Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

The 9th International Scientific Conference

"Space, Society, Politics"

PROGRAM

and

ABSTRACTS

24 - 25 June, 2021
Tbilisi

24-25 June, 2021

The 9th International Scientific Conference

"**Space, Society, Politics"**

Editors: Tamar Dolbaia, Teona Mataradze, Salome Dundua

Technical Group: Teona Tabuashvili, Miranda Mikadze

Speeches - 15 Minutes

Discussions - 5 Minutes

PROGRAM

24 June, Thursday

10.00 Conference Speeches and Welcomes

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)

Chairperson: Teona Mataradze, Associate Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

10.15 Keynote Speech

Dr. Paweł Stawarz - University of Warsaw; Secretary of the Scientific Council of the Poland-East Cooperation Association; Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the scientific journal "Studia Wschodnioeuropejskie"; Member of the Scientific Editorial Board of the American Scientific Journal "Journal of Political Science and International Relations"; Member of the Polish Society for European Studies.

"Post socialist Transformation in Poland and Georgia, comparative overview"

11.00 **Revaz Gachechiladze**, Professor, **Giorgi Gogsadze**, Professor - Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *„Voter Turnout in Parliamentary Elections of Georgia: Dynamics and Geography"*

11.20 **Alexandre Kukhianidze -** Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"Democracy and Super-Mafia"*

11.40 **Biró A. Zoltán**, Professor, **Kinga Katalin Székely**, Assistant Professor - Sapientia Hungarian University of Transilvania, Romania. *„Tourism development opportunities in an Eastern European rural area after COVID"*

12.00 **Mariam Gersamia,** Professor, **Maia Toradze,** Associate Professor - Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, **Marina Goksadze**, MMED, Tbilisi Psychological Center - *"Gender stereotypes in Georgian media"*

12.20 **Cenay Babaoglu**, Associate Professor, Selçuk University, **Onur Kulac**, Assistant Professor, Pamukkale University - Turkey. *"Incremental Policy-Making in Public Health During the Covid-19 Pandemic in Turkey"*

12.40 **Agnieszka Tomczyk** - PhD candidate, University of Warsaw, Poland. *"How new global challenges shape political leadership?"*

13.00 **Tornike Zurabashvili** - PhD Candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"The Question of Georgia's Foreign Policy Orientation in the Parliamentary Election Manifestos of 1990 and 1992"*

13:20 **José G. Vargas-Hernández**, PhD, **César Omar Mora Pérez,** PhD, **Miguel Angel Esparza Íñiguez,** PhD **-** University of Guadalajara, Mexico. *"Green innovation business (GIB) as a comprehensive entrepreneurship model for the internationalization. The case of BIO-FOM in the urban area of Guadalajara"*

13.40 – 14.40 Break

II Session (Working Language - English)

Chairperson: Leo Lin

14.40 **David Matsaberidze** - Associate Professor, Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University. *"The Challenges of Post-Soviet Transformation in Georgia: Democratization and its External and Domestic Rivals"*

15.00 **Sumit Mukerji -** Professor, University of Kalyani, India. *"From Negative to Positive Peace: Meeting of two Seminal Minds"*

15.20 **Leo Lin** - Phd Candidate, The University of Southern Mississippi, USA. *"A Comparative Analysis of ASEAN Countries' Responses to Human Trafficking during COVID-19"*

15.40 **Nino Kukhianidze** - PhD Candidate, Maria Curie-Sklodowska University, Poland. *"Peace education: the experience of Finland and the United States of America"*

16.00 **B. Alper Torun** - PhD Candidate, Ankara University, Turkey. *"The Second Karabakh War in the Context of Turkish-Russian Relations"*

16.20 **Sercan Yavan** - PhD, Research Assistant, Aydın Adnan Menderes University, Turkey. *"External Intervention against Satellite Pollution in the World Circulation: The Orbital Tax"*

16.40 **Shamal Hussein** - PhD Candidate, Political Science Institute, Poland. *"The Real Reason Behind Occupying Iraq in 2003"*

17.00 **Ved Pal Singh**, Senior Assistant Professor, **Arjun Deswal**, Student of LL.M. - Maharshi Dayanand University, India. *"Digitalisation as a Key in Rural Development: Glimpses from India"*

17.20 **Giorgi Beridze** - PhD Candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"Europeanization of Georgia and Changes in Labour Relations"*

17.40 **Svetlana Akkieva**, Professor, Institute of Humanitarian Studies-Branch of the Federal Scientific Center Kabardino-Balkar Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, **Muzhigit Ismailivich Akkiev**, Candidate of biological sciences, Kabardino-Balkar State Highland Nature Reserve, Russia. *"The relations between humans and nature: the problem of developing of tourism in the North Caucasus"*

18:00 **Samira Garayeva** - PhD Candidate, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, ANAS Center of Anthropology. *"Cultural attitudes and stereotypes in the family of an Azerbaijani woman"*

25 June, Friday

III Session (Working Language - Georgian)

Chairperson: **Zurab Davitashvili**

10.00 **Zurab Davitashvili** - Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *„National Identity and Foreign Policy"*

10.20 **Vazha Lordkipanidze** - Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"Did the conflicts in Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region have ethnodemographic underpinnings?"*

10.40 **Giorgi Kvinikadze** - Associate Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *„Foreign Trade Problems in the Occupied Regions of Georgia"*

11.00 **Akaki Abzianidze,** Professor, Georgian National University SEU, **Avtandil Tukvadze**, Associate Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"Political leadership in post soviet countries"*

11.20 **Aleksandre Tsurtsumia** - PhD, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"Recep Tayyip Erdogan - The role of a leader in the political process"*

11.40 **Maia Manchkhashvili** - PhD, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"The Platform of Six" - A New Model of Cooperation for the South Caucasus"*

12.00 **Phikria Asanishvili** - Associate Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"Impact of Nagorno Karabakh War over the Regional Powers"*

12.20 **Lasha Tughushi**, Invited Lecturer, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, **Aleksandra Kalatozishvili,** Visiting Lecturer, Ilia State University, **Malkhaz Gagua**, Invited Lecturer, International Black Sea University - *"Identity, conservatism and political views of the Kvemo Kartli population"*

12.40 **Salome Elisashvili** - PhD student, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"The Integration Problem of Ethnic Minorities in the Higher Education System of Georgia"*

13.00 **Vakhtang Maisaia**, Professor, **Miranda Mikadze**, PhD student - Caucasus International University. *"The Impact of Asymmetric War on Euro-Atlantic Security"*

13.20 **Natia Kuprashvili**, Associate Professor, **Nino Chalaganidze**, Associate Professor - Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"Perception of hate speech in the of freedom of speech context - Georgian media culture example"*

13.40 **Maia Toradze**, Associate Professor, **Liana Markariani**, MA Student - Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"Covid-19 Infodemic and Fake News in Georgian Social Media"*

14.00 - 15.00 Break

IV Session (Working Language - Georgian)

Chairperson: **Salome Dundua**

15.00 **Malkhaz Matsaberidze** - Professor, Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University. *„The War of February-March, 1921 and the Constituent Assembly of Georgia"*

15.20 **Revaz Gachechiladze** - Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University**.** *"Formation of Political Boundaries in the 20th century South Caucasus"*

15.40 **Nino Maisuradze** - PhD student, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University**.** *"Influence of the European Conceptions on the Idea of a Nation in Georgia (1893-1917)"*

16.00 **Amiran Berdzenishvili,** Professor, **Kakha Ketsbaia**, Associate Professor - Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"World Religions in the Globalization and Information Age"*

16.20 **Valerian Dolidze** - Assistant professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"Cumulative process of development of democracy in Georgia"*

16.40 **Salome Dundua**, Associate Professor, **Tamar Karaia**, Assistant Professor - Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisis State University. *"Let's Defend My, Your, Our Batumi" - Social Movement to Save the Historic Look of Batumi"*

17.00 **Ketevan Jishiashvili** - PhD Student, Shota Rustaveli Theatre and Film Georgia State University. *"Modelling of postmodern urban space in contemporary Georgian painting"*

17.20 **Sandro Tabatadze** - PhD Student, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *„Policy transfer: attempt for new classification and synthesis with policy change framework"*

17.40 **Goga Lobjanidze** - PhD Candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"Party Cleavages in Georgia"*

18.00 **Tamar Orjonikidze** - PhD Student, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. *"Myths about Stalin in Modern Georgian Politics"*

ABSTRACTS

Revaz Gachechiladze
Professor

Giorgi Gogsadze
Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Voter Turnout in Parliamentary Elections of Georgia: Dynamics and Geography

In the 21st century the majority of the post-communist countries of Europe experienced significant decrease of the voter turnout. Many experts believe that the electorate's growing absenteeism is conditioned by multiple factors including post-Communist demobilization, decline of political enthusiasm within society, weakness of civil society institutions, political stakes, deteriorated socio-economic situation, mass emigration, etc. During its post-Soviet history, Georgia, being a young democracy, had experienced a civil war, two ethno-political conflicts, invasion of the Russian army; it endured harsh socio-economic situation in the 1990s, mass emigration, and other dramatic developments. Nevertheless, its democratic development didn't discontinue. After changes in the Constitution in 2010 Georgia gradually became a parliamentary republic, therefore election of its major legislative body is crucial for the country's political system. Geographic study of voter turnout is one of the ways for understanding complicated political processes taking place in Georgia. Analyzing political and demographic developments affecting voter turnout in Georgia two periods could be singled out: the 1990s–2000s and the 2010s. First two decades of independence were characterized by a simultaneous decline of the number of population and the level of voter turnout; electoral activism dropped by about 14 percentage points (67.1% in 1990 and 53.3% in 2008). Since 2008 turnout level varies from 53 to 61 percent points. It is significant that during the last four parliamentary elections (2008-2012-2016-2020) turnout did not demonstrate steady decrease and amount of voters remained more or less stable. The main finding of the research is that a level of electoral activism in Georgia is determined by two main factors: political stakes and mass emigration. The research deals with following academic methods:

collection-processing of the official data provided by Central Election Commission of Georgia, and its time-space analysis; review of academic works on the topic; GIS technologies for preparing and integrating maps through ESRI ArcGIS, and visual design of results – Adobe Illustrator.

Alexandre Kukhianidze

Professor
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Democracy and Super-Mafia

Liberal Versus Illiberal Democracy

Some of the new political regimes from the former communist countries that call themselves democracies, question the effectiveness of various forms of state organization. Their political leaders declare traditional values as opposed to liberal democratic values, in which a liberal state must give way to an illiberal state. Alternative approaches of illiberal democracy include: order, family, religion, the cult of the motherland, mythologization of the past, control of the media, the special role of the army and special services, and even claims to restore the death penalty. They use populism for propaganda purposes in combination with the "strong hand" method of the head of state, they seek to bring the judicial system under control (that is, under their control), as one of the branches of government, take direct control of the state media, prosecute representatives of the political opposition and prominent public figures who are disloyal to them. Political leaders who openly advocate illiberal democracy, argue that Western values based on human rights, respect for minorities, the rule of law, and free trade are now obsolete, and European Christian democracy has been led astray by liberalism. In fact, they bring their countries under an authoritarian model of government similar to the one that exists in Russia under President Vladimir Putin. The term "illiberal democracy" is a form of verbiage which covers various forms of authoritarianism and, despite the statements of their political leaders, have nothing to do with the fundamental principles of democracy and individual freedom.

Super-Mafia

The best antidote against organized crime is the development of democracy which is not tolerant of them. Super-Mafia means that state power is seized not only by politicians, but also representatives of special services and the Mafia-style organized crime groups. They act in concert, and their actions are so intertwined and secretive that it is quite difficult even for experts to separate politics from

criminal activity. In fact, representatives of the mafia are turning into big business people and politicians, and politicians and representatives of special services implement Mafia functions. The main goal of that type of Mafia is a combination of both illegal enrichment and political power. This phenomenon hardly fits into the framework of the traditional model of the institute of thieves in law (or Russian Mafia Bosses) set forth in the famous book by Mark Galeotti, The Vory: Russia's Super Mafia, which provides a brilliant analysis of Russian professional organized crime. The state of affairs in the Russian Federation with its repeated political killings, unprecedented thefts of state resources, the suppression of political opponents, the creation of bloody medieval regimes in the North Caucasus, is significantly different from the traditional understanding of organized crime. The Russian state is captured by a group of people combining in their actions the functions of special services, oligarchs, leaders of organized crime and politicians which can be called Super Mafia - term which is more suitable for the modern political regime of Russia than for the Russian professional organized crime.

Biró A. Zoltán
Professor

Kinga Katalin Székely
Assistant Professor

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transilvania, Romania

Tourism development opportunities in an Eastern European rural area after COVID-19

In our presentation we will show, through the example of a rural area in Romania, (a.) the changes that the pandemic has brought to the tourism sector, and (b.) the opportunities that tourism operators can exploit based on the lessons learned from the pandemic. Our analysis will focus on the communication of tourism businesses, the use of digital solutions and the opportunities for cooperation between tourism operators.

In the rural area, we have examined, tourism has taken centre stage only in the last 10-15 years. Tourism is present in every development plan, as well as in the view of most experts and decision makers as a high-priority sector, being hailed as a solve-all. However, achievements are influenced, sometimes hindered by numerous factors. A relative under-development (modernization deficit) characterizes the area to this day. Although several experiments into modernization have been undertaken on the region starting from the beginning of the 20th century, these have mostly been abandoned. This modernization deficit can be observed in many areas, from the state of infrastructure to the perception of education, from economic models and practices to branding and to future outlook. Present regional development targets currently still aim to cover decade old deficits in infrastructure. Economic and social processes in the years following the regime change (after 1989), in Romania just as in other former socialist countries, have brought the complete overhaul of the economic system: big state-owned enterprises have vanished, the share of private-owned enterprises has risen in number, as for its structure, small and medium size businesses represent the core of the economy of the region. No outside investments have occurred which could have influenced the structure of the local labor market. All these define the the tourism development potential of the examined area.

Based on previous research conducted on businesses in the tourism sector, it can be noted, that their majority function as small or family businesses, with an emphasis on agrotourism. Professional backgrounds in tourism are less widespread and a propensity for following foreign (Hungarian, Austrian) models can be observed, mostly because of the lack of a previous private sector in tourism, only state owned and controlled hospitality. Furthermore, a complete lack of cooperation between tourism businesses is evident, with every one of them trying to individually succeed. Another important aspect to note is the minimal use of digital and online tools. Passive online presences are most characteristic, a lack of development can be observed in digitalization also.

One of the main consequences of the pandemic is that it has forced tourism operators to develop digital competences and skills in many areas. Our research results show that the COVID situation can also create new opportunities and reshape the way tourism businesses think and operate. In this presentation, we will analyse the following possibilities: the integration and use of digital opportunities in the operation of businesses, the use of social media in the presentation of services, online relationship management, cooperation with tourism and non-tourism operators, the possibility of creating clusters.

Keywords: COVID-19, rural areas, digital development, tourism businesses

Mariam Gersamia
Professor

Maia Toradze
Associate Professor

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Marina Goksadze
MMED
Tbilisi Psychological Center

Gender stereotypes in Georgian media

This research analyzes the challenges in Georgian media (TV, radio, print and online) from gender equality perspective and answers the questions as it follows: How to change dominant gender-related stereotypes in news organizations? how to reduce gender-related stereotypes in news coverage? How to cover domestic violence and femicide in ethical and ecological way?

To answer the following questions qualitative research has been conducted in 2021. Using grounded analysis as strategy, mixed/hybrid methods for coding have been used and included both - deductive and inductive approaches. The data have been collected from focus-groups (N=4) and all participants (N=25) were chosen from media organizations. The media pool consisted of prominent journalists and talk-show/news presenters, top and middle ranked managers (editors, producers). Qualitative data corpus for analysis consisted of transcripts and notes (including body-language and tone remarks, changes of ideas and interesting points). Content has been clarified, classified and synthesized into the main topics and sub-categories.

Analysis is based on comparison of the information obtained from both single discussion group and between different ones and suggests the ways for empowering female journalists and reframing existing gender-related stereotypes in media organizations; as well as adjusting covering of domestic violence and trauma reporting. The main findings are as it follows:

Focus-group participants agree that perception of journalism as a profession has been changed over time, but gender-biased stereotypes still exist in the newsrooms. The challenge is establishing the ethical standards while covering gender-sensitive stories (domestic violence included) and the main reason for it remains lack of knowledge and skill-based competencies. As for combating bulling and blackmailing female journalists, groups appealed media organizations and journalists for expressing solidarity, more promptly. Groups agree that for battling dominant gender-related stereotypes, it is fundamental to create alternative discourse and narrative in media, as well as to promote discussions and diverse groups. Lack of such platforms and planning process in media is mostly caused by political agenda dominated in the newsrooms. In this regard, another challenge is gender-biased media-positioning of female politicians and business women in talk-shows and news stories, which is partly caused by stereotypical self-representation of female respondents.

Keywords: Media, gender stereotypes, domestic violence, Georgia

Cenay Babaoglu

Associate Professor
Selçuk University, Turkey

Onur Kulac

Assistant Professor
Pamukkale University, Turkey

Incremental Policy-Making in Public Health During the Covid-19 Pandemic in Turkey

Coronavirus disease, which began in 2019, has been identified as a global pandemic by the World Health Organization as of March 2020. During the pandemic, many regions -first in East Asia, then the Middle East and then Europe- had to struggle with this crisis. In the COVID-19 pandemic, which has emerged as a medical-based problem, governments have primarily focused on health policies. During the pandemic, problems in health systems, especially in Italy and Spain, have triggered new measures in many countries and changes in health policies. In this direction, Turkey first gave priority to activities in preparation for the epidemic and then gave weight to measures for hospital infrastructure and health workers. In addition to health equipment such as ventilators, efforts were made to produce protective and preventive health equipment during the initial stages of the epidemic. During this period, city hospitals opened through public-private partnership were also crucial in combating the epidemic.

On the other hand, new policy topics such as vaccine production, vaccine supply and vaccination have also been raised in the following periods. Turkey, which had to develop policy practices in different titles during three different peak periods of the epidemic, has followed partial successful process management as a country that sometimes needs to be exemplified and sometimes lessons learned in these studies. In this context, Turkey's decisions on health policies during the pandemic period will be examined with an incremental policy process approach, and good and bad practices will be discussed through lesson drawing. It aims to examine Turkey's practices in different peak periods in terms of their results and draw conclusions about future outbreaks. The implementation processes of the Influenza

Plan of Turkey preparedness plans prepared before 2019 encourage who will also be discussed in terms of their results. It is thought that the study will be a comparison with other country examples in terms of discussing the effectiveness of the policies produced by the example of Turkey, which has a large-scale, densely populated and central administrative structure.

Agnieszka Tomczyk

PhD candidate
University of Warsaw, Poland

How new global challenges shape political leadership?

Political leadership is one of the categories pivotal to understanding political processes. Yet, its definition remains elusive. As a processual and dynamic phenomenon, political leadership needs to be defined contextually. Equally, it always implies interaction with other individuals. The ongoing theoretical dispute as to whether an individual creates history or whether history determines the course of the world is still unresolved. A literature review shows that the historical evolution of leadership includes, first and foremost, theory of personality traits of leaders as well as behavioural and situational concepts of leadership phenomenon.

Recent study has found that a new kind of leadership is appearing before our eyes. In addition to the traditional or marketing-oriented models of leadership, its new concept is more embedded in the communication sphere with intensified medialization of politics, as media makes an impact on political actors and their voters. Furthermore, this trend in the leadership transformation is reinforced by the emergence of particular circumstances. Therefore, in the „new pandemic reality" followed by the global crisis the political leadership has made a comeback.

The paper claims that the emergence of new variables or constraints might bring about the evolution of leadership. An empirical evidence for this argument is provided, *inter alia*, by the outburst of the Covid-19 pandemic, followed by the medical aid that Georgia has provided for its breakaway territories, especially in Abkhazia. It is from the crisis that a rare opportunity for enhancing Georgia's engagement in both regions has arisen, one that Georgia's leadership might have taken advantage of this situation to resume stability talks, for instance.

The emergence of the "new pandemic reality" has created an opportunity for world leaders to adopt various strategies to overcome the threat. Thus, the transformation of leadership might be one of the most significant determinants of the upcoming

changes. Given these points, the research challenge is to explore how the emergence of the new concept of political leadership may affect the functioning of states and modern societies in the conditions of changing world.

Keywords: political leadership theory, Georgia, breakaway territories, COVID-19 pandemic

Tornike Zurabashvili

PhD Candidate
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

The Question of Georgia's Foreign Policy Orientation in the Parliamentary Election Manifestos of 1990 and 1992

The experience of Central and Eastern European countries proves that in the early years of post-Communist transition, the question of foreign policy orientation occupied an important place in the countries' public and political discourse. Georgia has been no exception: the country's choice of the foreign policy orientation was actively discussed in the public and political fora in the early years of 1990s. One of the key questions in this process has been the country's place in the world and its role in the international system of nation states, as well as the question of Georgia's belonging to various geographic areas: Europe/west, Caucasus and Russia/Eurasia. Despite the practical and academic significance of this issue, the question of Georgia's foreign policy orientation of the early years of 1990s has enjoyed only a limited attention in Georgian and international scholarly literature. The proposed presentation aims to fill this very gap; the author will carry out qualitative and quantitative analysis of the question of foreign policy orientation in the party manifestos of 1990 Supreme Council (4 parties) and 1992 Parliament elections (18 parties), attempting to establish what role the foreign policy-specific questions occupied in overall programmatic priorities and what kind of foreign and economic policy choices were preferred by leading political parties. The goal of the presentation is to shed light on the prevailing foreign policy visions and priorities in the early years of independence, as well as to demonstrate how these positions evolved with change of government in 1992. More specifically, the author will scrutinize the following research questions: 1) How were various geographic spaces constructed and represented in the party manifestos of 1990 and 1992 elections? 2) What was the place, role and mission of Georgia in these spatial constructions? And 3) What arguments (cultural, historic, economic, security) did they employ when ascribing Georgia to a particular spatial category?

In analyzing the party manifestos, the author will use the method of document analysis. Initially, the author will sum all sentences of the documents and separate those that pertain to the foreign policy orientation. This will serve two purposes: parting of foreign policy-related sentences will enable calculation of its share in the overall body of text and will also ease further qualitative and quantitative processing of data. At that stage, the author will also conduct qualitative analysis of foreign policy-related sentences. Next, he will break down the sentences into foreign policy "statements." For instance, if a party stipulates in its manifesto that "Euro-Atlantic integration" is the party's policy priority, this particular constellation of words will be considered as one sentence, but two policy statements: 1) the party supports European integration; 2) the party support NATO integration. At the next stage, the author will assign the statements to specific thematic categories, for instance: west – positive; west – negative; international engagement – positive; international engagement – negative; Russian Federation – positive, Russian Federation – negative; Russian Federation – neutral; relations with neighboring countries – positive; relations with neighboring countries – negative; neutrality/balanced foreign policy – positive; general/other. After assigning of policy statements to specific categories, the author will conduct quantitative analysis of obtained data.

José G. Vargas-Hernández
PhD

César Omar Mora Pérez
PhD

Miguel Angel Esparza Íñiguez
PhD

University of Guadalajara, Mexico

Green innovation business (GIB) as a comprehensive entrepreneurship model for the internationalization. The case of BIO-FOM in the urban area of Guadalajara

The objective of this paper is to analyze the functioning of an integral model of entrepreneurship in green innovation business (GIB) that are currently emerging and in the process of internationalization. Therefore, this work aims to study the central perspectives of technology that are based on the phenomenon of entrepreneurship and thus develop a strategy that adapts to companies with an ecological basis to achieve internationalization. Once having a clear idea of what an eco-efficient oriented company is, it is analyzed why this type of ecological-based companies, which, although they contribute to the environment, have many barriers when it comes to wanting to expand into new markets. Most of the companies that adopt the ecoefficient stance, are small companies which have very clean transformation processes because most of their processes are handcrafted and do not have great waste, in the same way the materials used by this type of companies They are biodegradable and do not harm the environment, they are always very concerned about the sustainable development of the planet. But due to this type of factors, these eco-efficient companies face many barriers in the course of their business career, the barriers can be technological, financing, governmental, imitation, among many other barriers that may be found along the way. Therefore, in this work an eco-efficient company dedicated to organic compost will be analyzed, through the integral model of entrepreneurship to analyze which are the factors that slow down or that help the internalization of companies with an ecological base.This article analyzes a particular company, which specializes in

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the area of ecological bio mineral organic fertilizer, where no chemical product is used to produce the composition, everything that is marketed is made up of a base of organic minerals and other organic compounds.

David Matsaberidze

Associate Professor
Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University

The Challenges of Post-Soviet Transformation in Georgia: Democratization and its External and Domestic Rivals

The research will uncover main challenges of democratization, being the pre-requisite of Europeanization in Georgia, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union through looking at it via the prism of triple (Claus Offe) and quadruple (Taras Kuzio) transition models under the problem of fragmentation of [political] public sphere in Georgia, referring to the political public sphere (Jurgen Habermas) in particular. The research claims that the aspects of quadruple model (politics, economics, culture and state/nation) highlight much on the post-Soviet and emerging challenges of Georgia setting problems to democratization process in the country resulting in democracy decay or regression, influenced either by the trap of modernization vs. democratization or the rise of populism and illiberalism of different kinds. The paper reflects on the division between state and nation via juxtaposing and comparing the state-building and nation-building processes as a problem of democratization vs. modernization in Georgia through path-dependence and path-contingency approaches of the post-Soviet/Socialist transformation(s). The process of state-building and nation-building will be explained through application of the quadruple model, which highlights cracks in political, economic, cultural and national aspects of democratization in Georgia. These aspects will be deconstructed through juxtaposition of the external security vs. domestic security issues – influencing on the behavior of the local actors (political elites), therefore on the nature of domestic regime. The research relies on qualitative analysis and employ the discursive approach (speech act analysis in particular) to highlight the narrative strategies of the pro-Western and pro-Russian actors through uncovering and deconstructing their strategies in politics, media and civil society as the reactions to pressing external and domestic security challenges, which cause the fragmentation of the [political] public sphere in the country.

Keywords: Democratization, Public Sphere, Transformation/Transition, Georgia

Sumit Mukerji

Professor
University of Kalyani, India

From Negative to Positive Peace: Meeting of two Seminal Minds

In the history of emergence, evolution and progress of Conflict and Peace studies as an academic discipline along with the enormous proliferation of literature on the subject, one path breaking milestone has been the concept of Positive peace as an alternative to Negative Peace. Articulated by Johan Galtung, it provided a counterblast to the conceptual predominance of Negative Peace over the concerned domain. Galtung posited Positive Peace as an emancipatory concept based on structural integration which promised true, lasting and sustainable peace as opposed to the fragile and uncertain temporary reprieve provided by Negative Peace characterized by an undercurrent of violence. Philosophically, Positive peace aims not so much at conflict resolution but rather the establishment of peace animated by the vision of world order based on the sanctity of international law. Unlike its counterpart where there is peace without justice, Positive peace emphasizes on social equality and justice, interconnectedness of life, harmony, renewed human bonds and shared human values. While Galtung's work has been subjected to searching analysis and criticism, the role of a seminal Indian mind in the process of theoretical development of his ideas, deserves in-depth and meticulous examination. This was Mahatma Gandhi who influenced, inspired and ignited the mind of Galtung who in turn internalized his message and interpolated and integrated it into his framework of analysis.

Galtung labelled Gandhi a Structuralist who distinguished between the person and structure. Through Gandhian lens, Galtung saw how violence was built into social structures rather than persons. He adapted the Gandhian distinction between direct and indirect violence the latter categorized as structural and cultural violence which was no less venomous and hurtful than direct violence. Disempowered and marginalized people suffer and die in silence due to structured inequalities which have the potential to ignite armed conflict when the chronically oppressed resort to armed violence. Ethnic conflicts in particular, are exacerbated by continued disparities and deprivations. Gandhi intuitively understood the violence perpetrated by oppressive social structures and political institutions and was

unequivocal in his affirmation that the evil lay in the structure, not in the person carrying out his obligations. His emphasis was on system generated structural violence rather than actor oriented direct violence. The essence of non-violence is to root out antagonism, not the antagonists themselves.

Under the influence of Gandhi, Galtung emphasized on positive rather than negative non-violence the former seeking to make the antagonist start being peaceful. In his work Gandhi's Political Ethics, Galtung shows how his intellectual association with Gandhi prepared the conceptual framework for his Peace Research Institute of Oslo founded in 1959. Thomas Weber in Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics, follows the same line as Galtung which clearly indicates Gandhi's presence in his mind and thought.

The present paper intends to rediscover the Gandhi- Galtung interface where Gandhi was the invisible catalyst behind Galtung's ingenious contribution to Peace and Conflict Studies, an area which has remained an un ploughed field of research till date.

Keywords: Gandhi, Galtung, Thomas Weber, Conflict resolution, Non-violence

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A Comparative Analysis of ASEAN Countries' Responses to Human Trafficking during COVID-19

The COVID-19 is not only a pandemic impacting people's health; it is also a transnational threat that has threatened the rights of vulnerable groups of people who have less voice. The Southeast Asian region has been facing the challenges of non-traditional security threats, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, low-income families in ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries have faced tremendous risks that rely on governments to address the issue. In particular, women and children are often suffered from unequal access to resources, services, and opportunities. According to the UNODC report, fifty-one percent of victims in East Asia were women, and children comprised nearly a third. The research questions of this paper are, first, what are the key human trafficking risks to vulnerable groups of people related to the COVID-19 crisis in Southeast Asian countries? Second, what are the ASEAN governments' responses to those risks? In this paper, the author identifies key human rights risks to children related to the COVID-19 crisis and then analyzes the ASEAN government's responses to children's rights issues during the pandemic. The four countries selected are Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam due to the unique trafficking profile of each. This paper provides an empirical analysis using an analytical framework developed by the author. Data were collected from primary and secondary sources such as the international organization's official websites and ASEAN countries' official publications, official records, and newspapers. This researcher employs a cross-case comparative method using a pattern-matching technique to analyze the data. This paper concludes with policy recommendations and steps that ASEAN countries should take to protect women and children's rights in the pandemic and mitigate its devastating effects.

Keywords: Human trafficking, ASEAN, COVID-19, gender inequality, non-traditional security threat

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Peace education: the experience of Finland and the United States of America

Peace education, proposes a wide range of approaches, as well as aims, which differ on a country-to-country basis, according to the audience and socio-political and ideological context. However, peace education overlaps and shares theoretical and practical grounds with other types of "progressive educations". These encompass the following: civics education, development education, environmental education, human rights education, and multi-cultural education. Peace education shares a concern of contemporary problems with global education as the basis of its content and a belief in participatory and active learning strategies.

Peace education has been identified as sharing common ground with citizenship and human rights education through beliefs in the interdependency of world's citizens, and through its faith in tolerance and respect for difference, and an appreciation of the rights of others as being important to establish and maintain peace.

Within these shared frameworks, peace education is defined as education that promotes concepts of non-violence, human rights, social justice, world-mindedness, ecological balance, meaningful participation, while peace is defined as all those times when a nation is not actively at war, and peace education as everything supporting that condition.

With the concept of peace education in mind, this research intends to review and analyze educational policies and curricula for general education based on the cases of American, and Finnish educational systems, in relation to their concerns for peace education to contribute to values education and the acquisition of peaceful, social and civic competences in schools. Integrating peace education principles in order to shape individual and community identities, to enhance relationships between people, to promote positive conflict transformation, development and, in general, contribute to peacebuilding. Curriculum helps to legitimize what is

considered to be important to learn within a society and therefore determines what is included to be understood as relevant knowledge and practices. The documentary analysis of American, Finnish educational documents in relation to teaching and learning of peace education components gives responses on the extent peace education principles are expected to contribute to building peaceful and sustainable societies, and faces some current challenges of the role of peace education in schools.

The reasons the Finnish and American education systems have been chosen as case studies within the context of peace education is primarily because of their important stance in the world education rankings. Even though American and Finnish education systems are very much different from one another, both have become a subject of interest when discussing successful education models. Since the United States education system varies on a state-by-state basis, this research plans to assess the schools system in one of the states - the State of Massachusetts, which was selected for the purpose of this research according to the top rankings it has maintained in the US national K-12 education rankings.

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The Second Karabakh War in the Context of Turkish-Russian Relations

Relations between Turkey and Russia, which have been confrontational throughout history, have undergone a new transformation after the Western-supported social movements called the Arab Spring and the Syrian Civil War. This new transformation brought Turkey and Russia closer to each other as regional powers and helped the development of the practice of generating regional solutions for regional problems. Russia's efforts to keep its ally Bashar al-Assad in power in Syria, which is home to Russia's only military base in the Mediterranean, and Turkey's desire to eliminate threats to its national security after the Syrian Crisis made this cooperation inevitable in a sense. In particular, the military and political support given by the United States to Kurdish groups in northern Syria has been effective in Turkey's rapprochement to Russia, taking into account its border security. On the other hand, it seems possible for Russia to keep the Assad administration in power against the coalition forces led by the United States only through cooperation with regional powers such as Turkey and Iran. These practices, institutionalized with the Astana Process in 2019, encouraged Turkey and Russia, which have conflicting interests, to turn to cooperation in order to prevent external interventions against their spheres of influence. One of the most important test areas of this 'fragile' cooperation period is the Second Karabakh War. The conflict, which started with the mutual accusations of the Azerbaijani and Armenian forces in September 2020, continued with establishing superiority of the Azerbaijani army one by one in the pre-occupied territories which surround the Nagorno-Karabakh region. In this process, it was revealed that Armenia did not receive sufficient support in the international arena against Azerbaijan, which gained an advantage in the field with the military assistance of Turkish drones. The Nikol Pashinyan administration, which came to power as a result of the street demonstrations in the "coloured" revolution style with the intense support of the West in 2018 and developed an anti-Russian discourse, could not get enough assistance from its "historical" ally Russia, and this situation was quite effective in

determining the result. In this study, the Second Karabakh War will be analyzed in the context of Turkish-Russian relations, which has been re-formulated after the Arab Spring and in particularly Syrian Crisis. In this regard, Russian foreign policy during the Second Karabakh War will be associated with the Near Abroad Doctrine which was declared in 1993 and put into action after 2008.

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External Intervention against Satellite Pollution in the World Circulation: The Orbital Tax

The amount of earth's returning satellite debris continues to increase. This debris disrupts satellites and sometimes endangers astronauts. The problem is getting more serious and eventually making the low trajectory unusable. As humanity advances in an age of over-dependence on satellite-powered technologies, the pollution known as space debris from the congestion of satellites becomes undeniable. The space debris problem is growing every second and creating the risk of collisions in orbits around the world.

Until now, little or no focus has been placed on developing legislation to solve the space debris problem. The Outer Space Treaty, which is considered the 'Magna Carta' of the law of space, is very general. On the other hand, the Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects establishes a regime of liability for damage caused by space objects. However, the 'Charter of Liability' focuses solely on causality and damage rather than preventing or mitigating debris in space. The Space Debris Reduction Guidelines, adopted by the United Nations in 2007, is the only international tool to deal with the space debris problem alone.

This study proposes an orbital tax, which includes limitations to prevent orbital pollution for the solution of this problem. The proposed orbital tax will help measure the economic benefits of implementing out-of-orbit technologies by satellite operators with their satellites. Moreover, the additional costs of operating satellites will affect decisions to launch satellites in orbit. The proposed orbital tax is an internationally coordinated orbital use charge designed to influence satellite launch decisions. This tax is unlike launch charges charged from satellites prior to launch, since there are orbiting objects that pose a risk of direct collision with other satellites, they will be charged annually from the orbiting satellite. The orbital tax will be collected by the government where the satellite is registered. The orbital tax will act as a 'Pigouvian tax' and will reduce negative externalities by taxing the product associated with the externality. Examples of such taxes would be the carbon emission tax or plastic bags. The costs of externalities

through this mechanism are afforded by the producer that produces such an externality. Orbital tax can vary depending on factors that determine the risk of one satellite colliding with another. These factors include the satellite's orbital path and height, structure, and property design.

While the concept of orbital tax manifests itself as a good solution to tackling the problem of debris and overcrowding in space, it is not free from shortcomings. First, there is an important problem in the task of all states agree on a monotype rate. The difficulty of reaching such an agreement between states is overlooked by orbital tax advocates. The taxation of space, a new and important frontier, increases the potential for problems with international taxation. The commercial exploitation of space is becoming more commonplace with each passing day, and more and more plans to operate beyond our planet.

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The Real Reason Behind Occupying Iraq in 2003

Although the United States of America and the British government accused Iraq to have Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological weapons these reasons were just used as legal cover to invade Iraq. The main reason was Iraqi oil and gas.

Iraq is one of the rich countries in Middle East with oil, since Iraq nationalized oil in June – 1972, Iraq faced many local and international conflicts from ethnic conflict between Arab and Kurds in 1974-1975, war with Iran 1980 – 1988 then the American Invasion to Iraq in 2003. Iraq could not nationalize the oil sector without Soviet Union support.

Before Iraq nationalizing oil, in September-1960 the Iraqi Prime Minister Abdul Kareem Qassim established OPEC organization which regulating oil products for country members. The Prime Minister Abdul Kareem Qassim decided to sell Iraqi oil and take the revenue in Iraqi Dinar which was not accepted by western countries especially United States of America. This decision was the main reason for western countries to support the opposition in Iraq to lead a military cube against Abdul Kareem Qassim to overthought his government and execute him. Abdul Kareem Qassim depended on Soviet Union support but it failed to keep him in power.

Going back to the Middle East history, we can find the same plan happen to Iran during 1951 – 1953 when the Iranian Prime Minister Muhamad Mosaddeq nationalized Iranian oil from British oil company which controlled Iranian oil sector. When the decision was not easy which done by the Iranian government I one side because in 1933 the Shah of Iran Reda Pahlavi signed a legal contract with Britain government to allow British oil company to invest I Iranian oil sector till 1993, therefore, when Iranian government decided to nationalize the oil sector it was illegal decision because of the contracts which singed between Shah of Iran and British government. Add to that, the Iranian government changed the revenue of the oil from Dollar to Iranian currency which was a real threaten for American

economy and American currency. Muhamad Mosaddeq depended on Iranian Communist Party and Soviet Union support to keep him in power but he failed.

After Iraq occupied Kuwait in 2-08-1990, the international Community put Iraq under economy sanction which stopped Iraq to communicate and trade with global countries till 1996 when Oil food program accepted by Iraqi government, this program allowed Iraq to sell oil and get food but Saddam Hussein asked the international bank to sell Iraqi oil with Euro not with Dollar, this decision was the beginning of overthrowing Saddam Hussein regime in 2003.

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Digitalisation as a Key in Rural Development: Glimpses from India

India is an agrarian country. The soul of India lives in its villages. The territory of the country comprises 6,64,369 villages. Approximately 65 % of the population lives in villages. Hence it becomes important to uplift the conditions of these villagers. To achieve this objective, the Government of India need to allocate more funds towards education, civic amenities (especially pure drinking water and management of waste), medical facilities and the policies of economic justice. Many programmes, schemes and projects have been started for the betterment/ upliftment of the living standards of the residents of these villages.

Since last 73 the villagers are lagging behind in most of the sectors including health, education, food and hygiene conditions. The objective of my paper is to seek the answer of the following questions arising in my mind: What is rural development? Why the people from rural are unable to enjoy the equal status with urban area? Why the young generation is moving towards urban area from villagers? What kind of policies, welfare legislations are framed to remove the gap of services between urban and rural area? What kind of special schemes are implemented to raise the living standards of villagers? Why there is ignorance on the part of villagers regarding their rights, schemes implemented for them? What is the role of the Government to ensure that people are not migrating to cities? What is the role of Educational Institutions' in improving the living standards of the students belonging to rural area?

Since independence following programmes have been adopted for the empowerment of villagers: Community Development Programme, 1952; Integrated Rural Development Programme, 1979, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Act 2005.

Advancements of Science and Technology have created an atmosphere of optimism, which led to the coining of phrases, such as Incredible India, India Shining and India 2020. Now let us analyse the role of ICT in rural development. As rural poor are not aware about of their rights and availability of government schemes, ICT can improve their access to the information of their need. ICT creates free flow of information and knowledge of their interest. ICTs help in strengthening Rural Governance by improving transparency, accountability and administrative efficiency of rural institutions. ICT improves interaction within civil society and encourages participation in rural governing process; it will improve the services of their requirement. ICT is regarded as one of the key elements in modernizing agriculture by communicating accurate weather, knowledge of various seeds, fertilisers and information of regarding treatment of diseases of crops.

There is no doubt in narrating that the Government has done a very little for the development of the living standards of these villagers. The policies are not implemented properly. In the era of digitalisation there is no boundary, no caste, no class and no discrimination in the effective implementation of the policies. Time has come to realise the fruits of technology by joining our hands with all the four pillars of the democracy i.e. Parliament, Executive, Judiciary and Media. We need to create proper co-ordination to remove the pitfalls of the policies. We must bring the principle of Polluter Pays the Principle and Precautionary Principle then only we will be able to say that India is shining (Sone Ki Chidiya-a dream of Bapu Ji, the Father of the Nation).

Keywords: Nationals, rural folk, digitalization, legislations, initiatives and development.

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Europeanization of Georgia and Changes in Labour Relations

Georgia signed the Association Agreement with the European Union in 2014, laying the groundwork for significant institutional changes in the country. These changes are reflected in the commitments that Georgia must fulfill over a period of time in order to bring governance and the political agenda closer to EU standards. In the study of Europeanization, which covers the last three decades of EU enlargement, documents such as the Association Agreement are perceived as a kind of "intermediate" agreement between the EU and another country. In this way, the state must "download" the norms of political relations of the EU (Flockhart, 2008) (Ladrech, 1994), the EU also has various mechanisms to ensure the implementation of responsibilities from the targeted state (Schimmelfenning, 2015) (Grabbe, 2006) (Schimmelfenning, Scholz, 2008).

Our research task is to study the Europeanization of Georgia in the context of labor relations, given that the implementation of labor relations reforms is one of the obligations of Georgia under the agreement.

From 2003 to 2012, the Georgian government often relied on a libertarian agenda in economics and public policy, but soon after the government change in 2012, the new team that came to power was given important tasks by the Association Agreement. If in 2003-2012 the state largely avoided responsibility in labor relations and gave more freedom to businesses, since 2014 this trend has changed. Therefore, the changes we are going to study are a kind of "reversal" from neoliberalism to a more responsible state.

To further narrow our focus, we will look at the legal changes that affected labor law during the post-association agreement, and we believe that conducting a qualitative study will lead to significant results.

Therefore, we find it interesting to discuss the changes in the context of Europeanization that have affected the field of labor relations in Georgia, to discover the achievements and limits of this process.

Keywords: Theory of Europeanization; Labour Relations, European Union, Association Agreement

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The relations between humans and nature: the problem of developing of tourism in the North Caucasus

The relations between humans and nature are an important problem today, which the mankind faces. It is emphasized in the beginning of the XXI century and demands the urgent decision. It is supposed that the solution of the problem is based on the 3 methodological statements. First, we need the scientific inclusion, dealing with the problem of humans and nature. Second, it is important to use nonlinear thinking and the new ways of progressive postnonclassic paradigm for understanding the functioning of difficult opened system of «humans-nature». Third, the solution of the problem should take the localized approach.

It is important to say that «the principle of regional ecumene» and the national ecology, opening the opportunity of positive effect on the developing and noospherical humans compilation, must be accustomed to the spiritual and moral values of contemporary times, defining the human relevance to the nature.

The significance of this statement is resulted from the necessity of constructing the regional steady development model.

Our aim is to detect the specifics of the relations between humans and nature from the perspective of the North Caucasian sociocultural space, which is a labour-intensive and nonlinear system. North Caucasus is considered not only during to the area and geographical features. It also matches the sociocultural taxonomy. Though there is polysemy, typical for the concept of «region», it is important to highlight the traits of the North Caucasus region. It can be considered as a homogeneous space with the cultural, physiographic communion and historical fate, which makes the unique regional specifics. The North Caucasian region is

seen as the labour-intensive, historically formed social, ethnocultural, economical, geopolitical system. The origin of the North Caucasian nation (and the Caucasus in general) has got its own cultural model of existence – the attitudinal picture, which conditions the relations between humans and nature in general.

Not only ecology, but also tourism can be referred to the problems of relations between the mankind and nature.

The North Caucasus is famous for its mountain ranges, clear water and air. It is the place which must be visited by every tourist. That is why all the regions pay attention to the development of tourism as the important economic direction. Along with the well-known places like Elbrus, Cheget and Dombay (Kabardin-Balkar Republic and Karachai-Cherkes Republic) now there are new directions for the excursions: Chechnya, Dagestan, Ingushetia and so on. Economic and political aspects effected that.

In the North Caucasus region there is the orientation on the tourism, which can become the competitive industry of the international travel system with its proper implementation. The whole Caucasus can take a leading position in international tourism in general in case of its political commitment.

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Cultural attitudes and stereotypes in the family of an Azerbaijani woman

Azerbaijani family under the influence of modern trends is undergoing majorchanges, the consequences of which are important for both family and for society in general. Regularities in change of sexual roles in a family and marriage are noted. The social problems caused by decrease in birth rate and increase of number of the persons refusing marriage and a family are described. Patriarchal tendencies continue to dominate the mass consciousness, and models of gender behavior that are assessed as discriminatory towards women are still relevant in Azerbaijan. The family is the center of the formation of gender relations, through it the ideas of masculinity and femininity, gender stereotypes and norms that determine the behavior of men and women in society are transmitted to next generations. Azerbaijani society today is more open to women's self-affirmation. In this context, the role of the mother in maintaining ethnic identity and the marital role in maintaining family traditions is very important. One of the tasks facing the study is to identify the marital role of women in Azerbaijani families. In this regard, it is supposed to consider the image of the mother in the ethnic identity of Azerbaijanis, to explore the process of raising a woman as a future mother: traditions, rites, rituals, to identify the role of women in wedding ceremonies. Today, the social mobility of Azerbaijani women has undergone many changes, which has affected the prevailing cultural attitudes and stereotypes - but certain expectations in relations between men and women still exist. It is in the roles and stereotypes that the ethnic mentality manifests itself, and it is with their development and change many ethnic issues will be It is in the roles and stereotypes that the ethnic mentality manifests itself, and it is with their development and change many ethnic issues will be tied**.**

Keywords: Azerbaijani family, family values, priorities of self-expression, gender balance, ethnic characteristics of relationships in the family

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National Identity and Foreign Policy

The purpose of this article is to determine the interaction between national identity and foreign political course, both in general and also specifically on the example of Georgia.

National identity involves answers on questions such as: who are we? What is our function? Who are "ours" and who are "others"? The question arises thus: What is the role of national identity in the state's foreign political course? Since, national identity is the determining factor of foreign policy the question can be raised: What is the relationship between national identity and the national interests in foreign politics?

It is evident that every country has its national interests and it depends on the place of the state in the international system, its power and strength, historical factors, economical potential, resources etc. The national interests of big states differ from the ones of small and weak countries. If the first one's interests often are hegemonic, the weak states main concerns are keeping sovereignty and territorial integrity. From Georgia's neighboring countries, the national identity of Russia is determined as "The third Rome", "Messiah", superpower, whose existence without the empire is impossible. This type of self-identification implies that it must have small and weak states under its influence and first of all, it should be post-soviet sphere. Its foreign policy goals also serve this purpose.

Turkey has on a lesser scale but still hegemonic interests. After the end of the cold war, the nationalism of Atatürk, also known as "Turkism" is slowly shifting into Neo-ottomanism, which includes the leading role of Turkey in the states from the previous Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, the modern foreign policy of Turkey is a manifestation of this identity.

The national identity of Azerbaijan, as a younger nation, was observed in two ways: Turkism (one nation, two states) and Azerbaijanism, whose significance lately has been growing stronger. The manifestation of the latter is Azerbaijan's balanced policy, but the strong roots of Turkism causes the recognition of Turkey as an older brother and as the main strategic partner of Azerbaijan.

As for Armenia, its national identity is based on the perception of a distinctive and suffered nation. The national idea of restoring "Great Armenia" put it in a difficult position. Today, the main national interest of Armenia is survival from hostile neighbors, which is guaranteed by Russia. Therefore, this explains Armenia's full dependence on Russia.

Georgia's national identity is multifaceted. At first glance, Georgians are a separate nation, who doesn't have relative nations. Therefore, its foreign policy should be based on neutrality. On the other hand, Georgians first and foremost are Caucasians and its efforts should be directed to creating a Caucasian union, where it will have a leading role. According to other views, Georgia belongs to an Orthodox Christian civilization, therefore its political course should be directed towards the orthodox world. Ideas were expressed about Eurasianism of Georgia. In the case of Georgia, all of these ideas related to the connection between Georgian identity and its foreign policy are unacceptable. The first two because they are utopian, the rest because of evident Russian characteristics and incompatibility with Georgia's national interests. This path was simply not left for Georgia.

Georgia's national interest, sovereignty and territorial integrity, progress, economic progress and democracy are possible and guaranteed only by close contact with the Western world. That is why Euro-Atlantic integration is the main foreign political interest of Georgia. However, how much is this related to Georgian national identity? Of course Georgians consider themselves more as Europeans rather than Asians, but self-identification as "real Europeans" or part of Western civilization is difficult. According to Huntington's vision, Georgians are a "torn nation" which belongs to one (Orthodox) civilization, but the political orientation is towards the second (Western) civilization. It is possible to say that Georgia's national interests define its Pro-Western political course, which in this case, can be less explained by Georgians European identity. In our opinion, we are dealing with the opposite event: Foreign political course affects national identity and Georgian national identity is being Europeanized.

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Did the conflicts in Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region have ethnodemographic underpinnings?

Recently, there have been frequent attempts to falsify the real picture of the demographic development of Abkhazians and Ossetians in Georgia. This is mainly related to the attempt to find justification in the eyes of the world community for occupation of twenty percent of Georgian territory. Unfortunately, even at the highest official levels, falsifications of reality are no longer avoided. Historical facts and important specific statistical material easily expose political cynical lies. Moreover, real information about the ethnogenesis and development of the population on the territory of Abkhazia, a historically organic and integral part of Georgia, can be found in both Georgian and many foreign sources.

Both ancient and modern Georgian, and most importantly, foreign historical or literary sources, clearly prove that the territory of present-day Abkhazia is an ancient part and it is still rich in human settlements of the Paleolithic period. Prior to antiquity and the Adriatic era, the territory of historic Abkhazia was part of the Colchian or Georgian cultural area.

Herodotus, Strabo and other authors point out that all the ancient tribes living here are Kartvelian tribes. Already from the Middle Ages, in Abkhazia, as well as in other parts of Georgia, the national culture was the common Georgian culture with the Georgian language, Georgian writing, Georgian Christianity and Georgian feudal relations. Both old and new official historical documents confirm that the modern territory of Abkhazia has never been a single and separate state organism, it has always been an organic part of Georgia, and in its composition, the indigenous, aboriginal Georgians have always predominated significantly. Abkhazia, has also always been recognized as part of Georgia, by the Russian Empire. This was the case during the existence of Tsarist Russia, as well as throughout the existence of the Soviet Union. The existence of Abkhazia within Georgia before 2008, ie before the occupation, was also recognized by independent Russia. Throughout the existence of Abkhazia, there has never been an attempt to artificially change the demographics of the population, especially

since there have been no artificial mechanical migration processes. At the same time, there have always been equally favorable conditions for the development of the population of Georgians, Abkhazians and other nationalities. Based on the abundant official data, it can be boldly concluded that the conflict in Abkhazia has never had an ethno-demographic basis.

Similar gross falsifications are taking place regarding the demographic development of Ossetians in Georgia. Historically, there has never been Neither "Ossetia" nor the so-called "South Osetia" on Georgian territory. The deliberately coined term "South Ossetia" is used as a tool in the occupation process. The former territory of so-called "South Ossetia" has historically always been Georgian territory and only Georgians lived there. Historical, demographic, economic, social and political facts, official statistics, various sources clearly show that, similar to Abkhazia, the conflict in Ossetia also has no ethno-demographic basis. Rather it is politically and militarily organized for imperial purposes.

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Foreign Trade Problems in the Occupied Regions of Georgia

The study of the economies of the occupied regions of Georgia (with some exceptions, most of which are of an informative nature), especially the study of their foreign economicrelations, has not yet become the subject of scientific research.

How do the occupied regions choose their trading partners? What factors determine this choice? Which countries are their official or informal trading partners? What is the commodity structure of their foreign trade? These are the questions that need to be discussed scientifically in the social sciences.

The purpose of this study is to make a modest contribution to these discussions by examining the geographic and commodity structure of foreign trade in the occupied regions of Georgia. However, it should be noted that the study provides a generalized picture of the foreign trade of these regions and will focus only on those empirical data that are suitable for the research aspect.

Why are these occupied regions? The choice of these regions as empirical cases is due to several reasons. These regions play an important role in achieving the geopolitical goals of Russia in the Caucasus region, therefore, in addition to the theoretical significance, the article also acquires practical significance. On the other hand, since these regions are de jure part of Georgia, the work acquires a certain relevance.

The study uses Temporal and spatial approaches. The main method is the Case Study method. To collect and analyze data, the study uses such specific methodological techniques as: 1. Analysis of primary sources - content analysis of official documents related to foreign trade; 2. Analysis of secondary sources - scientific literature that exists on the subject under study. This applies to both theoretical literature and research directly related to the occupied region.

The situation between Georgia and the occupied territories did not improve after the 2008 war. However, informal trade between Georgia and the occupied regions

has intensified. The volume of foreign trade between Abkhazia and other countries has also increased. Despite the controversy, Georgia tried to legalize trade.

In 2017, Georgia and Russia began negotiations on the creation of a trade corridor through the so-called South Ossetia. At the same time, the European Union began to consider various options for including the Abkhazian business within the framework of the free trade agreement between Georgia and the European Union.

Although the process of implementing such initiatives is going through a crisis at this stage, it still opens up certain opportunities. In particular, the powerful economic stimulus that these regions received from the Russian Federation is gradually weakening due to the economic situation in Russia.

This process has intensified especially since 2014, when the West introduced tough sanctions against Russia and at the same time the price of oil on the world market fell sharply. That is why the governments of Abkhazia and the so-called South Ossetia, which officially oppose trade with Georgia, are at the same time considering the possibility of raising customs duties in order to increase their source of income regardless of Russia.

Informal trade continues to develop. However, it is less likely that the so-called South Ossetian corridor or the possibility of expanding the privileges of the European Union in Abkhazia will arise very soon. Trade by itself will not change the main political position of either side and will not resolve the conflict (a political settlement of which is still a distant prospect). Nevertheless, negotiations on the development of mutually beneficial trade can help launch communication channels that have been tightly closed for a long time.

This is a chance to close the so-called black holes of informal trade and turn it into a formal framework. At the same time, we need to establish a dialogue in this specific area with the active participation of our Western partners.

It is important that the benefits from the process of Georgia's European integration become available to both Abkhazia and the population of the so-called South Ossetia.

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Political leadership in post soviet countries

Based on the theories (of personality traits', situational, followers', psychological) related to the emergence of political leadership, on the basis of comparative and qualitative methods, the characteristics of political leadership have been studied in the post-Soviet era.

A leader uses the situation, relies upon the followers, and, in most cases, the great leaders awarded with charisma are characterized by a whole range of psychological features, but in all cases the determining role is played by the qualities of a leader, the majority of which are inherited. In our opinion, the argument provided by researchers that regular mortals may be gifted with the traits of a leader, is not convincing in disproving "the theory of traits " due to two reasons: first, a leader is a human being, a social creature (human is a political being and separately, as a self-sufficient entity, it is either a beast or a god – Aristotle) and naturally they possess human features; second, a leader has to be characterized by a high degree (dosage) of distinguishing attributes and, most importantly, they are the main force in the process of striving towards the governance and all the other actions subordinate to them. This judgement is concerning the great leaders distinguished in the history of humankind, the actions of whom have changed the vector of the history development, and there are no leaders with such skills and capacity on the post-Soviet political stage yet.

The hypothesis of the topic to be researched is as follows: the traits of leadership in the political arena of post-Soviet countries are determined by the dominance of the subject political culture, heavy social-economic background, the specifics of a national-psychological and mental development of a given nation, foreign policy orientations. Each of the above-mentioned variables influence the process of selecting leaders in different degrees (for example: in the reality of Georgia the

foreign policy orientation is a significant condition to the position of a leader in the government, because the key of country's independence lies outside the country and the inclination towards "looking up to the foreign/a foreigner" is relevant to Georgian mentality and the mindset of electorate, while in Russia a leader is mainly characterized and inspired by the Russian geo-political interests, orthodox-messiah ideas and mainly has to support the national idea consolidating the "Great Russian chauvinism" and Russian "Sovereign Democracy", but in all settings the determining factor is the excessiveness of the subordinate political orientations (except for the Baltic countries) in the presence of which, according to Almond and Verba's concept of political culture, the majority of citizens expect the desirable actions from the leader – the savior of the country and the state; all of this, in the environment of poor economic development and weak institutions, consequently leads to excessive number of populist, authoritative leaders in national governments.

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Recep Tayyip Erdogan - The role of a leader in the political process

Turkey is one of the most important links between Europe and Asia. Political changes and special activism in the ongoing processes in the Middle East region are linked to the name of Recep Tayyip Erdogan. The leader of the Equality and Development Party has been at the helm of Turkey for 20 years. His activity as the country's undisputed leader has led to significant changes in both the country's domestic and foreign policies.

Amid growing domestic and foreign challenges, Recep Tayyip Erdogan has consistently and arguably purposefully changed Turkey's political system. In 2007, at Erdogan's initiative, the first major amendment to the Turkish constitution was made. If, after 1982, the head of state was elected president by the Grand National Assembly, in a 2007 referendum, the president would still be in office after the general election. However, Recep Tayyip Erdogan did not rush to the presidency and this post was occupied by his fellow party member Abdullah Ful.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan has skillfully taken advantage of internal and external challenges to enhance his role as a leader. For President Recep Tayyip Erdo .an, who became president in 2014, he became a favorable factor, as was the Syrian conflict, which began in 2012, in order to form Turkey as a regional leader. It also facilitated the formation of Erdogan, the current undisputed leader, in a 2016 coup attempt against him. As a result of the 2017 referendum, Turkey became a super-presidential republic. The victory in 2018 will extend Recep Tayyip Erdogan's stay in power in Turkey until at least 2023, with the right to vote a second time. Tutskheba. It's should also be noted that the 2019 Turkish local elections clearly showed a decline in the popularity and rating of Erdogan and his party, especially the defeat in the Istanbul mayoral election. In addition to the Syrian conflict, the role of Turkey as a regional leader and accountable force became clear during the Karabag conflict. It is difficult to predict how effectively Erdogan (Turkey) will be able to maneuver for a long time without a strong partner in various regional conflicts (Syria, Libya, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, etc.). However,

international practice shows that once a strong political leader takes over the country's political system, after leaving his politics, chaos and unmanageable processes often begin in the state.

Keywords: Democracy, Erdogan, system changes, regional conflicts

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"The Platform of Six" - A New Model of Cooperation for the South Caucasus

The study of Turkey's foreign policy orientation reveals that the South Caucasus is one of the most important foreign policy priorities for Turkey. This interest has been considered by many reasons. Turkey has been trying intensively to be more represented in the countries of the South Caucasus region for years and has offered a number of interesting models of cooperation to the countries of this region. The incumbent President of the country - Recep T. Erdogan had the initiatives of "Caucasus Security Platform" and "Football Diplomacy". Both were initiated in 2008. The third / new model of cooperation was announced by him at the end of 2020, in particular, on December 10, during his official visit to Baku, and it is known as "The Platform of Six".

The new model envisages the development of cooperation between the six countries of the South Caucasus region - Turkey, Iran, Russia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia. The president of Turkey did not talk about the details of the platform and the opportunities for cooperation, which means that as one of the previous platforms, this one is only the proposal and no details have been processed.

The implementation of this platform, if it happens, will completely change the geopolitical landscape in the South Caucasus region: if cooperation on this format is successful, we will have a reality when Georgia's foreign policy choice towards the EU faces a big challenge, if not rejected at all. For Russia, the realization of this platform will be equal to success, but if we look at the volume of economic sanctions on Russia, this victory will cost him dearly. This will be the success that Russia needs to "maintain its image." Azerbaijan is fully prepared to cooperate in any format initiated by Turkey. The European way is not a priority for Azerbaijan to exchange Turkish support for defending this foreign policy choice. Iran's involvement in this platform is one of the most interesting issues, because if we recall the processes of preparation of previous platforms (and not only platforms), we will see that Turkey always avoids introducing Iran in regional cooperation formats, but at the same time the volume of bilateral cooperation has increased significantly in recent years. Iran is not active in joining such formats either,

although its interest in the South Caucasus region is quite actual. As for the issue of Armenia, despite numerous unsuccessful attempts to restore diplomatic relations with it, the failure to normalize these relations remains a foreign policy challenge for Turkey. The disruption of diplomatic relations with Armenia in its time was a mistake of Turkish diplomacy, and as time goes on, this issue becomes so complex that at first glance there are not even opportunities to resolve it.

We think that this platform will not be realized, despite the fact that political actors such as Russia and Turkey are interested in this cooperation. Among the obstacles, we must first mention the resistance of the countries of the region: Iran and Armenia are opposed to cooperation in this format. Georgia has not yet expressed an explicitly negative or positive position. We also think that the new U.S. administration, under the leadership of President J. Biden, will not allow Russia and Turkey to strengthen their power in the region. Moreover, due to inconsistent policies, Turkey has complicated relations with the United States and US support towards Turkey is not unconditional.

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Impact of Nagorno Karabakh War over the Regional Powers

The second war in Karabakh known as six weeks war began in September 27, 2020 and ended in November 2020. However, its consequences and impact on regional processes have not lost their relevance to the present day, but attract regional and transregional scholars and politicians' increased attention. Everyone agrees that the Karabakh war has significantly changed the geopolitical status quo in the region, but what kind of impact would these changes have in the short- or long-term perspective on the region are hotly debated issues among scholars from the South Caucasus and outside.

As soon as the war ended   some experts regarded Russia as the   winner in the conflict, while others pointed out that Turkey's influence had grown and Russia's had weakened. Still others suggested that the role of Turkey and Russia had equally increased, but Iran had actually lost the role of security architect in the region and its influence had been reduced to a minimum compared to Russia and Turkey.

Major arguments in the political discourse about the regional players' losses and benefits in the post-war situation are the following: Russia has increased its military presence in the region, Turkey openly demonstrates its will towards the South Caucasus geopolitical influence after the break up of the USSR, while Iran's position is uncertain and its tools of influence are limited.

Of course, all these points are relevant in the evaluation of temporary situation in the region: Even before the second Karabakh war Russia had three military bases in the region: the 102nd military base in Gyumri in western Armenia and two bases in Russian-backed breakaway regions of Georgia: the 4th in South Ossetia and the 7th in Abkhazia. These bases are combined-arms brigade-size units, which, in theory, jointly constitute the core of army corps. Following the 9 November deal, Russia now also has peacekeepers on the ground in Nagorno-Karabakh, something it has sought since 1994. In fact, Russia has not had a military presence in Azerbaijan since the closure of the Soviet-era Gabala radar station in 2012. Now Russia has more opportunities to impact Azerbaijan's

domestic politics as Moscow does in Georgia after the occupation of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali region. But whether Russia's position towards Azerbaijan is similar to the Georgian case is questionable and needs in-depth analysis.

Turkey really played a crucial role in the recent war. Although Turkey always supported Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and demonstrated its sympathy toward brotherly state, this war showed that Ankara's support is not only verbal but might be more significant. Ankara's huge contribution Azerbaijan's military capacity building is a good evidence of this. Turkey's army-building capacity was clearly one of the leading factors contributing to Azerbaijan's victory in the second Nagorno-Karabakh war and the most important difference between the conflict of 2020 and the first Nagorno-Karabakh war. While the first conflict was between two armies with the Soviet military legacy, the second took place between outdated equipped army versus a modern army responding to the Western standards. No doubt, well trained Azerbaijani military forces represent a challenge to the Russian military power in the region but it is still questionable how far the competition between Turkey and Russia for their influence in the South Caucasus region can go and whether Ankara has a real chance to change the geopolitical status quo created in the region after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

At the first glance, Iran's position towards the second Karabakh war was inactive. Tehran seems to have joined the "losers club", along with Armenia, in the newly formed geopolitical balance as it failed to take proactive role between rival parts and as a result Tehran lost tools of influence over neighboring Caucasian republics. However, a detailed study of Iran's position in the post-war geopolitical situation is needed. Why did Iran take a neutral position in this conflict and how is Tehran going to manage its relations with Yerevan, Baku, Ankara and Moscow?

The aim of this article is to describe regional powers' involvement in the conflict and analyze the achievements and losses encountered by Russia, Turkey and Iran as a result of the Karabakh war.

Keywords: Karabakh Conflict. Regional Great powers. Security challenges. Geopolitical Rivalry

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Identity, conservatism and political views of the Kvemo Kartli population

The report reflects the results of a complex research of the attitudes of the population of Kvemo Kartli (excluding the city of Rustavi). It includes both a quantitative component - a survey of ethnic Azerbaijani and ethnic Georgians, as well as a qualitative part - focus group sessions, interviews, case studies, media analysis and content analysis. The research showed that the Georgian and Azerbaijani communities of the region differ significantly not only in terms of identity, but also in terms of issues related to values and political views. The ethnic Azerbaijani population of Kvemo Kartli is more connected to Azerbaijan and Turkey than to Georgia in terms of ethnic identity, language skills and information sources. Although both Georgian and Azerbaijani populations assess the economic situation of their own families, settlements, and the region as generally average, the dynamics between ethnic groups in the region need attention.

The research showed that the identity of ethnic Azerbaijanis living in Kvemo Kartli is currently in a dynamic, fluid state, which is mainly related to the change or strengthening of their ethnic and religious self-identification. The latter refers to various aspects of religious life, which, compared to the Georgian community, has a more intense nature. At the same time, within the Azerbaijani community itself, there is a kind of competition between the two main denominations of Islam - Shiites and Sunnis. As it turned out, representatives of both (Shiite and Sunni) denominations are engaged in proselytizing, especially active are Shiite clerics, a significant portion of whom have been educated in the religious centers of Iran and enjoy the support of this country.

Apart from the religious factor, the fluidity of the Azerbaijani community in Kvemo Kartli also has a serious ethnic component. The strengthening of the pan-Turkish identity is noticeable, which was given a special impetus by the Karabakh war of 2020. In addition to Azerbaijani and pan-Turkish self-identification, much of this community considers itself to be Borchalo and/or Qarapapakh. The share of Georgian identity in them is insignificant. The rate of fluidity in both religious and ethnic contexts is more evident in the younger generation.

The research showed that the attitude and expectations of Azerbaijanis towards Georgians are more positive than vise versa. At the same time, Azerbaijanis perceive the rights of religious and ethnic minorities as less protected than the rights of other groups, and are more likely to feel unjustly restricted during the spread of the Covid 19. This is not surprising, since the Georgian population of Kvemo Kartli is less willing to accept the right of religious minorities to participate in religious rituals as legitimate and thinks that this hinders the unity of Georgians.

The Azerbaijani community is more conservative in matters of child rearing and other issues related to family, more inclined on restricting individual liberty and adhering to traditional social norms. However, Georgians are much more conservative about the right of a aliens to buy real estate in Georgia. The Azerbaijani community of Kvemo Kartli is significantly detached from the Georgian context in the field of information and culture. Instead they prefer Azerbaijani, Turkish and even Russian media. However, in recent years there has been an augmentation of several local media outlets, which have started to occupy dominant positions in this community and are also disconnected from the Georgian context.

At the same time, the views of the Azerbaijani community on foreign policy orientations show that their views differ from those of the Georgians in Kvemo Kartli, as well as from the majority of the Georgian population in general, and are definitely less pro-Western. The views of Azerbaijanis about enemy and friendly countries show that they think primarily on the basis of ethnic and religious identity and see little state perspective.

Keywords: Identity, conservatism, political views, Kvemo Kartli, ethnic Azerbaijanis

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The Integration Problem of Ethnic Minorities in the Higher Education System of Georgia

According to the multiple examples of the democratic multiethnic countries, it is important for Georgia to analyze the subject of the integration of ethnical minorities. In this case, the research will be concentrated on the integration of the ethnical minorities into the Georgian higher educational system, because this is one of the most important factors in terms of understanding to what extent the education environment is pluralistic what are the capabilities of the integration and adaptation of the ethnical minorities in it. Thus, the research of this question will give us an opportunity to analyze to what degree the modern changes and programs in education politics are regulated. For example, 1+4 program, which concentrates on ethnic minority's interests and needs and what is this program's obstacles, in overcoming which the ethnical minorities are struggling in order to attend and continue studying in higher educational facilities. At the same time, we must pay attention to the tendencies, which had an effect on the education politics course over time, especially in the Georgian context, because it is known as high priority to integrate the ethnical minorities in social, political and economic levels. Thus, this is exclusively political opportunity for making the new political environment, in which everyone would have an equal access to the various government services. That is why this questions are always causing so much interest in the public eye and it is necessary to find a solution, which is going to be innovative from the scientific perspective.

Thus, the main goal of this research is to effectively analyze the 1+4 program - to learn and understand the environment before this program was implemented and to analyze the program during its decade of existing. Also, it is very important to analyze if this program provides the ethnical minorities the capabilities of integration in the higher educational system. At the same time, it is crucial to analyze the obstacles which were caused by the by the program's indulgence for the ethnic minorities. The main obstacle, however, remain the bad knowledge of the Georgian language in the ethnic minority's communities. The results we

achieves with the help of the qualitative research method. The survey included the detailed interviews of the Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti's ethnic minority's inhabitants, as well as secondary data's analysis. The research's assumption, that with the help of 1+4 program, the index of the ethnical minorities in the higher education facilities is increased, is partly proven, but at the same time it turns out that the knowing the Georgian language at the basic level is not sufficient for the students to perfectly adapt to the student and university life. Therefore, it should be make a tremendous amount of changes, which is going to solve the problem not only from the technical side, but it will make a precedent of substantive change the nowadays situation.

Keywords: Ethnic Minorities, Integration, Educational Policy, 1 + 4 Program

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The Impact of Asymmetric War on Euro-Atlantic Security

In the 21st century, asymmetric warfare has become a pressing problem for global and international security. The superpowers and the largest alliances are trying in various ways to be ready for the challenges of asymmetric warfare, to anticipate future threats and to take preventive measures.

One explanation is that asymmetric warfare is a war in which the military strength of the opposing parties and the tactics or strategies used by them are markedly different.

Challenges and geopolitical changes in the modern world make the role and function of European and Euro-Atlantic structures important in world security.

New forms of political and military cooperation have called for peace and stability in Europe. Because of this, NATO, through cooperation with former adversaries, has established new mechanisms for Euro-Atlantic security cooperation.

The asymmetric threat poses a great challenge to a world that knows no bounds in the politics of both national and international law, peace and war, domestic and foreign policy.

The purpose of our presentation is to examine the impact of asymmetric warfare on the European and Euro-Atlantic security systems in a conceptual framework. This requires a study of this issue, which will allow us to find out the nature of asymmetric warfare and its impact on European and Euro-Atlantic security.

Security is especially relevant in the age of globalization, when the system of international relations is more vulnerable to the challenges of asymmetric threats such as terrorism, the creation and proliferation of nuclear weapons, weapons of

mass destruction, hybrid warfare and cyberterrorism. There is an asymmetric threat formula: "Weakness dominates or wins over the strong."

Despite the constant changes in the world, the European and Euro-Atlantic Alliance has been able to establish peace and stability in the world.

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Perception of hate speech in the of freedom of speech context - Georgian media culture example

The hate speech, generally, considers expression of intolerance towards a definite group and very often such communication provokes a kind of violence. Stimulation of abhorrence refers to a group of persons determined on the basis of race, ethnical identity, nationality, gender, religion, sexual orientation, as a rule, it refers to minorities. However, all countries have their own unique contexts that complicate a vivid determination of so called "hate speech". In some cases, all kinds of negative expressions being humiliating, insolent, slanderous or discriminative ones towards anybody are perceived by the community and/or separate groups as a hate speech.

Unclearness of perceiving of the hate speech was demonstrated by discussions on media regulation of Georgia held in 2019 when the government expressed a desire, motivated by necessity of regulation of the hate speech, to change a system of media self-regulation existing in Georgia. Many initiatives were expressed and they were targeted to make the hate speech applied in media punitive and regulatory.

The research is conducted using a qualitative methodology. We have analyzed a practice of self-regulation of the hate speech in Georgia within the year of 2019, and selected cases which were high-sounding in TV media outlets resulted in broad discussions and which had been discussed by the self-regulatory authorities.

In addition to analyzing of the cases and observing of decisions made by the self-regulatory authorities, we have also used a method of profound interviews.

As we have mentioned above, we have selected two high-sounding cases in the most interesting period of the research (2019). For both periods of the research it was an author text of the anchor man of the national broadcasting company

"Rustavi 2". The first case was considered personally by the self-regulation council of the Rustavi 2 as well as by the Georgian Charter of Journalistic Ethics. We have analyzed two different approaches applied by both self-regulatory councils.

We received similar results of radically different interpretations of self-regulatory authorities as a result of conducting of deep interviews. Representatives of parties consider that the text expresses a hate speech towards Christians, but representatives of civil organizations and academic fields of universities do not consider that the text had been discriminative towards anybody. One of the explanations was as follows: "The given example is unlikely in compliance with a definition establishing the hate speech. It represents a subjective opinion of a definite journalist. I think that it does not collide with constitutional norms of freedom of speech, neither is considered as a humiliating act against religious feelings as the religious passage was devoted to discretion of a definite politics and not for the discrimination of this confession.

Analyses of both examples demonstrated that understanding and perception of the term of hate speech are not clearly formed neither in a general society, nor in professional circles of Georgia. The hate speech is often put on the same level with the humiliating and indecent expressions. Approaches and explanations of media self-regulatory boards are quite different.

The present research partially confirmed a hypothesis that stakeholders interpret the hate speech with a broad understanding which considers indecent and humiliating expressions. It was also completely confirmed that interpretation and regulation of the hate speech with a broad understanding in practice bears definite risks for freedom of medial in fragile democracies.

Keywords: communication, stereotypes, hate speech, media, freedom of speech and expression

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Covid-19 Infodemic and Fake News in Georgian Social Media

The mankind has been battling fake news, misinformation and propaganda for years, however, this problem has become more threatening and persistent with the advancement of technologies.

It is well-known, that spreading of any fake news needs a precondition – an event, which causes the intensity of its spread in a specific time. Recently, this precondition has become COVID-19 pandemic, about which an overabundance of information can be observed in traditional and new media.

Thus, it is interesting and vital to research what place the fake news has held in information flow and what influence it has had on a society in a crisis.

The significance of our research lies in the fact that it is conducted during the pandemic and examines the topics that are most often subjected to fraud. Scientific research about the origin of fake news and the consequences of its spread will help us share correct and verified information and aid the fight against fake news.

The aim of this research is to demonstrate the causes and manipulators of the fake news, which was spread during COVID-19. Also to find out mainly what type of information is faked and what is the reason behind this (the ways of treating COVID-19, faked statistics, where the virus comes from, anti-vax movement, etc.).

The study, in the future, will make a consequential contribution to combating misinformation and preventing its negative effects.
In the research process, we observed the information about the corona virus published on the social media, particularly on Facebook, monitored the original

sources of the information, separated the falsified information from the main information flow and identified the prime manipulators. The study was conducted over a one year period, from March 2020 to March 2021.

On the first stage of the research, these hypotheses were developed:

H1: During infodemic, the sharing of fake news and misleading of media users increases.
H2: The information, which was spread on social media about COVID-19 is harmful and alarming, as it can have damaging influence on an individual's health.

The research was based on the theory of Uses and Gratification.
The following research questions were formed by the analysis of the theoretical framework:

RQ1: What is the comparative share of Covid-19 information on the websites, that are regarded as original sources, during the infodemic?
RQ2: What type of fake news was shared on social media about COVID-19?
RQ3: Which specific manipulators are included in fake news about the spread of COVID-19?
RQ4: What kind of responses and feedbacks does the fake news have (likes and shares)?
RQ5: what were the impacts and results of the spread of fake news about COVID-19?

Quantitative and qualitative content analysis were used in the research, as well as a form of qualitative research - in-depth interviews conducted with media experts, psychologists and physicians.

In this paper the fake news is structured by types and contents and the reasons for the origin of fake news and its influence on social media users is analyzed.

Keywords: Covid-19, Disinfodemic, Fake News, Social Media

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The War of February-March, 1921 and the Constituent Assembly

of Georgia [1]

The article deals with the concluding stage of activities of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia (1919-1921). Unfortunately, the stenography and other documents reflecting this stage of activities of the Constituent Assembly have not been discovered yet. The only source for this period is the newspaper materials and commemorations and recollections of those -days public figures.

The Constituent Assembly had to adopt Constitution in the Spring of 1921 which would serve as a bases for the parliamentary elections. The new parliament had to be assembled on November 6, 1921, signalling the finalization of the activities of the Constituent Assembly; but the events had come in other way round.

The attack of the Soviet Russia and its allies on the Democratic Republic of Georgia intervened in the peaceful activities of the Constituent Assembly. The country faced deadly events. From this period the two stages could be differentiated in the activities of the Constituent Assembly: law-making and organizational activities for the defence of the country under the conditions of the war.

In spite of hard situation, the Constituent Assembly finalized the discussion of Constitution and adopted it on February 21, 1921, whereas on February 22 approved its French translation. With the adoption of constitution, the Constituent Assembly fulfilled its main task.

The Constituent Assembly of Georgia rejected the idea of capitulation at the end of the war and according to the decree of March 1, 1921 the government and the

presidium of the Constituent Assembly emigrated abroad endowed with special rights. They were tasked to wage war for the restoration of independence.

The Constituent Assembly participated in the organizational activities of the defensive measure in many respects: a). At the sessions of the Constituent Assembly (15, 21, 28 February and March 17) and assemblies of its presidium the various issue related to the ongoing war were actively debated; b). The decrees of the Constituent Assembly condemned those forces which organized an attack on Georgia and the members of the Bolshevik 'Revcom' were declared as outlaws; c). The Constituent Assembly adopted several statements addressed to the international society with a request of assistance on withstanding the aggression; d). The members of the Constituent Assembly visited the frontline to encourage citizens and warriors and to organize the defensive measures.

If by the beginning of the war the Constituent Assembly had a joint spirit against the enemy, with the failures in the war several members of the Constituent Assembly, mainly representatives of the opposition fractions, decided to support the Soviet government with the hope that the Bolshevik regime would keep its promise to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia.

A portion of the members of the Constituent Assembly emigrated, whereas those who stayed in Georgia were repressed by the Soviet regime.

With the adoption of the Constitution and with its struggle for the independence the Constituent Assembly created legal foundations for the restoration of the independence of Georgia.

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Formation of Political Boundaries in the 20th century South Caucasus

The process of modern state-building started in the South Caucasus after the revolutions of 1917 in Russia. When signing the peace treaty with Central Powers in Brest-Litovsk (March 3, 1918) the Bolshevik government of Russia did not recognize the South Caucasus as an independent political entity in spite of existence of clear elements of statehood there and ceded parts of the latter's territory to the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans, having clear military superiority, immediately intervened in the formation of the boundaries of the newly independent republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. The treaties with Ottoman Empire (Batumi, June 4, 1918) following the clauses of Brest-Litovsk Treaty were harsh to Georgia and Armenia. Although the Ottoman Empire recognized its defeat by Entente in WW1 on October 30, 1918 the boundary pattern of June 1918 was to be discussed again two and a half years later.

The relative weakness of the neighbouring powers from the end of 1918 till the spring of 1920 when Russia was involved in civil war and the nascent new Turkey fought with different forces gave the South Caucasus states a theoretical chance to divide the territory with stable political boundaries but they failed to achieve a consensus.

During the break-up of an empire different approaches are being used by the new states emerging in its place, based on the principles of "ethnic settlement", "historical territory", or "imperial administrative-territorial division". The first two principles are vague and more effective only in the case of a strong external power exerting its will, e.g. when the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was divided among the emerging Central European states by the victorious Entente according to the Treaties of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1919) and Trianon (1920).

The principle of "imperial administrative-territorial division" had been used successfully in the cases of decolonization of Africa and dissolution of the USSR. While not considered as a just one by everybody, this principle is a certain means of avoiding boundary conflicts. The same principle was supported by the Georgian

Democratic Republic in 1918-1920 and it was used as the base in Russia-Georgia Treaty of May 7, 1920. The principle was more or less acceptable to the Azerbaijani Democratic Republic and the least acceptable to the Republic of Armenia.

The Soviet Russia which entered the South Caucasus in 1920-1921 encountered already formed political entities there. The boundaries of Georgia and Armenia with Turkey and a part of Armenia-Azerbaijan boundary were defined by the Moscow Treaty between Russia and Turkey (16 March, 1921). The results of Turkey-Armenia war of 1920 affected actual division as well.

The administrative borders between the Union Republics of the USSR, which existed till dissolution of the latter in 1991, turned into the state boundaries.

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Influence of the European Conceptions on the Idea of a Nation in Georgia (1893-1917)

1893-1917 years are characterized by complicated and unsteady social-political events in Georgian history. Formation of Georgian political parties has started since the 1890s. At the beginning of the 20th century Georgian political elite tried to develop political awareness. Some Georgian public figures needed to raise the political level so that they could prepare for a battle which was intended to regain independence throughout the country. Interestingly, they chose European politics in order to gain independence. For a theoretical basis, those Georgian public figures used famous conceptions on the idea of a nation by the European authors.

Today people in scientific circles put a little emphasis on those European authors, who had a big influence on the people supporting Georgian national position during 1893-1917. However, in Georgian history, this is the period characterized by heated discussions about national issue, in which the opposing parties were the political parties. Studying the issue is connected to certain difficulties, because those Georgian public figures supporting national position, preferred the conceptions by different authors for maintaining their position. Nevertheless, we can put an emphasis on Ernest Renan, who was mentioned and discussed by the most popular part of the Georgian public figures holding the national position. At the beginning of the 20th century, the definition of the idea of a nation by Ernest Renan was quite popular in Georgia. It is also proved by the fact that *"What is a Nation?"* by Ernest Renan was translated twice by *"Iveria"* in Georgia: for the first time, in 1882 and for the second time, in 1901.

Apart from Ernest Renan, while discussing influential European authors, we should not forget *"Nation and Mankind"* by Mikhako Tsereteli giving us an opportunity to study those European theories about a nation which were common at the beginning of the 20th century Georgia. One chapter of the paper entirely deals with the European theories spread in Georgia. The theories include authors such as Salomon Reinach, Ernest Nissi, Pasquale Stanislao Mancini, Johann Kaspar Bluntschli, Rene Worms, Gabriel De Tarde, Otto Bauer, Rudolf

Shpringer... It is worth noting that part of the authors discussed in the paper were supported by the representatives of the political elite who were protecting the national position.

One of those authors is Ludwig Gumplowicz, a popular representative of the so-called Social Darvinism. His theory is important for us, because apart from Mikhako Tsereteli, it was also discussed by Archil Jorjadze. Archil Jorjadze got acquainted with Ludwig Gumplowicz's ideas to analyse the connection between the origin of a nationality and a state. He partly shared Gumplowicz's position, that a state did not come from a society having equal rights. A state originated while strengthening inequility, where one group (minority) enslaved the second one (majority) by force and for keeping its supremacy, it created a violent organization, which is now called a state. Unlike Ludwig Gumplowicz, Archil Jorjadze contended that a state is a result of conquest of majority by minority, but this minority did not always differ from majority ethnically.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Georgia was economically, socially and ethnically separated. At the same time, the national issue had to be solved in the country. In 1893-1917, apart from the Sixties's views, for those people protecting the national position, one of the main basis for ideological transformation was the nation theories written by European, especially West European authors. Contrary to Marxism spread by social-democrats, part of Georgian political elite tried to introduce Georgian society to all those theories, whose value was recognized in Europe. These conceptions could have some influence on developing society's national self-awareness. European thinkers views about the idea of a nation became a theoretical basis for Georgian politicians supporting the national position. Thus, it is impossible to analyse the formation of a nation in 1893-1917 Georgia without studying these conceptions and their influence.

Keywords: a nation; the theories of nation; national issue; the concept of nation

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World Religions in the Globalization and Information Age

The report reviews the challenges in the interrelations of globalization, the information age, and traditional religions, especially the principal varieties of response to globalization as an objective process in the sphere of religions.

It can be said that the globalization process has an international character, though due to its fundamental values, it is a western phenomenon; but we have to consider that contribution of Europe is not so big as that of America. And in a sense, Europe itself is under the influence of America, i.e. undergoes the process of westernization. The American interpretation of human rights and personal freedom, the principles of American democracy are more adequate to the new state of affairs. American attitude more rigidly rejects old traditional authorities and privileges than European paternalistic and particularistic attitude.

Global values spread easily when traditional cultures are in crisis. Therefore, crisis and degrading of traditional cultures are no less dangerous than globalization. Global values destroy those political ideologies that have some links to religion, therefore, religions that are less politicized, react more adequately to this process. In these circumstances, a new type of globalization emerges – religious globalization. In fact, every religion should claim to be global, but in such cases, "natural religions" are replaced by an "artificial religion" whose claim on globalization is stronger. Thus, the only feature of the new concept – "contemporary global religiousness" – which is explicitly given is deterritorialization of religion. Any religion finds its adherents there where it has never been historically. Pluralism and eclecticism of religious views are met not only in various societies, but even at the level of individual consciousness. It is impossible for man, especially for a believer to remain calm in this situation. Men cannot subdue their protest when their interests are violated.

Globalization brings not only positive but also rather painful changes and new problems. Therefore, it should be neither overpraised nor denounced completely. It is a process that unfolds objectively and we are unable to stop it. Nowadays this process prompts us a real program of action. Some sciences try to describe it, philosophy endeavors to understand it, and religion – to perceive and feel it religiously. Thus, religion reveals the most critical attitude to this process.

It should also be noted that there is no uniform position to the globalization process either in religion or in society. In this case, it is not ethical when one part of the society (the westernized part) instructs others how they are to believe in God properly. It is not necessary that everybody becomes pro-American; it is desirable and important to make an independent choice within the mosaic variety of cultures. Contemporary scholars think that the problem of influence made on religion by the globalization process is one of the more or less studied and predictable problems. So is the situation abroad. But the situation, in general, remains uncertain. Various religions feeling the influence of globalization, form their own variants (peaceful and not very peaceful) of co-existence with it.

Three positions are exposed as the research results: 1). complete or partial tailoring of the globalization process; 2). counter-globalization and criticism and 3). personal alternative; all of them are observed in almost all regions. The first position is found in Judaism, Catholicism, Protestantism,and Sunni trend of Islam; the second – in Islam and Russian Orthodox; the third – in Euro-Asian pagan and certain traditional trends within religions. Georgian Orthodox Church reveals a reasonable approach to the globalization process, the basis of which is understanding which will promote cultural and religious retention of identity.

Considering the above stated, it can be said that interrelation of globalization and traditional religions takes various forms; globalization does not mean limiting of religions and religious feelings though in a sense it does mean their merging to a certain degree but without forming an "average religion". This rather complex process of the interrelation of globalization and religions can revive the creative potential of religions, make them give more adequate and contemporary interpretations to traditional postulates since this is necessary for any religion which has a natural striving for self-preservation and self-identification.

In the final part of the paper, it should be noted that generally, globalization does not contradict religious faith. Therefore, it is baseless to assume the disappearance of religions and religious features in the globalization epoch.

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Cumulative process of development of democracy in Georgia

Using processual analysis and theories of democratization, author analysis and explains formation of political regime in Georgia. According to his hypothesis trough the development of political practice unequal level of development of components of democracy become more equal, which generates cumulative effect which puts the regime in the frame of democratic norms. Case of Georgia shows that uneven maturity of components of democracy provides acute contradictions between democratization and de democratization. Nevertheless development of components of democracy never seized even in the liberalized and electoral authoritarian regimes. Process of convergence of different levels of development of components of democracy enlarges institutional and normative base of democracy and increase their resistance to the authoritarian tendencies. Author separates element of democracy from its component. In his view the element of democracy- freedom of political behavior- underpins and is presented in the every component of democracy (political pluralism, freedom of press and etc.) Element and components of democracy influence and strengthen each other. Civil society in Georgia gained its strength after the development of freedom of media and political pluralism. Critical media increase the strength of civil and political societies and vice versa. The emergence of different components of democracy doesn't coincide in time. Emergence of opposition preceded adoption of democratic constitution and emergence of democratic elections and etc. In the authors view cumulative process is a process of increase of cumulative effect of different components of democracy through the process of the convergence of the levels of their developments. Development of democratic components faces domination of bureaucracy which is the main source of authoritarian tendencies and de democratization and tries to escape democratic norms of functioning to establish her domination over the society. But through the increasing of the level of equality in the maturation of democratic components space of her domination becomes narrow. Nevertheless democratic components are not so strong to resist intervention of bureaucracy in the politics. In the strengthening of democratic components in Georgia crucial role play USA and EU. They fulfill such function

as: 1. Protection and a development of democratic components; 2. Generation of consensus; 3. Compensation of the weakness of inner factors of democratization; 4. Resistance to the authoritarian tendencies and de democratization.

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"Let's Defend My, Your, Our Batumi" - Social Movement to Save the Historic Look of Batumi

In the history of independent Georgia civic activism has gone through an interesting path of development. Recently, the given activism has developed largely in the urban space. The preconditions for this have been accumulating for decades. Due to the difficult socio-economic situation, care for urban historical, cultural heritage and ecological health was less on the agenda. The re-urbanization of cities and the widespread idea of adapting to modern standards, which, among other factors, meant attracting investors and making significant investments in the development of the city, has led to the distortion of the historical monuments or entire historic districts in the urban space. These processes brought about a virtually complete depreciation of the urban fabric, which is historically, culturally and ecologically remarkable, and, on the other hand, resulted in civic activism. The cases of regional urban activism stand out, which we plan to discuss in this presentation on the example of the current civic movements in Batumi.

Civic activism is developing around three locations in Batumi. These are Technological University, Batumi Boulevard and Batumi Riviera. All three projects are accompanied by the request for approval of the historical and cultural zone of Batumi. Batumi urban space has undergone many interventions recently, but in the report, we will review three main ones, which we think can be analyzed in a single context. These projects have several common features. In all of them, the interests of the developers are reflected and the government supports the implementation of the project (the first and third of which are supported by the people in power in the country, while in the case of Batumi Boulevard, developers cannot exceed the level of support of local authorities); All of them are opposed by civil activists and specialists in the field; And, most importantly, despite periodic successes, the issue of all of them is still unclear.

All three cases selected for the study were developed in the same city, in the same period, and the actors involved were virtually the same, nevertheless, the results of these movements were different. Therefore, the research question can be formulated as follows: What were the main factors that contributed to the success/failure of the given movements?

By using qualitative research methods (namely, in 2020-2021, 16 in-depth interviews were conducted with civic activists involved in the process, representatives of local government, academia and the media) we study the issue in the context of political mediation theory. This model, acting as a mediator between 'action and outcomes' (Amenta, E. et al. 1992), focuses on both the internal characteristics of the movement and the social and political environment outside the movement, as it believes that the combination of these factors influences on the success or failure of the movement.

Keywords: Batumi, civic activism, urban development, engagement, space

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Modelling of postmodern urban space in contemporary Georgian painting

The postmodern paradigm of urban space marked with privilege of unreal over real space creates visual model characterized by multilayer and complex structure incorporating both real and unreal spaces. The dominant in such spatial model is not built structure but the very space where social interactions, networks and activities take place. The disintegration of the city into virtual space gives birth to completely different spatial perception where common postmodern tendencies are observed. Central among these tendencies is the fading of physical body of the city and strengthening of imagination.

Levan Laghidze's painting style and his working process offers well thought concept of postmodern paradigm where objective enviornment of the city gives up its importance and moves to the human mental space where it is loaded with personal perception of individual. Thus, wiith urban fragments the viewer as a subject creates new, personally interpreted city image. L. Laghidze's art is an open text and just like literature texts are proposed for open interpretation.

The reading of verbal or visual text is the practice of life itself. However, it could be transformed into interpretational reality only in case if author is able to provide relevant circumstances for reading and in the process of the reading - now and here.

The common problem for modern era is the problem of communication with a viewer. To be able to read all the information of the city the viewer needs to be armed by certain conventions and information. Without them - without a communication language - it's impossible for individual to establish communication with permanently changeable space of he city.

Freedom of constructing the space granted by the artist gives chance to a viewer to practice multiple possibilities of permanently widening meanings of visual image and places him in the mode of play. This method of cooperation between the artist

and a viewer creates complex textual layer. In this process the viewer is a creator of a new space while the artist could be seen as a stimulant of the game. On the crossing of their interactions the complex and multilayer dimension – the postmodern spatial image - is created.

Keywords: Postmodern, urban space, Georgian painting, text

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Policy transfer: attempt for new classification and synthesis with policy change framework

Nowadays, policy transfer has become an integral part of the policy-making process (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000). However, lesson-drawing has always been a character of earlier societies and states, due to globalization and mass communication, the issue of policy transfer has become the scope for both academics and decision-makers (Stone, 2010; 2012). It can be explained by the fact that it is linked to the policy-making process and ties with economic and socio-cultural issues, so scholars from different disciplines are interested in it. On the other hand, decision-makers and policy consultants see policy transfer as a lesson that to be taken into account to plan further plans. The academic literature on policy transfer has been summarized several times (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; 2000; 2012; Stone, 1999; 2004; 2012; Evans and Davis, 1991; James and Lodge, 2003; Evans 2004; 2009; Benson and Jordan, 2011; Dussage-Laguna, 2012). Authors focus on different issues and assess the heritage of the concept, the new directions in the field and propose further developments. It is noteworthy that discussion on policy transfer is rather theoretical than practical grounded with empirical evidence (Evans, 2006; Dussage-Laguna, 2012).

The paper aims to summarize academic literature on policy transfer, critically reflect on the theoretical and empirical challenges and develop new directions that are crucial for both theoretically and practically. In particular, it presented the attempt for a new classification of literature on policy transfer. Instead of dividing authors on the basis of using or not using the term (classification of Dolowitz and Marsh (1996); Dussage-Laguna (2012)), we developed the two possible alternatives. Firstly, "variable dilemma" and from this point of view, publications can be divided into three parts: policy transfer as an independent variable; an an dependent variable and as both - independent and dependent variable. Also, the second alternatives relates to dichotomous classification, in particular, supporters and opponents of Dolowitz and Marsh's (1996) heuristic approach. In addition, the paper also includes the synthesis of policy transfer and policy change approaches:

the ways are defined how policy transfer, as an independent variable, can be used with the three major and well-known paradigms (Punctuated Equilibrium Approach, Multiple Stream Approach and Policy subsystem) of policy change. The given attempt gives an opportunity to answer major challenges (including close-cycled and over-theoretical approach) that academic literature shows. Moreover, the new classification and synthesis with policy change try to maintain and develop new directions in the field that would be followed by interpretation of data from empirically conducted research and then, further develop or revise the thesis stated in the paper.

Keywords: policy transfer, policy change, classification of literature, synthesis

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Party Cleavages in Georgia

The paper deals with one of the most topical phenomena of the dividing lines of the parties-(party Cleavages); The field of research is the modern political culture; The paper describes specific examples, characteristics of the impact on elections and the electorate, and many other aspects that determine the fate of elections, in the political culture, where there is a shortage of programmatic and ideological electorate. The theoretical framework of the research is based on G. Almond and S. Verba's concept of civic culture, which discusses the electoral system and electoral behavior at three dimension of political orientation(parochial, subject, and participant).

In analyzing ideological and programmatic discourse, in the post-Soviet space and specifically in Georgia, where subordinate(subject) political culture dominates and there is no ideological and programmatic controversy, we rely on Lipsett and Rohan's theory of dividing lines to explain current events and expected outcomes. In Georgia, as in the post-Soviet republics, the loyal attitude of the electorate is influenced by the unreal image created by a political leader and populist, false promises;

In this case, the theoretical basis is the work of Roger-Gérard Schwartzenberg's "L'etat Spectacle ", which provides the basics of image-making and political Personification, as well as a better understanding of the issue, we need to know Manin's research of the "Audience Democracy", which speaks of the performers of politicians, also speaks about the unrealistic image created by politicians and the electorate's loyal attitude towards the fake person.

The scope of work is to look into the back stage of the politics, behind the iron curtains and bring the analysis of a state, as the democracy of auditorium as well as find out the response to the main questions regarding who are the real winners and why? What are the main differences between political parties, What motivates the electorate to vote for the specific political power?

As for conclusions and results, It was also expected, in a society where the vast majority of the electorate is not aware of pre-election programs, Does not know or know, but does not match his ideological views of the party's views, which he supports, there is a logical assumption, which research confirms that the majority of voters, When making a decision, it is guided by the image of a politician, a leader, which is often the fruit of false,or it is temporary and consulting or image services.

Through audio-visual aids, news broadcasters, and social networking, it is even easier for politicians to manipulate with a false image, due to voter loyal attitude and gets into deeper whirlpool of electoral opinion formation. In view of the abovementioned, the political leader himself is often the only or central dividing line between the parties, at this time the politician is the message and not the previous election program or the ideological course of the party. There is a complete shortage of ideological parties in Georgia, which was also revealed during the research. The party leaders and representatives themselves consider the ideological division as a time-consuming phenomenon and believe that they should not be bound by universal ideological visions, only a small part of the parties have a pre-election program. In Georgia, the vast majority of parties are concentrated around the leader and through image-making and personification as all-encompassing (catch-all party) parties, they reach the maximum segment of the electorate and are not limited to stratifying either the programmatic or the ideological electorate.

A qualitative polls conducted throughout Georgia (before the parliamentary elections of 2020) showed that the majority of parties that have a different (declared) ideology in relation to other parties, Their programatic part is completely identical and even in programs it is difficult to consider any goal or vision as a dividing line. The only difference in the programs of the existing parties is not the goal, but the means of achieving the goal; And a series of surveys borrowed from the NDI and the SRRS have shown that the party's main messageboxes address the most pressing issues facing the population in the run-up to the election, Even if it was completely and radically different from their ideology or previous programs.

In conclusion, it can be said that in the Georgian reality, the main actors and parties, operating on the political scene are not systematized according to the concepts of ideological orientation and vision of the future.

The pre-election rhetoric of party leaders is mainly based on populist promises of an immediate improvement in the socio-economic situation, and the choice of the electorate is based on unrealistic expectations.

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Myths about Stalin in Modern Georgian Politics

There are no political forces in Georgian politics today that would use the word "Stalin" in their name, but this does not mean that the topic of Stalin has lost its political actuality. This is evidenced by the frequency of publications about Stalin in the Georgian press and heated debates, which periodically explode (for example, either in connection with the erection of a statue of Stalin in Gori, or vice versa, due to the intensification of the demand for the liquidation of communist symbols).

In order to reveal the myths about Stalin, the report examines the publications about Stalin in the Georgian print press of 2020-2021. Articles about Stalin were regularly published in some newspapers ("Georgia and the World", "Asaval-Dasavali"), and the monthly newspaper "Stalin" was published. The Georgian press is one of the most important sources for spreading myths about Stalin. Publications about Stalin are published in other newspapers on the occasion of the next anniversary of the victory in World War II and Stalin's birthday.

The analysis of the Georgian press shows that there are spread mainly two types of myths about Stalin: in the first type of myths, Stalin is presented as a great politician who worked for the good of the Soviet Union; the second type of myth features Stalin, who took care of Georgia and did many things for its benefit.

The first types of myths ("Stalin - the great politician") were created in Russia and are based on memoirs of Stalin and works of modern Russian authors having publicist-historical nature. Myths about Stalin have been one of the mainstays of modern Russian state ideology since the 2000s. The basis of their transfer to Georgia is Stalin's Georgian origin - the idea is held that Georgians should be proud of Stalin, who headed the world's most powerful state and determined the fate of the world.

The second types of myths, which talk about the steps taken by Stalin for the benefit of Georgia, are mainly based on the memories of Stalin's modern Georgian

figures. These myths should show how well Georgia was as a part of a "great state" - Soviet Union. The weakest place to establish the image of "Stalin - the benefactor of Georgia" is the transfer of Georgian territories to neighboring countries after the Sovietization of Georgia in 1921. In this regard, it is noted that it is the fault of Lenin, to whom at that time Stalin could not resist.

The active spread of myths about Stalin, the introduction of a positive image of Stalin in Georgia, the glorification of his deeds strengthen the anti-democratic movements, which occupy not so strong, but still important place in the political life of modern Georgia.

Keywords: Political Myth; Georgia; Stalin; Myths about Stalin