intensive case study approach to learn in depth about the states' military and economic interests and alliance decisions they took. Such an approach allows to extract similarities and reach specific generalizations and conclusions.

**Keywords:** power, military alliances, NATO, post-cold war, political economy, market imperfections

## **Tengiz Verulava**

Associate Professor  
Tbilisi State University

### **Access to Medicines for Pension Age Population in Georgia**

The pension age population belongs to the largest risk group within the insurance sphere. Healthcare for pensioners often represents catastrophic expenses and has become the major reason for their impoverishment. Families in Georgia spend about 60% of all their healthcare expenses on medicines, this being one of the highest rates across the world. There is some evidence that the high costs of medicines are due to a combination of factors, including insufficient usage/administering of generic medicines, lack or inadequate utilization of prescription mechanisms, insufficient financial limit for medicines within the state healthcare programs, and aggressive marketing by the pharmaceutical industry.

The government has been trying to decrease the out-of-pocket spending via different strategies, including universal health coverage (UHC). Since February 2013, the Universal Health State Program came into force, targeting two million of uninsured citizens and providing a basic package for primary health care and emergency services.

Pension age population form the largest at-risk group within the insurance sphere. The most rapidly increasing and unaffordable share of healthcare expenses falls upon medicines. This paper examines financial access to medicines and the satisfaction with the insurance policy within the Georgia State Health Insurance Program for pension age population.

This paper examines financial access to medicines and the satisfaction with the insurance policy within the Georgia State Health Insurance Program for pension age population.

Using a randomized selection method, 500 pension age persons were interviewed by means of direct questioning.

According to the Social Service Agency, there are 45,455 pension age recipients of medical insurance in Tbilisi with a total of 673,183 pension

age population across the country (National Statistics Service of Georgia, 2013). Out of the 500 persons (62.4% women and 37.6% men) interviewed. The sample population covered all the districts of Tbilisi. The interviews took place in clinics. The largest segment of the interviewed population was between the ages of 71-75 (35.2%).

While the Georgia State Health Insurance Program for pension age population includes some compensation for medicines, medical insurance does not provide guarantee for financial accessibility to medical service. The results show that out-of-pocket payment is the most common health financing mechanism in Georgia. The cost of healthcare for pensioners often represents catastrophic expenses and becomes the major reason of their impoverishment. Based on the results, medication expenses represent one of the most important components of the medical service for the insured pensioner population. Over 55% of the pensioners have to buy medications at least once a month and 34% purchase them at least once or twice a week. Most of the interviewed insured population believes that buying medicines, combined with low financial accessibility to relevant medical services, is the most significant problem for their families.

The awareness level of the insured persons about medication coverage and payments for medical services provided by the insurance package within a certain limit is low. The majority of those interviewed (64%) stated that their out-of-pocket expenses exceeded this limit; 20.4% exceeded that amount by 80 GEL or more. The fact that 32.8% of the insured population cannot afford medications prescribed by their doctors also points out at low financial accessibility for medicines. The majority of those insured did not know that the insurance company compensates medicine expenses within the policy annual insurance limit. Additionally, 58.8% of those who have to pay for certain types of medical services covered by the state insurance program out of their pockets were not aware about the limits.

Reduction of catastrophic healthcare expenses should become the chief aim of the government health policy. It applies to the high-risk population, those under the poverty line and the pension age population, as well as to

those with chronic diseases. Accordingly, based on the findings, it is reasonable to expand the insurance program for the pension population and also provide more reasonable coverage of medication expenses.

**Keywords:** Georgia, health insurance, catastrophic out-of-pocket payments, financial access to healthcare, pension age population









## **Giorgi Beridze**

PhD Candidate

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **Electronic Propaganda of Ideological-Political Platforms in Modern Georgia (Internet Activities of Left-Wing organizations)**

The study examines three Georgian leftist websites : “Anarchist Library” “European.ge” and “Tbilisi Fabian Society”.

„Anarchist Library” is a collective, built by Georgia’s anarchists, other two „European.ge” and „Tbilisi Fabian Society” are Social-Democratic organizations.

The study is relevant, because during the last few years, these groups have been organizing various social protests and they use the websites as a tool for organizing and spreading values. To these groups, the Internet has become one of the key sources for political communication with a broader society.

The research relies on various methods, including content analysis of given web-sites, study of their translations, researches and articles, systemizing data and finding links between given groups.

In Georgia, since 2011, we can witness the birth and development of leftist oriented, organized social groups, which were mainly based on student activists, since the break-up of the Soviet Union, until 2012 parliamentary elections, the left-wing camp has never been a popular political actor in Georgian politics.

The year before 2012 Georgian elections, in Tbilisi State University, various left-wing oriented student groups have been created, the most famous among them with their activities was “Laboratoria 1918”, the protest, organized by this group days before the elections has dramatically changed the election process in Georgia.

“Laboratoria 1918” has stopped its activity soon after change of ruling party in 2012 election, but members of these groups have established brand new groups, where they have gone.

Other parallel leftist groups have existed since “Laboratoria 1918” has established itself, the most popular of them was „Anarchist Library”, we can also mention „Tbilisi Fabian Society” which was founded in 2013.

Since 2012, these groups are organizers of various social protests, strikes and unrests, and we have studied their internet websites, which are “Anarchist Library” “European.ge” and “Tbilisi Fabian Society”.

These platforms have emerged from student groups, they have established values, views and organizational methods, also as it is mentioned in research, these groups are different from each other in various aspects, the members are : researchers, activists, N.G.O officials ... people, who actively participate in political process.

The study underlines those issues and problems, which are targeted by given groups, for example : perspectives about life in regions and towns of Georgian provinces, also reviews about International and local politics, the research analyses the content of left-wing platforms and the method of communication with society.

**Keywords:** political communication, left-wing organizations, political theory, “Facebook” pages, ideological-political platforms, electronic propaganda, internet activities, anarchism, social democracy, Menshevism, student activism, social protests

**Elene Gelashvili**

PhD Candidate

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

**Salome Zurabishvili's Inaugural Speech – New Messages in  
Georgian Politics**

This work aims to analyze the main messages of the inaugural speech of the fifth president of Georgia, Salome Zurabishvili, in order to outline the vision and emphasis with which the newly elected president came to power.

Choosing inaugural speech is due to the fact that the presidents usually combine their future action plans, priorities, affections and views in it and present them to citizens of the country and the international community.

The analysis of the discourse was used as an analysis method where the main focus would be made on the Wodak approach using instruments of designations, declarations, and arguments.

The work focuses on the following topics: characteristics of democratic - civil political culture, based on European values, rich tolerance traditions, formation of consensual culture, national consensus, revival of historic traditions of solidarity between generations, development of regions, irreversibility of European choice, peaceful foreign policy, territorial integrity, strengthening of security, development of culture, increase of women's role, returning historical role in the region, strengthening political institutions, overcome and understand the traumatic past.

Choosing this period was due to the fact that during the transitional period in Georgia, unity of the society has been greatly damaged by the denial of objective logic of inheritance, it practically split public consciousness, when the emphasis was moved towards the distinctive parameters between generations and social groups, and practically split public consciousness. In addition, the first three presidents of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Eduard Shevardnadze and Mikheil Saakashvili emphasized that they were beginning building the statehood initially,

which in turn led to the revision of priorities of previous governments and in many cases radical alterations. That is why, as the framework of theoretical analysis of this work, I used "removal / preserving" theory by Hegel, based on which Zurabishvili's presidency may be considered as a transitional period when the essentially important role is to maintain the legacy line in establishment of political institutions and democratic governance of the country.

Salome Zourabichvili's message is necessity of maintaining national identity based on culture and rich traditions. The President emphasized the necessity of development of the regions of Georgia, as she is well aware that unequal development has often become the cause of separatism and the breakup of the country. She underlined the historical role of Georgia in the Caucasus region, and how important the stable Caucasus is for the country and the world. Finally, since the inauguration is a public ceremony and is actually a form of social, cultural and political communication, the words spoken by the fifth president of Georgia, Salome Zurabishvili, can be assessed as a speech of Western-style leader, realistic and empty from populist promises.

**Keywords:** elections, leader, inaugural speech, action plans, political communication

**Natia Zedginidze**

PhD Candidate

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

**The Importance of Codes of Professional Ethics in Public Moral  
Renewal and the Process of Legal State Building**

One of the hardest successions for post-Soviet countries is the moral deformation of society. It is impossible to create a democratic and legal state without the moral renewal of the society. The creation of Codes of Professional Ethics, in which the ethical and legal aspects are combined, serves to the solution of these tasks.

A European integration of Georgia means the fulfilment of certain obligations. One of the most important requests by the Council of Europe to the member states as well as to the countries willing to integrate into the European space, is the development of Codes of Professional Ethics. The Council of Europe establishes the minimum standard of Codes of Professional Ethics and calls on States to adopt standards and principles set out in the Code of National Legislation and Code of Ethics. European Codes define the minimum standard, which should be taken into account in terms of local specifications and needs. The aim of the Code is to facilitate the acknowledgement of the functions and obligations by the employees, employed at different levels of state management and understanding of the responsibilities in the process of building a legal, democratic state.

Based on the abovementioned, we can say that the employee's understanding of his/her functions and obligations is related to the understanding of the legal area within which the officer has to act. The legal space, that is created by law has a general character and does not imply specific circumstances. Consequently, the Codes of Professional Ethics are the mechanisms, that should ensure the law, within which the person acts and shall be construed, by considering the specific environment and activity from the perspective of justice. It should also be

noted, that for the legality of the law, it is necessary to have several conditions:

1. Law should contain a minimum of morals; 2. The society should be prepared for moral and ethical changes, that are known in the scientific community as a moral revolution. The latter implies adaptation of environmental conditions with timeframe, reinterpretation of values, which ensures a vital environment for nation-state.

In the articles the ethical codes adopted in Georgia are discussed, that regulate the political and legal spheres. We will discuss all three branches of the government, the condition existing in executive, legislative and judicial spheres in terms of development of Codes of Professional Ethics; namely the Ethic Code of Conduct of Parliament, Ethic Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Presidential Candidates for Pre-Elections and Ethic Code of Judges. It should also be noted that in terms of elaboration of the Codes of Professional Ethics, there are many more things to be done in Georgia as for improving the existing codes also for development of new codes.

The content analysis, expert survey and comparative analysis are used as a method of research.

**Keywords:** legal state, code of professional ethics, morality, moral, ethic

## **Lika Tetradze**

PhD Candidate

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **Negative Narrative and Influence on Electoral Behaviour**

The election campaign is of crucial importance in the elections. Conducting the advertising campaign in the political campaign in support of and / or against a candidate is allowed by law. However, the promotion of the advertising campaign is almost unimaginable without any negativity. Its share in relation to the positive is increasing. A negative campaign typically aims at affecting the emotional level of the electorate and does not aim at supporting the electorate to find an intellectual and rational decision. The negative campaign is an instrument, which gives the possibility of creating a negative narrative against the opponent and increases the interest of the electorate almost two times. Some part of the negative campaign and advertising researchers through different approach is trying to establish the feedback between the negative campaign and the behaviour of the electorate, that is demonstrated in the results of the specific election. Nevertheless, it is difficult for them to find a direct correlation between the negative narrative and the results of the election. The practice of using negative technologies is not unfamiliar for Georgia as well. If we review the electoral history, every election is accompanied by the leitmotif of the negative narrative. Political subjects during every critical election address the discrediting campaign. The increase of the negative narrative has become noticeable since the 2008 presidential election. Phrases: "Zero tolerance to petty crimes ... no conditional sentence, all to the prison!!!" "I need two men, two corpses!", "You scum...I'll torture you to death!", etc. have become associated with the elections. The opposition was trying to mobilize the electorate by boosting negative charge. Over the time, in the course of the growing political mistakes of the ruling team, the occasions of using negative narrative by opponents were increasing. In the parliamentary elections of October 1, 2012, the prison scandal and the financial side of Bidzina Ivanishvili determined the fate of the elections. This means that, in the



majority of cases, the shifting of the government happened not at the expense of the program priorities but rather due to a negative mobilization of the society. In 2012, in the following election, the Georgian Dream started using the previous narrative, and additionally the prison shots and secret recordings. The ruling party has been able to win every subsequent election on the background of this strategy. A different situation was created in the 2018 presidential election. Georgian Dream supported the independent candidate - Salome Zurbashvili, and therefore at the initial stage of the campaign an attack against the candidate of the United Opposition would be unprofitable. After the failure in the first round, it changed the strategy and again appealed to the negative aspects of the United National Movement's 9-year ruling, creating a danger of revenge and a returning of the violent regime, which managed to mobilize the electorate and win the second round. The United Opposition was also acting with a similar strategy, which was able to mobilize a significant part of the electorate divulging the vicious sides of the Georgian Dream's policy.

Therefore, it is evident that in critical situations, political subjects often use the negative narrative for their strategic purpose. Consequently, the aim of the report is, to present the goals of the negative narrative in the campaign and its influence on electoral behaviour on the basis of analysis of individual cases from the history of elections in Georgia.

**Keywords:** elections, negativity, campaign, electoral behaviour

**Nino Maisuradze**

PhD Candidate

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

**Electronic Propaganda of Ideological-Political Platforms in Modern Georgia (Ideological Profile of Internet Editions of Georgian National-Patriotic Direction)**

The research studies four internet editions of Georgian national-patriotic direction existing in Georgia as well as those organizations, which keep in touch with society only through social pages.

The research topic is on the radar screen because national-patriotic movements have recently become active. They use the internet and social websites to promote their own ideas.

National-patriotic movements (as they called themselves) have been active since 2012, who often hold different meetings, marches, strikes, demonstrations and today they already represent one of the main parts of civil life. There are a great number of people who visit their official sites and subscribe to their Facebook pages. We often see them in various TV shows, including political ones, where they express their views openly. They were often the main topic and a matter of dispute of the news, especially since 2017 when the “Georgian March” was created. Activities of members of national-patriotic organizations are assessed differently. They are often criticized by other civil society representatives and are blamed for discrimination, infringing on others’ rights, subjecting verbal and physical abuse.

National-patriotic organizations and their supporters are really famous for their radical activities and aggression. They share their belief, views, ideology with society from their own organization websites, official Facebook pages (It is worth mentioning that they often create fake accounts). The fact that they can plan a meeting of several thousand people in a short time through the internet edition or a Facebook page was proved by many aggressive meetings of “Georgian March”.

By studying the internet editions of national-patriotic direction we can demonstrate the ideological-political platform of each of them and make their classification. It leads us to get a general picture of activities of Georgian national-patriotic movements, ideology, initiatives. And once more we can compare different internet editions of Georgian national-patriotic direction and clearly see similarities and differences between them.

The more popular these organizations and their leaders become, the more necessary it gets to study and analyse their work, activities, websites and Facebook pages. This is one of the main subjects of our research. The research shows, how the ideology of representatives of national-patriotic organizations is given in the internet editions and how it gets to society. Do these organizations have any influence on the public and generally are they really national-patriotic organizations?

The list of four studied internet editions of national-patriotic movements is the following: “The Royal of Georgia” - Georoyal.ge, “Georgian Idea” - qartuliidea.ge, “Kardhu” - kardhu.wordpress.com, “National Alliance of Georgia” - geonsm.wordpress.com. Apart from these four movements, we would like to categorize separately the national-patriotic organization, which does not have an own website, being active only on social networks and is famous for its radical activities.

Today this category is the most popular one in Georgia. It must be noted that this movement is not busy with academic work and it is in strong conflict with other groups of society. A good example of this category poses the “Georgian March”.

Despite this conditional classification, those national-patriotic movements, which were studied, are more active on social networks, than in internet editions. The reason may be caused by the fact, that it is easy to interact on social networks and also, you can mobilize a great number of people through Facebook.

In addition to this, we have come to an interesting conclusion, that the majority of national-patriotic movements use their internet editions in

order to reach a specific goal – to spread and strengthen an anti-western attitude in Georgia.

**Keywords:** political communication, national-patriotic movements, internet editions, ideological-political platforms, electronic propaganda, internet activities.

## **Inga Mikhanashvili**

Researcher

Institute of Political Sciences at Ilia State University

### **Issue of Minorities after the 2016 Parliamentary Elections Based (on the Analysis of the Ombudsman's Reports)**

One of the important issues for the Georgian state and society is protecting the rights of national minorities and promoting civil integration. In 2005, Georgia ratified the European Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities, which contains a number of important provisions, namely: the recognition of the equality of national minorities before the law and the prohibition of any discrimination; the state should create for national minorities the conditions for the preservation and development of their culture and the protection of the fundamental elements of their identity - religion, language, traditions and cultural heritage; national minorities should be protected from any action aimed at assimilating against their will.

The Government of Georgia has also adopted the National Concept and Action Plan for Tolerance and Civil Integration in 2009, to promote civil integration. Various ministries and agencies are carrying out a lot of programs and activities in the six main directions – the rule of law, education and state language, media and availability of information, political integration and civic engagement, social and regional integration, culture and identity preservation.

Based on the analysis of the Ombudsman's reports, I have focused on the following issues of national minorities: preschool, general and higher education of national minorities; availability of study of the state language; full awareness of the population of the regions inhabited by national minorities; promoting the study of the native languages of small national minorities; the problems with the Roma community and the development of the culture of national minorities and preservation of their identity.

In order to overcome this problem, it's necessary to strengthen regional TV stations and prepare Armenian, Azerbaijani and Ossetic programs, promoting the study of the native language of minor national minorities, problems with gypsy communities and other issues.

At the same time in the presentation, using the comparative method, I will also analyze problems of the national minorities (according to the Ombudsmen reports) during 2012-2016 parliamentary elections and compare them. I'll pay attention to the amendments made by the public defender's recommendations.

This topic is discussed in the context of the integration theory.

**Keywords:** national minorities, education, availability of information, integration

**Lika Mukbaniani**

PhD Candidate

Georgian Technical University

**Catch-all Policy of the Parties in Member and Non-Member  
Countries of European Union (on the Example of Sweden and  
Georgia)**

The parties have one of the key areas in political processes. Their reorganization and transformation has been going on years. It was changing systematically, in content, qualitatively, though it did not lose its role and importance. The parties, as in the most states of the world, as in Georgia, are the main creators of political process. Ideology and the party have been in close association with each other for years, though if we look at modern party systems, in most cases; obviously, there will be alienation between them. Catch-all and less ideology of the parties are becoming more noticeable. Catch-all parties have the biggest chance of winning in the elections, because they prefer the priorities to voters and not ideology, accordingly, they respond better to changes than the parties within an ideological framework.

The term – Catch-all policy of the parties, which was acknowledged by political scientists and observers, was established by German-American scientist Otto Kirchheimer, who worried about transformation of the parties. He wrote that Swedish social-democracies minimized the political competition at the expense of their program's reduction. It should be noted, that the ideology of the present government party of Georgia can be assessed as a social-democracy. The well-known scientist Alen discusses Sweden among “the third model” countries, which embarked on this course at his time. In fact, the third way marks an alternative, which can be located between state socialism and the capitalism of the free market. The political situation of Georgia, at this stage, is more bias to the third way model. Only the future will show, how this model will work out. The example of Sweden will enable us to understand the ongoing political processes in Georgia profoundly, as the political system

of Sweden is a constitutional monarchy, and in the present political space of Georgia, a tendency towards the model of a constitutional monarchy is clearly being revived; In the past, Sweden had a conflict with Russia, which is bounded with its territories. Georgia also has a border with Russia and the biggest problem in the country exactly remains the conflict with Russia.

To compare Georgia with Sweden politically is rather difficult. After a 70-year regime Soviet Union, the country tries to escape from its problems. Georgia has a lot of resources, to be able to join the developed countries. The natural resources of the country, as well as the geographical location and a successfully conducted economy will aid Georgia in becoming a politically strong state.

Sweden, thereby, with its infrastructure, tourism, water power and natural resources could solve social and economic problems. By maintaining neutrality in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Sweden could raise the level of living of the population, which strengthened it and helped it become one of the leading countries in the world.

Sweden, during its existence, carried out one or more reforms to solve economic and social problems, in addition, during the years, it has preserved and only after the rebuilding of the country – in 1995 it became a member of European Union. The example of Sweden is considerable for such a country like Georgia, because it has a lot in common with Sweden.

The purpose of research, regarding the example of Sweden and Georgia, is to show characteristics of catch-all policies of the parties, what finally, affects the effective development and formation of the state.

**Keywords:** catch-all policy of the parties, ideology, Sweden, Georgia



**Tamar Orjonikidze**

PhD Candidate

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **The Constituent Assembly of Georgia and the Batumi Oblast<sup>1</sup>**

The Constituent Assembly of Georgia (1919-1921) is the most important stage in the history of Georgian Parliamentarianism. The study of its experiences is multifaceted and interesting, including the care of the restoration of territorial integrity of Georgia. During the first year of the work of The Constituent Assembly the jurisdiction of the Democratic Republic of Georgia did not apply to Batumi Oblast and Batumi Oblast was only returned to Georgia in July 1920.

The Constituent Assembly systematically reviewed the issues of “marginal regions” and including the Batumi Oblast, the existing situation and the issue of their status in the state of Georgia.

The work is prepared on the basis of the content analysis of the Stenographic Reports of The Constituent Assembly of Georgia (1919-1921). The study showed, that in 1919 the condition in the Batumi Oblast was discussed on 7 meetings and in 1920 during 6 meetings of The Constituent Assembly. As a result of the survey the problems that were discussed in the respect of the mentioned Oblast are revealed. It was primarily to prevent the activities of hostile forces operating in the Batumi Oblast and to aid the development of a special state policy for integration the Batumi Oblast and its population into the Democratic Republic of Georgia.

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<sup>1</sup>The report is prepared within the Grant Project “The Constituent Assembly of Georgia: The Experience of the Georgian Parliamentarianism” of LEPL Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation. Grant Code: FR – 18 - 20157

For the Batumi Oblast in accordance with the request of local political forces of Adjara, it was considered necessary to introduce autonomous governance in the composition of the Democratic Republic of Georgia. The issue was discussed at the sessions of the Constituent Assembly as well as on the session of the constitutional commission established by the Constituent Assembly, which was included in the 1921 Constitution of Georgia under the relevant Article (107). The separate regulation of autonomous governance should be developed separately (Article 108). The paper discusses the debates on this issue.

Based on the biographical analysis, it was shown that three residents of the Batumi Oblast (Heidar Abashidze, Osman Mikeladze, Kadir Shervashidze) were members of the Constituent Assembly. It is important to consider the fact, that neither the main nor the additional elections have been held in Batumi Oblast. The work deals with the activities of these individuals in the Constituent Assembly.

The Batumi Oblast was the last region of Georgia, which remained in the hands of the Georgian government during the February-March War of 1921 and was also a place, where the Constituent Assembly of Georgia completed its work. The last meeting of The Constituent Assembly was held in March 17, 1921 in the City Council building in Batumi. Based on the resolution, the Government of Georgia under the supervision of Noe Zhordania was granted the authorization. Afterwards he went into emigration to protect the interests of Georgia.

**Key words:** Georgia, the constituent assembly of Georgia; Batumi Oblast

**Davit Sidamonidze**

PhD Student

**Nana Deisadze**

MA Student

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

## **European Integration and Development of Georgian Land Transport**

The study deals with the perspectives of development of land transport in Georgia on the path of European integration. European integration means a broader understanding of social, political, economic, cultural and legal integration of the European states, whose main driving force is the European Union. European integration is an important factor in the development of Eastern Partnership countries. It is therefore important to know about the Association Agreement, EU Transport Strategy and ongoing reforms in Georgia's Land Transport to analyze the results of the European Integration.

The study presents the development of Georgia's land transport and its role in the European integration process with regard to the transport corridor. The theme is chosen by taking into account the actuality of the issue. The decrease in passenger and freight turnover in Georgia's land transport indicates that there are problems in this sector. To solve this problems, it is necessary to search for its origins, to evade the process of evolution, and to identify the factors that are responsible for the current situation.

The aim of the work and the novelty is, to study public geographical aspects of Georgia's land transport, which covered the following objectives and issues: analysis of contemporary literature around Georgia's land transport search and explanation of the causal links; Parallels between past and present are allocating the main trends and aspects that have changed. Also, it is aimed to identify the factors, that will facilitate European integration.

One of the main objectives of the study is the assessment of adequacy, with respect to the aims of the actions implemented in the process of Euro-integration; Taking into account the effect of real environmental conditions, to which degree is it possible to achieve results in this direction?

A systematic approach is used as a research methodology. The transport sector is considered as a single system with internal and external factors in complex and dynamic - continuous time and space. In analyzing the system of time and space, the advantages of the analysis of the secondary documents are given. Using the method of analysis, the fact is that the study of the documents should be taken into consideration with other factors identified at the same time. Also, when using the method of analyzing the document, the importance of the basic criteria (authenticity, accuracy, legitimacy, importance) of the document's validity and reliability are given.

The transport location of Georgia can be viewed in the theoretical context of the location / location theory. The theory associated with the geographical location of economic activity is the most important part of economic geography, regional science and spatial economy. The Locations Theory answers questions on which economic activities are located where and why.

In 2011, the European Commission issued a document titled "White Paper on Transport", which represents the core strategy of the EU in terms of transport development. The goal of the document is to prepare the European transport space in the future, to develop its competitive and sustainable transport system, for this purpose the EU's objectives are:

- Increase transport and mobility at the expense of 60% reduction of greenhouse gas emissions;
- Establishment of multi-modal urban travel and transport system;
- Development of an effective network of continental trade and shore travel;
- Clean urban transport;

- Product transportation costs are minimal.

Unfortunately, the interviews with transport experts show, that Georgia is still unable to fulfill its obligations. For example, the representatives of Hub Georgia stressed that the EU transport policy document is the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in Europe by 60% in comparison with 1990, but by the Paris Agreement, Georgia submitted its official document - NDC (Nationally Determined Contribution), where transport is not even mentioned.

**Keywords:** European integration, land transport of Georgia, Georgian road transport, pipeline transport of Georgia, Georgian Railway, international transport corridor, Association Agreement, "White Paper on Transport".

**Salome Kareli**

PhD Candidate

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

**How do the EU and Georgia Defense Policies Response to a New Conflict – the Hybrid War"?**

The confrontation between the states is done through various strategies and tactics over the years. The form and character of the confrontation gradually changes and becomes more flexible. Consequently, a significant challenge to conflict management and analysis is the study of new forms of conflict and the improvement of a security concept.

The hybrid war is a relatively new form of conflict, which requires a thorough study to ensure the correct response to it. There is no universally recognized explanation of the hybrid war, which leads to certain debates, whether it is useful to establish this term. Often this term is used as a definition of all asymmetrical threats, sometimes it only includes the informative threats, sometimes ,only - terroristic.

The aim of the report is to first examine the components of the hybrid war and thus create a unified approach. It is to be revealed, whether this threat affects Georgia and the EU's national security. Together with the strategy, we will discuss topics about asymmetric military threats, the military dimension of conflict and the issue of military components.

The object of the research is to study how Georgia, on the one hand, and the European Union on the other hand respond to the threats posed by the hybrid war. As a result of the research, we will try to find out how Georgia responds to these challenges on the national level, how the European Union responds to the risks of hybrid war and what is the international effort to prevent, detect, and react to appropriate threats. In order to determine these topics, we will discuss the defense policies of EU and Georgia, which cover all components of the Hybrid War.

The severity of the issue lies in the fact that the agenda of the new threat to its core includes components, which require a response on a global

scale. However, until now the majority of the measures are taken only on the local level and have not gone beyond national security policy.

During the report we will focus on developing a regional or international uniform approach for Georgia as well as to the EU for effective response to threats due to hybrid warfare. For security purposes, we may consider efforts to elaborate a coordinated strategy and unite public opinion.

The study will analyze the content of official documents related to security policy. Including national security concepts, foreign policy strategies, threat assessment documents and other conceptual and strategic documents; We will focus on scientific literature, which already exists around the subject of the study, in particular theoretical literature, as well as studies directly related to the regions. Finally, we will use in-depth interview methods, like interviews with representatives of the political elite and expert circles.

The research has both theoretical and practical significance. This issue has not been studied yet on a relevant scientific level related to Georgia and this study is an authors' attempt to fill this gap.

Based on this research, it will be possible to find out the essence of the problem and to determine the efficiency of the country's strategy, which, at the national level, will contribute to the welfare of the citizens, and at the international level, Georgia's full participation will play a significant role in the process of establishing universal peace.

The task of the research is to make a modest contribution to academic debates on universal peace and security. It also encourages the academic discussions about the role of Georgia in the reduction process of the risks of hybrid war.

**Keywords:** hybrid war, security, soft power, conflict management, conflict

## **Mariana Kevkhishvili**

PhD Candidate

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **Lobbying in Georgia**

The study is focused on the influence of non-governmental organizations on the public policy in the period of “Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia” governing. According to my judgement, in the conditions established by the new government starting from 2012, NGOs have been out of the capacity to influence the law-making process in the country. My judgement is backed up by the fact, that the leader of the party Bidzina Ivanishvili, according to his own words, has a sceptical attitude towards the third sector. In his speeches, he often attacks NGOs, relevantly, the majority of the Georgian Parliament, giving consideration to his judgements and attitudes, does not adopt the draft laws advanced by NGOs or does not take their remarks and substantiated opinions into account in the process of adoption of laws. The main goal of the study is to determine the level of influence, that the non-governmental organizations, engaged in advocating politics, have on the law-making process.

We studied the issue of the adoption/rejection of the draft laws presented by NGOs to the parliament of Georgia in the years 2012-2018. The study covered the extent, to which non-governmental organizations managed to achieve the desired results for the draft laws advanced by them. In this process, studying the Georgian media is important, as it shows the attempts exercised by NGOs toward making this or that issue a subject of awareness and importance in the society. Their messages are directed toward both, mobilizing the public attention and bringing the relevant information to the knowledge of the members of the government. Therefore, the third sector is trying to lobby the issue through the mass media and obtaining the desirable decisions from the policy-makers.



The question to be studied is: what is the level of influence, the non-governmental sector has upon the law-creating process in the period of the Georgian Dream government?

Baumgartner and Jones' punctuated equilibrium theory and the path-departing change model were used as the theoretic framework. These theories explain the model of policy changes. According to the punctuated equilibrium theory, the long period of policy-making stability may be interrupted by a drastic change in a critical moment. But the players supporting status-quo are stronger than those voting for the policy changing. Although the successful campaign of advocating carried out by the policy course change supporters cause change of the status-quo.

To study the Georgian media, we used the Framing's method, that studies the way journalists separate out political information and get it ready for presentation before the public. They naturally create frames, when they bring news and narratives to our notice, thus creating a public opinion. Through these frame issues are given specific contents by way of underlining, interpretation and deduction.

Content analysis was used as the method for this study. Through this method we studied the information published on the web-page of the Georgian parliament, concerning all the draft laws advanced and proposed by non-governmental organizations and the Georgian media reporting political issues.

**Keywords:** lobbying, draft law, parliament, NGOs

## **Zviad Abashidze**

Associate Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **Discourse on Ethnic Minorities and Civic Integration in Georgia during 1991-90: Analysis of Zviad Gamsakhurdia's Official Speeches, Statements and Interviews**

According to Rogers Brubaker's prominent thesis, one of the characterized features of post-communist states was policies that he characterizes as "nationalizing". Such policy assumes the new nation-state building process mostly on basis of ethnic discrimination and humiliation. The main goal of given presentation is to reconsider Brubakers given thesis on the base of an analysis of Georgia during 1990-91.

Ethnic understanding and imagination originated in 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries Germany, where, unlike of French civic-political approach it transformed into an ethno-cultural concept. The given traditions became the cornerstones for the whole of Eastern and Central Europe's Independent Nation-Building process. Georgia turned out as an area of spreading such concept and approach as well. However, this approach was deeply shaken during the first independent Republic of 1918-21. Nevertheless, the situation dramatically changed because of the Soviet occupation and implementation of new soviet policies. The Soviet 'nationality policy', institutionalized 'nation' as a concept of 'ethnic community'. Such concept, gradually turned out as a dogma for former Soviet Peoples while discussing the possibilities of constructing independent nation-states. In such circumstances, Georgia managed to organize its first free multiparty elections in 1990 and declared the restoration of national independence in 1991.

The period is one of the most complex and challenging times throughout the whole political history of Georgia. Zviad Gamsakhurdia was the chief anchor of such state where his personal role in the formation of a certain

type of political regime and legitimacy was enormous. The presentation tries to demonstrate Zviad Gamsakhurdia's position towards ethnic minorities and civic integration according to his official speeches, statements and interviews. There is a quite widespread view on Gamsakhurdia in Georgian as in foreign literature that he employed the slogan "Georgia for Georgians" as an integral part of his official policies, while his principal goal was to establish ethnically homogenous society.

The presented discourse analysis tries to look at such a view and position from a different perspective. In each of his official speeches, statements and interviews, Gamsakhurdia was trying to avoid any rhetoric discrimination to ethnic minorities and not address official laws and regulations, where one is not able to find discriminatory facts.

Therefore, it is possible to conclude, that Rogers Brubeiker's mentioned thesis on "nationalizing policies" requires some reconsiderations if we take into account Georgia's case of 1990-91.

**Keywords:** nationalism, ethnic minority, civic integration

## **Ala Bibilashvili**

Associate Researcher

Institute of Political Sciences at Ilia State University

### **The Role of Islam in Politicization of Religious Discourse in Northern Caucasus**

The Northern Caucasus region has a big strategic importance in Russian geopolitical space. It arranges the spacial contact between Russia and Caucasian States and supports Russia's positions in The Black Sea and Caspian Sea regions. Peace building and stability in the Northern Caucasus region is considered as an important factor of security system creation not only in the Caucasus, but in the whole Eurasian area.

After the collapse of the Russian Empire the people of the North Caucasus had a chance for reunion and creating the state based on the traditional national values. The republics of the North Caucasus recognized the Soviet government, but the main request from their side was the legalization of the Shariat and Adats /traditions/. Administrative reforms were held according to the political and ideological unifications, that were made on the next stage of the revolutionary changes. At the same time an ethno –territorial principle of the organizational and structural arrangement of the Northern Caucasus people were not violated.

The dismantle of the Soviet Union and the creation of new sovereign states were the vain conditions for the “Parade of Sovereignties”. These things were the main factors for the Northern Caucasus republics and their people to express a national consciousness and opportunity to show their own points of views. The analysis of the ideological constants and value modifications of the social-economic development of the North Caucasian Republics show that after 90-s of the last century, mental construction of the north Caucasians the dominant idea was based on the principals of ethnic nationalism and ethnic self-determination. That dominant idea was connected to the political, governmental and business-structural development of the region. Permanently this idea has been changed by the radical fundamental Islamic ideology, determined by the

concept of Imamat – the Islamic theocratic State and has been considerably expanded the role of the modernized Islamic trends and its influences.

The presented article analyses the trends of religious influences on North Caucasian Republics and its indicators and parameters. The supporters of the modernized and radical Islam ideology preached a theoretical Islamic state, which would be based on social equality. Such egalitarian tendencies are considered as the main factor of the influence of the fundamental Islam. The article underlines the importance of the “Saint Islam” for the further social, moral, and value system development of North Caucasia as the alternative way against the Russian imperial conquerors and a symbol for the rebuilding of destroyed statehood, the basis and a fundamental part for building a social state. It played a major role in the development of the protest movements against Russia.

**Keywords:** Northern Caucasus region, ideological transformations, the model of traditional religion, modernized Islam, radical Islam.

## **Eka Darbaidze**

Doctor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **Crisis of Democracy and a New Class in Georgia**

Gender equality can't be achieved without women's economic strengthening and their equal involvement in economic activity. Economic empowerment of women is measured with their equal participation in the labor market and equal access to the resources. So, equal labor rights, as a precondition for equal participation in the labor market, are an essential component for the economic empowerment of women and gender equality.

The neoliberal economic policy in the context of economic globalization is contributed to create a new class structure, that the British researcher Guy Standing called "Precariat", which is characterized by new types of relationships and more and more instability in relation towards this class, while distributing wealth. Precariat is a new social class, whose representatives are forced to work in low-paid, unstable and temporary services, without any social insurance and even without maternity leave. Often, the representatives of the precariat class, are women who are forced to accept jobs like this. Neoliberalism is characterized with subordination, exploitation, and control towards women. The "new economy" discourse, which is idealizing "creative workers", often makes it possible to hide its' "precariatism". Characteristics for the majority of jobs in global capitalism are: the precarious of women's work, fragmentation, low status and low payment accordingly. The techniques of neoliberal governments allow the "Precariat" to be permanent and continuous.

For a long period of unemployment, in Georgia many women suffered with disqualification and were forced to move to the unregistered, self-employment field. Many of them have come out of the labor market, i.e. in the informal sector - "shadow economy", where they work without any safety and their rights are grossly violated. Families, who do not have the

conditions to create a livelihood, especially in rural areas, to support their family and children are forced to move to large cities or abroad to find jobs, where they can't meet the needs of the labor market and are under risk to be involved in various informal activities. In large cities of Georgia, legal rights of women, especially of those who are employed in cafes, bars, restaurants, shops and booths, are often violated and they have very difficult conditions at work.

The main goal of our research is to study the current condition of women employed in the labor market of Georgia; How the existing national legislative framework helps the establishment of gender and social equality in the labor market; How Georgia's labor law protects employed women, in this case, the rights of women employed in our target group - service centers, and whether the national legislative framework guarantees their protection.

**Keywords:** gender equality, precarious work, precariousness, the class of the precariat, women workers, neoliberal economic policies

**Valerian Dolidze**

Assistant Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

**The Process of European Integration and Cycles of Political  
Development of Georgia**

The author analyzes the influence of Eurointegration process on the democratic development of Georgia. In his view political development of Georgia proceeds through the interaction of foreign and internal factors, which respectively produces two vectors –authoritarian and democratic. European integration strengthens the role of foreign factors in the political development of the country, which compensates the lack of resources of democratization within the country, weakening the influence of past dependence on the political development, which strengthens potential of democratization. The interaction of authoritarian and democratic vectors of political development produces originalities of the post-communist transformation of Georgia, which is manifested in the cyclical character of it. The author identifies and analyzes authoritarian and democratic cycles, revealing the significance of each cycle for the political development of Georgia. In his view the short-term cycles of democratization had been changed by the long-term cycles of authoritarianism, the strengthening of which had been hampered by the European integration. All successive cycles weakened the influence of the past on the political development of the country. Each authoritarian cycle was transformed into the next cycle of democratization (the only exception is the governing of Gamsakhurdia), which were interrupted by a following cycle of authoritarianism. The electoral and political cycles were not in coincidence with each other. Every authoritarian cycle comprised several election cycles, which legitimized them. Elections legitimized also coup d' etats. Decisive factors of the formation of authoritarian cycles were the expectation of the electorate, which were produced by the charismas of political leaders. The weakening of their charismas provided transformation of authoritarianism into the democratization. Each of the authoritarian cycles fulfilled appropriate



functions in the political development of Georgia. The first authoritarian cycle –conservative authoritarianism (the governance of Gamsaxurdia) laid the foundations of the national independence, started to build a new state of post- communist Georgia and weekend the resources of democratization. The second cycle of authoritarianism - liberalized liberal authoritarianism (the governance of Shevardnadze) started building a liberal state, strengthened the westernization of the society, formed a new social-stratification system, strengthened resources of democratization.

The third cycle of authoritarianism, liberal authoritarianism (the governance of Saakashvili), strengthened the state institutions, increased the state potential at the expense of the decrease of potential of democratization. The parliamentary elections of 2012 started a new cycle of democratization which was transformed into a nonconsolidated democracy.

**Keywords:** democracy, democratization, political cycles, authoritarianism, European integration, elections

## **Giorgi Kvinikadze**

Associate Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **Geo-Economic Landscape of the South Caucasus**

The South Caucasus is a prominent region in the global economic system. Its economic potential suggests, that in the world economy system the region will not be a passive consumer at all, but it can contribute to the world economy and the world scientific production potential. This is largely dependent on how its geo-economic landscape will be formed. The purpose of the study is to analyze the actors who influence the formation of the geo-economic landscape of the region. The study is designed to answer two basic questions: 1. What is the geo-economic landscape in the South Caucasus? and 2. Which areas are the most vulnerable in this regard. The work relates to qualitative research. The main methods used, were the Case-Study method, the cartographic and comparative analysis methods. For the analysis of the geo-economic landscape, appropriate indicators were selected.

Geo-economics is a unique foreign economic strategy of the state, aimed at achieving specific geopolitical goals of the state. Based on the marked for geoeconomic analysis of the South Caucasus countries (SCC), the following indicators were selected: Participation in global trade; Perception of corruption; Global competitiveness; Foreign direct investment; Economic freedom; The level of education; Innovation; IT development; Militarization of GDP%; Knowledge economy index; Control corruption; Quality management; Foreign trade balance. A separate analysis was conducted to assess the geo-economic activity of governments. For this purpose, a total management quality indicator was used, which includes: Taking into account public opinion and accountability of state bodies; Political stability and lack of violence; Government performance; Quality of legislation; Law supremacy. The formation of an optimal geo-economic landscape of the region is complicated by the fact that the geographical location has taken the SCC

hostage to the global geopolitical project of its northern neighbor and not only. The Caucasian factor in the modern system of international relations will long remain in the forefront politically and military-strategically, but only secondary to the economic. And this means that the era of future economic prosperity is an even more remote perspective for the peoples of the region.

In the process of the study, problems were found to restrain the geo-economic activity of the region. In particular: Small size of the domestic market SCC; Lack of priorities in the conduct of foreign economic policy; Difficulties associated with the implementation of export products (the emergence of a competitor, the replacement of technology, market saturation); Insufficient development of modern technologies for the production of industrial products; Political instability; Low geo-economic activity of governments, often due to lack of experience; The instability of foreign markets; High level of capital dependence on exports. However, these problems had a different impact on the foreign economic policy of the SCC, who have their own legitimate national benchmarks of external interests.

The uniqueness of the economic market of the South Caucasus and economic pragmatism can be considered as the initial model for the formation of the future common geo-economic space.

Therefore, the main geo-economic task of the S C government, in the relations of its neighbors, along with transcontinental economic projects, should be to stimulate business, to encourage trade and business activity.

The author has no illusions that the formation of such a space will occur in the near future. However, in the era of globalization of the world economy, processes accelerated, which does not exclude the development of events according to the specified scenario.

**Keywords:** South Caucasus, geo-economic landscape, government effectiveness, the quality of governance, European integration, Eurasian Union

**Vakhtang Maisaia**

Associate Professor

**Miranda Mikadze**

PhD Candidate

Caucasus International University

### **What is Hybrid Warfare and Its Geostrategic Aspects (Fourth War Generation) – Cyber War Case-Study**

The hybrid war is one of the main tools of the "New Generation War." At time being, with consideration of new realities, linked with contemporary international security processes, a war game modulation has been transformed into a new dimension – the introduction of a Fourth Warfare Generation associated with the Hybrid Warfare theory and strategy. Concrete cases of Hybrid Warfare are the occupation and further annexation of Crimea peninsula by the Russian Federation from Ukraine and the so-called "Green Men" affect. Crimea's annexation has caused a threat, that Russia might create a preemptive military presence in any country, and in addition hostilities in the conditions of a hybrid war in Syria's regional war.

Moreover, it is clear that war game scenarios are developing and wagging not only in 3-D formats but also in a 4-D format, meaning: land-sea-air-space (cyber). This type of warfare is also determined by the factors linked with non-visible areas and aimed at dwelling on frustration and defragmentation of a foe's cultural values and focusing on the inferiority on information channels and flows.

The viral warfare in cyber warfare is also a variety of the hybrid warfare, called the cyber war. The cyber war is a new threat to national security.

The general directions of military strategic parameters of the hybrid war can be presented as follows:

- not physical, not moral and political defeat;
- combined, coordinated, open and hidden use of terrorism, criminal and cyber combat techniques of Combined Martial Tactical Elements.

The purpose of our report is to study the concept of "hybrid war" and to discuss its geostrategic aspects in the conceptual framework of cyber war. For this purpose, it is necessary to research this topic. This will give us an opportunity to find out more about the issue of hybrid war and its geostrategic aspects on the example of the cyber war. We will mainly use qualitative research methods, namely, the review of literature, through which we will develop the theoretical framework of the research and the case study analysis will help us to inspect the real facts in a better way.

**Keywords:** hybrid war, fourth war generation, cyber war, geostrategic aspects

**Giorgi Melikidze**

Doctor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

**Civil Society in Hybrid Regimes: The Challenges of  
Democratization in Georgia**

The nowadays established term “Hybrid Regime” combines a broad group of states and covers the elements of democracy and authoritarianism. The hybrid regime is generated by the democratization of the authoritarian regime. The prospect of its transformation into an electoral democracy depends on many factors, and first of all on the development of a civil society. Totalitarianism causes the collapse of civil society and its restoration in post-totalitarianism conditions is a very difficult process. The stimulation of civil society is conducted by the non-governmental sector, although this is not a perfect civil society.

The goal of this work is to determine the role of civil society in the ongoing process of democratization in Georgia. The democratic transformation of the hybrid regime is associated with the development of civil society. The special focus is made on the concept of civil society, because if it has only a facade nature, then it has no value for democratic transformation. According to the research hypothesis, in countries where a clientelistic / elite civil society was formed, democratization was impeded, which caused stagnation. In the 1990s the stimulation of civil society formation in Georgia had been carried out by a creation and activation of nongovernmental organizations, but these organizations were funded from the West.

The NGO sector, which acted on behalf of the civil society, played a significant role in the “Rose Revolution.” A precedent of cooperation between the newly formed government and civil society was created, but this happened only at the initial stage. As during Saakashvili governance also in subsequent years, the civil society was opposed to the government. Civil society in post-soviet Georgia was not distinguished by a high level

of development, which negatively impacted on the democratization process of the country.

The building of democracy in post-soviet Georgia is the main statement of any government, however the country couldn't go beyond the status of a hybrid regime. Georgia belongs to the countries which didn't incline to the democratization or to authoritarian governance. The main challenges of Georgia are the rule of law, the election process and the state functions. The authoritative organization "Freedom House" called such governance "Outlaw Democracy".

The last ten years were a turning stage for Georgia, not only due to the Historical and Political processes, but also in terms of democratization. It is interesting, that from 2008 up-to-date the different indicator of democratization changed its position, however the civil society firmly kept an average indicator. A qualitative method is used in the research, such as in-depth, interviews with experts.

**Keywords:** Georgia, democratization, hybrid regime, civil society

**Avtandil Tukvadze**

Associate Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

**Irakli Ubilava**

PhD Candidate

Peoples' Friendship University, Russia

**The "Sovereign Democracy" - a Dynamic Model of Russian Democracy**

In the process of modernization of the post-Soviet Russian political system, it became impossible to transplant a Western liberal democracy: an attempt of the ruling elite was followed by a chaotic functioning of the institutions within the political system. Against the will of the majority, the pro-western thinking minority, found themselves on the upper elite stance of the government, standing on the radical liberal ideological platform. In Russian reality, this was the main reason for increasing anti-globalist tendencies and therefore the need for anti-liberal political theories, which led to the rise of conservative and socialist political ideas, and in the consciousness of people, orienting on a personalized political figure who united the latter political doctrines. At all stages of the development of Russian history, Russian political opinion about a specific development of State and Civilization focused on the values of Christianity and democracy, different from Europe and the West ("Slavianophile"); Political rights and freedoms of people are connected to a strong State and a charismatic leader. In Russia, democratic governance, which was supported by pro-western citizens, could not have worked for two reasons: First, the history and modernity of Russia's State development is a continuous expansion process that required a strictly centralized State, a strong army, a rapid mobilization of the population, and the second - owning and managing enormous territories which required a single governance: Aristotle, Russo, Montesquieu discuss the difficulty of governing a large State and talk about the advantages of the medium-sized State. This general methodological approach between the



territorial size of the state and the complexity of governance is confirmed in Russian reality.

The Russian tradition of needing a strong government has been reinvented in Putin's governance and in the concept of values in the form of a doctrine of "sovereign democracy". "Sovereign Democracy" is a specific form of democracy based on Russian identity, within the framework of which it is possible to maintain the identity of the Russian nation, Sovereign State and culture and retain liberal democratization process in which individual freedom is restricted by collective interests. The modern Russian society is functioning within the symbiotic cultural basics of the traditional (archaic) and European (later modern) cultural elements. Traditional and modernist social-political theories, unlike the liberalism, recognize the superiority of the collective over the individual, both are focused on the idea of national interests and strong national security. In the not so distant perspective of Russia's political development, they will have an agenda, on the basis of evolutionary reform, shifting from the personalized model of stable functioning of the political system to the continuous maintenance of the stable functioning of the socio-political system, to the type which is called a functioning system based on the balance of social - political forces in society.

To achieve this goal, it is advisable to move to a two-party system, because it is clear that the parties are grouped in two ideological sides. The first of those two, by value-ideological orientation, represents conservatives with a moderate centrist element, while the second group of parties stand on the left-wing ideological platform and are socialist parties with moderate centric orientation; this given party format generally expresses the will of the majority of Russian society. In the case of transition to the proportional electoral system, the fight of valuable aspects expressed by the political parties expressing the will of consolidated voters on both social poles causes the rationalization of political thinking and its pragmatic reach. This, in turn, ensures that the parties that stand on one ideological platform grow and their integration into the united party organism, which will result in the increase of potential voters. However, for this it is necessary to increase the minimum

barrier of the parliamentary threshold to 7-8%. In such case, the liberal ideological forces are completely marginalized and will be swept away from the political scene, because they have no influence on the political process anyway. All of them provide the institutionalization of the system based on mutual balance and mutual control mechanism and the alternation of equal number of elites in the political system, which is an important step towards democratization.

**Keywords:** sovereign democracy, liberalism, transplantation, elite, proportional

## **Tamar Karaia**

Assistant Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

### **Peculiarities of Social Protest Formation in Georgia**

In post-Soviet Georgia government and society experienced a long way of confrontation. The Lack of legitimacy of the government, the weakness of political institutions, as well as social-economic and political problems were the main factors, that provoked a protest lead by the politicians - aimed to resign the government and gain power. In this protest citizens where part of decoration.

Nowadays we face an upraise of various social groups and transformation of the protest repertoire from resigning government to policy change. This process can be observed from 2012, since a change of the government launched new windows for opportunities. Contentious movements including ecological, labor, LGBT, marihuana decriminalization make their voice heard, collect followers, close protest stage for politicians from opposition political parties, confront or collaborate with the decision makers and trying to reach their goals using different kind of strategies. Alongside to this process, the floor for the anti-governmental political pretest has disappeared. Above mentioned changes mostly influenced the demands and the topics of protest movements. If previous movements reach their goals through a change of government, contemporary protest movements aim to change policies. This process, from our point of view can be discussed as an indicator of positive changes toward the attitude to the political institutes.

We will analyze the dynamics of the protest movements in 2003-2018. This timeframe includes a period of mass protest (2003-2010); appearing social groups and launching their protest (2010-2012; 2015-2018) and a period of silence (2013-2014). Within the research, we rely on the theory of structural functionalism, so called “windows of opportunities” (Tilly, Tarrow) that attempts to explain that movements are conditioned by the social and political situation, while the uprising of movements can be

explained by the decrease of trust and influence of political parties. The main aims of this research are to analyze: factors of protest transformation; how and why developments of various social groups were provoked how these social groups are trying to transform themselves to the political elite, to influence on the solution of the issue.

**Keywords:** Georgia, civil society, social movement, transformation of protest