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AIMS AND SCOPE

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Editorial Welcome Message

Dear Reader,

It is a great pleasure to welcome you to our new publication - Journal of Development Studies (JDS).

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Doctor of Economics
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Tbilisi, 2020

Georgian Electoral System – Current Problems and Challenges

Sophio Demetrashvili*
Mariam Jikia**

ARTICLE INFO	A B S T R A C T

According to the definition of modern democracy, the main means of control of the government by citizens is free elections. Elections are a necessary condition for the democratic nature of the state and not a guarantee of it. The election is the key factor in the functioning of democratic systems, which determines the relevance of this topic.

The article concerns the Georgian Electoral System, its characteristics, and existing problems; in detail reviews the establishment of the electoral system and the existing regulations of electoral procedures.

The article reviews the current problems related to the amendment of the Constitution that includes the transformation of the electoral system to a totally proportional electoral system. The authors gave a detailed analysis of the given draft law and comparative analysis regarding the German electoral system.

With respect to democratic principles, thus, any electoral system may be chosen, regardless if it is a plurality or majority system, a proportional system, or a combined system. It should be underlined that there is no such thing as the "best" electoral system that could be exported to all countries in the world. Thus, the electoral system and proposals to reform should be assessed in each individual case.

Introduction

The historical development of society has caused the formation of a new political regime such as democracy, which represents the government of the people, exercised by the people and for the people. Elections, political rights, and the involvement of citizens are key components of democracy. However, elections are not only an important component of democracy but the cornerstone and prerequisite of it (Center for Electoral Systems Development, Reforms and Trainings, 2014-2015).

The granting of basic human rights and freedoms is the result of democratic transformations. The democratic principle of equality

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means equality before the law, equal suffrage, as well as equal access to public authority and Office (Государственное право Германии, 2002).

In the modern sense, elections are a major form of realization of national sovereignty, the formation of state bodies through universal suffrage. According to Article 3, Paragraph 1 of the Constitution of Georgia, "Georgia is a Democratic Republic". The Constitution of Georgia reinforces an important aspect of democracy - the principle of national sovereignty (Degenhart & Staatsrecht, 2002), according to which "the source of state power is the people" (The Legal Education and Justice Centre). Due to Article 3 (2) of the Constitution, "the people exercise their power through their representatives, as well as through referendums and other forms of direct democracy." Democracy is, first and foremost, the realization of public sovereignty, where the participation of the people is the basic essence and purpose of democracy (The Citizen of Georgia Giorgi Ugulava vs Parliament of Georgia, 2014, II, paragraph 9). Therefore, the idea of public sovereignty serves to ensure that people's participation in the process of government and, as a result, the realization of direct democracy, must be achieved at all levels (The Citizen of Georgia Giorgi Ugulava vs Parliament of Georgia, 2014 II, paragraph 10).

1. Georgian electoral system

The quality of democratic elections and the relevant universal and equal suffrage depend on a variety of factors, including the high- political and legal awareness and highly qualified election administration.

Georgia's electoral system was established in 1919[1]. In general, election law regulates the process of elections of public authorities and officials and establishes the electoral procedure. Since electoral law is an integral part of constitutional law, among the legal acts regulating elections in Georgia, the constitution of Georgia guarantees civil and political rights that are essential for democratic elections (Center for Electoral Systems Development, Reforms and Trainings, 5, 2014-2015). Due to Article 9, paragraph 9 on Changes to the Constitutional Law of Georgia of 23 March 2018, "the Parliament elected in the next Parliamentary elections shall consist of 77 members elected by a proportional system by universal suffrage for a term of four years and 73 parliamentarians elected by the majoritarian system on the basis of universal, free, equal and direct suffrage. As a result of proportional system elections, the mandates of MPs will be distributed to the political parties and election blocs of political parties that receive at least 3% of the votes. The rules and conditions for participation in elections, as well as the rules for the distribution of seats for MPs, shall be determined by election law." A majoritarian constituency shall be deemed to be the candidate for membership of the Parliament of Georgia, having received more than half of the votes. Elections of the representative body of local self-government –are held on the basis of proportional and majoritarian electoral systems. The candidate who received more than 50% of the votes in the election of Mayor shall be considered elected.

According to Article 50 (1) of the Constitution of Georgia, "The President of Georgia shall be elected by open ballot without debate for a term of five years. The same person can be elected as the President of Georgia

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[1] The first elections were based on the "Election Regulations of the Constituent Assembly" adopted by the Parliament of the Republic of Georgia on November 22, 1918, which envisaged the election of 130 members through a proportional electoral system based on universal suffrage.

only twice." According to Section 3 of the same article, "The Electoral Board shall comprise 300 members, including all members of the Parliament and the highest representative bodies of the Autonomous Republics of Abkhazia and Adjara. Other members of the Electoral Board shall be nominated by the relevant political parties per the quotas established by the Central Election Commission of Georgia, in accordance with the quotas defined by the Central Election Commission of Georgia based on law. Quotas are determined by observing the principle of geographic representation and proportional to the results of local self-government elections. The composition of the Electoral Board shall be approved by the Central Election Commission of Georgia."

Electoral law is based on five basic principles: universal suffrage, equal suffrage, direct suffrage, secret ballot, free elections. However, there are restrictions that determine the circle of persons entitled to vote: citizenship, residence[2], age[3], education, etc.

Preparing, conducting, and summarizing the results of Elections are provided by the Election Administration of Georgia, the independent body from governing authority. Mentioned institution consists of the Central Election Commission of Georgia (CEC), the Supreme Election Commission of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara (SEC), DECs, and PECs (Center for Electoral Systems Development, Reforms and Trainings, 16, 2014-2015).

The rules of operation of the Election Administration of Georgia are defined by the election Code of Georgia and the Election Administration Regulations (Center for Electoral Systems Development, Reforms and Trainings, 23, 2014-2015).

Voter registration is of significant importance for the electoral process. Depending on who bears the burden of registration of voters, registration can be public (mandatory) or personal (voluntary). During public or compulsory registration, the authorities are obliged to identify all voters and enter them into a unified voters' list. On the other hand, voluntary or personal registration implies voter-initiated registration (Center for Electoral Systems Development, Reforms and Trainings, 30, 2014-2015).

In general, the establishment of a well-functioning political system is an important condition for establishing and consolidating a well-functioning representative democracy (Kakachia & Pataraia, 2013). Although the Georgian government is seeking to consolidate democratic gains, it's clear that today's society lacks the strong political will and experience of democratic governance.

One of the main preconditions for consolidating democratic institutions is to strengthen political parties, especially to maintain a multi-party system. Political parties are presumed to be central to the democratization of any state (Makara, 2009). More recent scientists on political parties believe that parties are inevitable for a democracy to work (Huntington, 1968).

2. Current Issue concerning parliamentary elections of Georgia

Draft of Constitutional amendments, voted on November 14, 2019, in the Parliament of Georgia, proposed to introduce a proportional electoral system and a natural

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[2] Minimum time of residence in the state or its administrative unit after which the person obtains the right to vote. The Georgian legislation does not explicitly specify a residence permit for active suffrage; however, the unified voter list shall contain the data of the voter according to the place of his/her registration.

[3] specific age at which a citizen acquires the right to vote. Citizens of Georgia acquire active voting rights from the age of 18.

barrier in the next parliamentary elections with three-quarters of votes[4], was adopted by a two-thirds majority[5]. It means that the first hearing failed. There is an opinion that the second and third hearings of the draft law should be held.

However, neither the Constitution of Georgia nor the Election Code provides for detailed regulation of mentioned. However, the proposed draft, which offers the proportional system for the next parliamentary elections, excludes the approval of the amendment by the first procedure, since its approval by the next parliament loses the sense, cause it's the election of the next parliament itself.

Both the reality in the country and the initiative proposed by the Venice Commission suggest that it's desirable to have a two-chamber parliament, where the lower chamber to be elected by a proportional system, and the upper chamber - by a majoritarian system. The majoritarian system is not vicious and should not be abolished, but it's advisable to think about its relevant use.

In general, the majoritarian system is widespread throughout the world. The majoritarian system is exercised by the US Congress, Bundestag, House of Commons in the UK, etc. That is, in terms of distribution, a majoritarian system has the right to exist, as well as a proportional system. The main purpose of the majoritarian system is to represent the interests of the territorial units in the country's highest representative body.

3. German electoral model

After the proposed amendment failed the idea of introducing the so-called "German model" has emerged in the public.

German electoral model is characterized by a mixed electoral system, as majoritarian candidates still run in the elections, however, the parties will only enter the parliament with the same number of MPs as they would get through the proportional electoral system. The main principle of this model is that a fixed number of parliamentarians will not be replaced, as the sum of the MPs withdrawn from one party, both on the majoritarian and proportional basis, must depend on the outcome of the party's proportional election. In fact, the German electoral model implies that "if the candidates nominated by one or more electoral actors have received as many or more seats in the majoritarian elections as the political party in accordance with paragraphs 6 to 8 of this article, the number of mandates assigned to other parties is calculated by the following formula:

$$Nk = Mk \times (150-P-P1):M1$$

Nk is the number of seats belonging to k (who won less than the mandate specified in paragraphs 6 to 8 of this article in the majoritarian elections);

Mk is the number of votes received;

P - under the majoritarian system number of MPs elected by the political parties, who failed to overcome the electoral threshold;

P1 – the number of Members of Parliament elected by the political actors having obtained as many or more seats in the majoritarian elections as they had in accordance with paragraphs 6 to 8 of this article;

M1 - is the sum of the votes received by those political actors who received less mandate in the majoritarian elections than they had in accordance with paragraphs 6 to 8 of this article.

If the sum of all *Nk* is found to be less than (150 -P-P1) the mandates per unallocated mandate is additionally given to those entities that have more balances when calculating the above Nk. Thereafter, the number of

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[4] 113 Votes.

[5] 101 Votes.

seats in the party list of Nk actors shall be determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in paragraph 9 of this article.

The German electoral system is completely different. The form of government is not straightforward but representative, with elected deputies playing a central role. Legislative decisions are made only by lawmakers elected by the people. Consequently, a significant part of the responsibility falls on MPs. Moreover, the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany emphasizes the role of Bundestag, MPs representing the people. In addition, the German constitution also imposes the function of controlling ordinary voters.

As we have noted, the German electoral model is characterized by a mixed system, with some MPs running in the single-mandate constituency and some according to the party list. The Bundestag adheres to the principle of proportion. Half of the composition of the Parliament is personally voted by the voters. According to Article 38, Part 1 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany, every adult (18 years and older) citizen has the right of giving 2 votes (Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, A. 38). Voters vote first for a specific candidate, and second - for a particular party. In this, the priority shall be given to the second one, which determines the political situation in the country, the ratio of forces in the Bundestag, and also which party will be the chancellor who is usually elected by the Bundestag. By the second vote that the issue of majority and minority in the Bundestag is resolved by the voters. When it is known how many seats each party has received by the number of second ballots, then the parliamentary seats are divided according to the party list. The second vote comes from the party that overcame at least a 5% threshold in the German legislature. The number of seats won by any party in the Bundestag is directly proportional to the number of second ballot cast. Those seats are being filled by those party candidates who won single-mandate constituencies. If their number is less than the number of seats received, then the seats are divided by party list. If the opposite happens and the number of single-mandate constituencies is higher than the seats won by the party, an additional mandate will be created for such candidates. Nowadays, there is a substantial debate in Germany on eliminating the shortcomings of this system, as the total number of MPs is increasing as a result of the Bundestag election system.

Conclusion

The electoral system has to reflect the will of the people. The conversion of votes to political mandates depends largely upon the electoral system (Venice Commission, 2019). With respect to democratic principles, thus, any electoral system may be chosen, regardless if it is a plurality or majority system, a proportional system, or a combined system. It should be underlined that there is no such thing as the "best" electoral system that could be exported to all countries in the world (Venice Commission, 2019). Thus, the electoral system and proposals to reform should be assessed in each individual case.

It's clear that the electoral system is completely incompatible with the Constitution of Georgia and the current practical situation, but it is important to come up with a correct wording to understand what the current opposition parties have to offer. Constitutional Law of Georgia of October 13, 2018, on "Amending the Constitution of Georgia", "Amending the Constitutional Law of Georgia", in accordance with Article 9, Paragraph 9, "The Parliament elected in the next Parliamentary Elections shall consist of 77 members elected by a proportional system for a term of 4 years and 73 deputies elected by the majoritarian system by universal and equal suffrage, direct and free elections. As a

result of the proportional system, the mandates of the MPs will be distributed to the political parties and election blocs of political parties that receive at least 3% of the votes cast. The rules and conditions for running in elections, as well as the rules for the distribution of seats for Members of Parliament, shall be determined by election law." This provision makes it clear that the Parliament of Georgia will be composed of 77 MPs elected through a proportional system and 73 MPs elected by the majoritarian system, the terms, and conditions of the elections, as well as the procedure for distribution of seats, are regulated by the electoral legislation of Georgia. However, according to the proposed project, if the political party receives 10% of the total votes and 15 seats out of 150 seats are proportionally received, these mandates are owned, for example, by 6 winning majoritarians and 9 candidates from the party list. As a result, the winning majoritarians unconditionally receive mandates, and as many MPs are added to the party list as needed to fill the mandates up to the total number of seats in the party. Accordingly, both the proportionality requirement and the requirement for the maintenance of majoritarian constituencies are met simultaneously. It is also noteworthy that this initiative in practice requires only 76 votes.

In conclusion, it is a mistake when the opposition offers to adopt a "German model" because the initiative they propose is not a German model, but rather a modified variation of it. In the proportional system, the mandates are distributed proportionally to the number of votes received, and the majoritarian system includes the majority distribution of votes. According to the "German Model", deputies' proportional representation depends on the party's mandates in parliament by majoritarian rule. The constitution

of Georgia does not define the beginning of the proportionality. As a result, the parliament is still composed of 73 majoritarian MPs and 77 MPs elected by proportional list. In fact, the main problem lies in the "will of the authorities". It should also be noted that the best way to solve the problem is a two-chamber parliament, which was repeatedly recommended by the Venice Commission.

There are some very interesting developments in Georgia today, especially for lawyers. The main challenge remains the creation of a strong democracy and justice, which can be achieved through free choice and fair state policy (Mgaloblishvili, Fair Elections). Fair elections are an essential part of the democratic development process.   States with a multi-party electoral system are closer to the ideals of democracy and others, with characteristics of authoritarianism, aspiring to a dominant party system and are often characterized by non-democratic rule[6]. The existence of successful parties and a stable electoral environment are some of the fundamental requirements for States' further democratization.

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[6] For example, Mexico, where the revolutionary-democratic party has been in power for 30 years.

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Georgia and Energy Security

Maka Partsvania*

ARTICLE INFO	A B S T R A C T
	Energy security means the continuous availability of energy, inadequate amounts at a reasonable price. It means when local and imported resources at a reasonable price meet the country's growing demand for energy. Energy Security impact depends on Environmental challenges, liberalization, deregulation, and the liquidity and competitiveness of the market; besides, the most affecting role in energy security plays the government. Global tensions, as well as regional conflicts, are the most challenging for today's world. Adequate attention to environmental challenges and diversification of sources can be the solution to Energy security. Georgia entered the Energy Community Treaty on 1 July 2017. Membership in the Energy Community has a wider political consequence for the country as the membership shows its pro-European orientation. It's worth mentioning that Georgia is the first Contracting Party not to have a border with the EU internal market or with any other Energy Community Party. Besides, membership of the Energy community redefines also the energy security questions. Georgia made an important improvement in the energy sector by replacing the energy market framework with the Third Energy Package. Georgian Energy law and policy mainly depend on better energy partnerships between the European Union and Georgia.

Introduction

The International Energy Agency defines energy security as "the uninterrupted availability of energy sources at an affordable price". Geopolitical instability, natural disasters, terrorism, and even poor regulatory design provide a sharp reminder of the central role of energy security. Increasing demand for electricity renewed attention to existing energy security policies and procedures. Lack of researches and absence of legislation regarding energy security and emergency responses linked to the negative economic and social impacts of non-competitive prices and availability of energy.

There will be discussed three main issues regarding energy security global. The first will be the energy import dependence of the country; the second adequate supply for ris-

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ing demand and it has to be affordable at reasonable prices, and the third will be the environmental challenge and sustainable development.

1. Difference between Energy Security and Energy Independence

Energy security is not to be confused with energy independence. While energy independence is a pipe dream, energy security is achievable (Mackubin, 2007).

Energy security was defined in 1993 by Executive director Helga Steeg in her statement at the Second World Coal Institute Conference, which was held in London, as "… diversified supplies of energy being available at affordable prices to help economies to continue to grow" (Schwabach & Cockfield, 2009).

In other words, energy security is in essence a matter of how many options a country shas to meet energy needs. It is more insecure when a country has the fewer options. Energy security is a much more valuable tool in terms of domestic policy analysis, and actual geopolitical, geostrategic considerations. Energy security has an underlying acceptance that the current governing system of the world is extremely interdependent.

Energy Independence is more a campaign slogan or otherwise simplistic form of propaganda.

The main aspect of the energy security of Georgia in the electricity sector is the uninterruptible supply of electricity. It can be ensured by maximum utilization of our own resources. The dynamics of the electricity generation and consumption per month are not meet. It has to be noted, that hydro and thermal generation capacities are not enough to meet the demand in the autumn and winter periods. Respectively, electricity import becomes necessary for the purpose of satisfying the demand. On the other hand, in the second half of the spring period and summer abundant water resources make it possible to meet the electricity demand and export the rest of the electricity (Georgian Regulatory commission Report, 2017).

Even in 1996 at the trilateral Commission, Report - Maintaining Energy Security in a Global Context was prepared by Willian Martin, Ryukichi Imai, and Helga Steeg, three energy veterans with a worldwide perspective and they observed that "Energy security has three faces. The first involves limiting vulnerability to disruption given rising dependence on imported oil from the unstable Middle East. The second, broader face is, over time, the provision of adequate supply for rising demand at reasonable prices – in effect, the reasonably smooth functioning over time of the international energy system. The third face of energy security is the energy-related environmental challenge. The international energy system needs to operate within the constraints of 'sustainable development'–constraints which, however uncertain and long-term, have gained considerable salience in the energy policy debates in our countries" (Barton *et al*., 2004).

1.1. Energy Insecurity

Many aspects cause Energy insecurity and they are: price volatility, Geopolitical instability, energy import dependence, disruptions in supply, infrastructure constraints, corporate and policy failures, and environmental threats (Kazarian, 2018). Price volatility comes out, especially when crude oil prices are high and their price is unstable (Barton *et al*., 2004).

Geopolitical instability, including armed conflict, sabotage, and terrorist attacks is a most huge concern in the contemporary world. An additional aspect of energy security is to prevent international sabotage of gas pipelines, nuclear power plants, hydroelectric dams, and other components of the interconnected and vulnerable energy infrastructure (Barton *et al*., 2004).

Besides Georgia is a member of the Energy community, unfortunately, Georgia cannot get all benefits that are the crucial and main idea of this membership. The reason is the geopolitical location as the neighbors of Georgia are not the members neither EU nor Energy community which means that they are not obligated to follow European rules and directives.

1.2. Infrastructure constraints

The existing pipeline system which remains the most profitable transit for natural gas allows Russia to act as a monopoly supplier of gas in the former Soviet space; Russia has the all needed barrier to turn off the tap to consumers in the region of Georgia or just stop the transit of gas (Larsson, 2006). Former Soviet Union countries still experience interruptions in their energy supply than the rest of Europe (Moraski & Giurcanu, 2013). Russia has not been able to successfully use them as "Client states, even weak and highly dependent states such as the Baltic countries and Georgia, were able to resist changing their policies to appease Russia, often through the use of strategic alliances" (Moraski & Giurcanu, 2013).

Energy security focuses on the case of natural gas, which provides the most exact test of integration in this sphere (Aalto & Temel, 2014). The EU Member States have hope of reducing their dependency on imported natural gas and unconventional alternative gas can help to balance declining conventional production avoiding increasing imports; the global market, may change pricing mechanisms and allow different types of contracts in that way facilitating liberalization and increase flexibility to strengthen the bilateral energy diplomacy which is so crucial (Aalto & Temel, 2014).

There were two main interruptions in Europe in 2006 and 2009 by Russia under Presidents Putin and Medvedev; in 2006 after Ukraine's Orange revolution when Russia announced to increase the price from $50 to $160 per thousand cubic meters of gas in January 2006 for Russian gas deliveries to Ukraine (Nygren, 2008). At the same time, the gas supply was interrupted by Russia to Georgia.

In 2006, the European Union prepares the concept of energy policy in the EU and its neighbors to create an area of uniform regulations. Europeanization supports market development in the energy sector by involving third countries such as Georgia as well (Pataraia, 2015).

Underdeveloped energy networks in Georgia and isolated markets without direct interconnections limit the possibility of the county in energy trading, that's why Georgia is exempted from the application of the Third Energy Package requirement for cross-border trading. Taking into consideration difficulties of the network connectedness, the Energy Community Treaty provisions which are related to competition do not apply to Georgia (The Treaty Establishing the Energy Community, Article 2).

1.3. Policy failure

Georgia entered the Energy Community Treaty on 1 July 2017 which may be considered as an approval of legal obligations taken under the Association Agreement (AA)[1] as according to Article 297 of the agreed cooperation between the partners "should be based on the principles of partnership, mutual interest, transparency and predictability and shall aim at market integration and regulatory convergence in the energy sector, taking into account the need to ensure access to secure,

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[1] The Association Agreement (AA) between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community and their Member States, of the one part, and, Georgia, of the other part, entering into force on 1 July 2016.

environmentally friendly and affordable energy". Besides, this cooperation should cover, inter alia the areas where among them is the "cooperation on regional energy issues and the possible accession of Georgia to the Energy Community Treaty in respect of which Georgia has a status of observer at present" (AA, Article, 298); At the end, the Annex XXV of the AA specifies the all EU legal acts that must be implemented in the field of electricity, natural gas, oil, renewable energy, and energy efficiency.

Membership of the Energy community somehow obligates Georgia to carry out three main policy principles which are competitiveness, the security of supply, and sustainability (Samkharadze, 2019). Association Agreement (AA) requires a higher degree of approximation which means not only overlaps the law but also the country policy goals including the field of energy law. EU has specified the priorities in strategic documents and one of them is European Energy Security Strategy (European Energy Security Strategy, 2014).

Georgia made important improvement in energy sector by replacing the energy market framework with the Third Energy Package. Georgia's current legislation the Law of Georgia on Electricity and Natural Gas (Law of Georgia on Electricity and Natural Gas, 1997) from 1997 and the Law of Georgia on Oil and Gas (Law of Georgia on Oil and Gas, 1999.) from 1999 no longer comply with modern standards, so in December 20, 2019 a new Law on Energy and Water Supply (Law on Energy and Water Supply, 2019) and Law on Promoting the Generation and Consumption of Energy from Renewable Sources (Law on Renewable Sources, 2019) were adopted by the Georgian parliament. It is worth mentioning that the new Energy Law is currently being

prepared (EU4Energy Initiative) and will repeal the Law on Electricity and Natural Gas, as well as the draft laws on renewable energy, energy efficiency, and energy performance buildings. Adoption of new Energy Law will cover the main approaches such as unbundling, third party access, regulatory authorities, consumer protection, public service obligations, etc. most important are the rules for electricity and gas networks in the so-called 'unbundling' directives of the EU's Third Energy Package (2009).

According to the Law of Georgia on Electricity and Natural Gas, an obligation Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development of Georgia has been imposed to prepare a document on the main directions of the state policy in the energy sector, ensure its implementation and adoption of relevant legislation. Nowadays, the important documents supporting renewable energy and energy efficiency are the Law of Georgia on Electricity and Natural Gas and the Resolution of Georgia of June 24, 2015, on Main Directions of the State Policy in the Energy Sector of Georgia. They were substituted by the new laws of Georgia (Law of Georgia on Energy Efficiency; Law of Georgia on Efficiency of Buildings).

Efficient utilization of electricity resources of Georgia increase the security of electricity and sustainability; for fully satisfying electricity demand of the country, one of the main priorities for the development of the electricity sector is the policy of water and other types of renewable energy utilization and, respectively, renewal of current legislative base and its approximation with EU energy acquis (Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report, 2018).

On 21 May, 2020 the Parliament of Georgia adopted key energy efficiency legal acts[2]. It is worth to mention, that it is the first time

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[2] Donor organizations have supported project on drafting energy efficiency national action plan. Since 2017 Ministry is working on the drafts of re-

newable energy and energy efficiency laws; Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report in Activities of 2018.

when Georgia has the Law on Energy Efficiency and the Law on Energy Performance of Buildings, which assignment the EU Directives in this field. The main goal of the legislation is to reduce emissions and pollution, also improve the energy efficiency of buildings. All this will help to decrease energy imports and improve the country's energy security.

The abovementioned is also one of the main conditions of the membership of Georgia to the Energy Community, as Georgia has obligation to harmonize internal energy legislation with Directive 2009/28/EC on the Promotion of the Use of Energy from Renewable Sources and Directive 2012/27/EC on the Energy Efficiency.

Georgia is a non-EU member country becoming part of the Energy community aiming transformation through the law when the country's energy security depends on its geopolitical location; and when for EU Georgia is one of the attractive alternative transporting oil and gas from Central Asia to European markets (Zillman, 2012).

2. Import dependence

The main feature of energy security in the electricity sector is an uninterruptible supply which means electricity demand by maximum utilization of own resources; it will substitute import in a short-term perspective and thermal generation in a long-term perspective (Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report, 2018). Unfortunately, hydro and thermal generation capacities are not enough for Georgia to meet the demand in autumn and winter periods, when consumption is higher than in the summer period, as electricity supply has a counter, seasonal character (Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report, 2018). Respectively, the peak demand in Georgia is in winter, and electricity import becomes necessary to satisfy demand, except in the second half of the spring period

and summer (Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report, 2018).

Georgia has a huge potential for Hydro and is among one of the richest countries with water and water resources (rivers, lakes, water reservoirs, ices, underground waters, bogs) (Ministry of Energy of Georgia, Information). There are 26 000 rivers on the territory of the country and around round 300 rivers are significant in terms of energy production; their total annual potential capacity is equivalent to 15000 MW, while the average annual production equals 50 bln KWh (Ministry of Energy of Georgia, Information).

Georgia is a rich country with renewable energy sources, but nowadays only 20-22% of the technical potential of water resources is used (Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report, 2018). Due to the seasonal ecosystem of the country, in the months of winter, when the potential of water resources in Georgia is low the potential of wind energy is very essential. Based on existing research, the total potential of wind resources is 1,450 MW, and their average annual output - 4,160 mln KWh (Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report, 2018). Developing solar energy potential as well as geothermal resources in Georgia will significantly improve the energy security of the country and reduce dependence on imports (Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report, 2018).

Hydrocarbon resources and renewable resources shall be utilized together with hydro resources to a maximum level, including wind and solar energy resources. Launching a new generation will decrease the share of the imported electricity to meeting electricity demand in winter periods.

Many infrastructural and regional projects have been implemented in recent years: including the construction of hydro-power plants, thermal plants, and transmission lines,

harmonization with Turkey's electric energy market, the construction of a new wind station and underground gas storage, etc (Ministry of Energy of Georgia, Information). All these projects aim to improve energy security, but without a strategy, it is hard to evaluate the importance of these projects. Along with infrastructure, it is crucial to strengthen management and professional growth with institutional reform.

3. Security of Supply

Market shares for the three largest electricity generators have been allocated in the following manner: 31.5% - Enguri HPP LLC (Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report, 2017); 9.9% - Gardabani Thermal Power Plant LLC and 7.3% - Vartsikhe HPP LLC. Consumption in Abkhazia, which is occupied by Russia, is still growing which is covered with the electricity generated by Enguri HPP and Vardnili HPP Cascade which means that these resources for the rest of Georgia are decreasing (Galt&Taggart, 2019).

If we see statistics and the energy balances in 2017 the electricity consumption has increased by 7.7% in comparison to the previous year (EIA, 2016; EIA, 2017; Galt&Taggart, 2019). According statistic and the energy balances in the electricity consumption, internal consumption of the electricity has increased by 7.6% in comparison to 2017 and by 15.9% - in comparison to 2016; Annual average electricity consumption amounted 5.3% in the period of 2010-2019 (Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report, 2019).

It is important to diversify receiving capacity to ensure the safety of delivery. One of the ways to increase supply security is to build gas storage. Construction of the underground gas storage will significantly increase the energy security of Georgia. The project will regulate the seasonal misbalance between gas supply and consumption and meet the peak consumption demand during the winter period. Nowadays, a loan agreement for an arrangement of the underground gas storage on Samgori South Dome field has been signed between JSC "Georgian Oil and Gas Corporation" and the Reconstruction Credit Institute of Germany (KfW) (Georgian Oil and Gas Corporation, Information).

The Republic of Azerbaijan is the main supplier of natural gas for Georgia, from where the country received the natural gas necessary to satisfy its needs. Georgia is still the transit country of natural gas from Russia to Armenia and Georgia receives transit fees. Besides, Georgia received natural gas from South Caucasus Pipeline (SCP) as a transit fee, while local extraction remains insignificant (Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report, 2018.).

Supply disruptions which is caused by labor unrest, sabotage, or political/economic influence. The supply of energy becomes challenging and this makes the security of supply more complicated. It's crucial for policies to balance energy security, economic growth, and environmental protection (Barton *et al*). In this case law becomes an important part of Energy security and requires an elaborate legal framework in international trade.

Russia remains as the main supplier of natural gas to the continent; furthermore, Russia remains basically the solitary provider of natural gas to many former Soviet states (Moraski & Giurcanu, 2013). Respectively, companies like Gazprom use energy prices to punish or reward CIS [3] neighbors (Nygren, 2008).

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[3] Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

4. The environmental challenge and sustainable development

The other and very important issue is growing environmental threats (including climate change). Nowadays is still actual that people still rely on traditional biomass fuel such as wood for their cooking and heating needs (Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission Report, 2018), while biomass fuel is a renewable energy source, their collection and use in traditional and inefficient ways contributes to environmental degradation.

Law in action is not the same as the law in the books and Energy lawyers are aware of this than most. Energy law has always been a practical discipline, obsessed by the real-world problems in energy technologies, by developments in politics, producing changes in energy policies (Cairney *et al*., 2019). It is important not to forget the main considerations of energy law and to understand how the law in the books may differ from the law in practice (Cairney et al., 2019). Interdisciplinary energy research is essential to improve the energy sector. Besides we have a huge lack of literature on energy law and legal harmonization, Energy law as an academic discipline among legal subjects will be a big contribution to developing this sector.

The government needs special efforts to implement reforms (Pataraia, 2015). The main challenges for Georgia are increased energy demand and import dependant, especially in the winter period. The territories which are occupied by Russia and where are the various strategic energy objects remain to make energy security more challenging. Not to forget that some strategic energy assets in Georgia are owned by the Russian state and Russian commercial companies. Significant role it plays in the economic crisis, which has a serious impact on energy prices. Same time Georgian energy law and policy mainly depends on better energy partnership between the European Union and Georgia.

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Regional Trade Agreements and its Perspectives for Small Open Economies

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT

Studying foreign trade issues and developing the right strategy plays a key role in reviving the country's economy. Generally, the countries are involved in these processes, both at the international and regional levels. The growth of both bilateral and multilateral regional trade agreements (RTA) includes the agreements between the countries at significantly different stages of development. To reveal these differences, RTA generally contains specific and different types of provisions aiming the benefits for less developed partners. At the same time, such agreements make it possible to select a partner from a political and strategic point of view.

The article discusses the importance and perspectives of regional trade through the prism of liberalization and historical experience, on Georgia - CIS example. Current trade flows with major partner countries are analyzed and the opportunities for diversity trade with other CIS trading partners are highlighted based on the intra-industry trade Index and the Finger-Kreinin Index. This analysis allows us to implement practical measures to increase the efficiency of external economic flows by identifying still unused reserves.

Introduction

Institutional, regional and national initiatives have laid the ground for many regional free trade agreements, customs unions, and regional cooperation activities around the world, also the specialized bilateral agreements to solve such issues as investments, export credit, double taxation, and more.

The level of well-being of the population greatly depends on the country's involvement in international trade and the degree to which it realizes its potential. Therefore, studying foreign trade issues and developing the right strategy plays a key role in reviving the country's economy. Generally, the countries are involved in these processes, both at the international and regional levels. The growth of both bilateral and multilateral regional trade agreements (RTA) includes the

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agreements between the countries at significantly different stages of development. To reveal these differences, RTA generally contains specific and different types of provisions aiming the benefits for less developed partners. At the same time, such agreements make it possible to select a partner from a political and strategic point of view.

The theoretical framework was developed based on the knowledge and analysis of various authors and studies of international organizations (Xinpeng & Ligang, 2000; Dyker et al., 2008; Kreinin, Plummer, 2000; Heydon, 2003, etc., Global Economic Prospects 2005).

Various aspects of the issue are discussed by the author in previous publications (Mikaberidze, 2015, 2016, 2017).

This papework aims to discuss the importance and perspectives of regional trade through the prism of liberalization and historical experience, on Georgia - CIS example. Current trade flows with major partner countries are analyzed and the opportunities for diversity trade with other CIS trading partners are highlighted based on the intra-industry trade Index and the Finger-Kreinin Index. This analysis allows us to implement practical measures to increase the efficiency of external economic flows by identifying still unused reserves.

Research methods

The research period covers the years 2010-1015. On the one hand, Georgia's export in the world and, on the other hand, the export of CIS countries (being Georgia's partners) in the world were analyzed for the mentioned period. 30 largest exported commodity items were revealed within this period.

Taken as the research basis was the data of the National Statistics Office of Georgia and UN Comtrade's international trade statistics data at the level of SITC three-digit classifier.

A study on the similarity of Georgia's exports to CIS member states has been conducted. In order to establish the main directions of trade structure improvement, we have measured the similarity of the trade and industrial structures of Georgia and its CIS trade partners. The study is based on the index of export similarities or GL (Grubel-Lloyd) Index (determining the intra-industry trade value) (Grubel & Lloyd, 1975). On the other hand, we calculated the index of export similarities – the Finger-Kreinin Index (offered by J. Finger and M. Kreinin, 1979). The dynamics of the indices are given in chronological order and the results are presented in the form of diagrams.

The paperwork presents an economic analysis of the results obtained, which includes the general methodological foundations of analysis and synthesis, abstraction, induction-deduction, and dialectics. The perspectives of the foreign trade policy of Georgia and its partner CIS member states in the prism of similarity of intra-industry trade and exports are assessed.

1. Regionalism and Developing Countries

It should be noted that the provisions of regional trade agreements often go beyond the provisions of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Although the regional agreements complete a multilateral trading system, they cannot replace them. The scale of regionalism has grown sharply in recent years as the developing countries become interested in deep integration through institutional strengthening, which is also the subject of our interest.

From a regional point of view, Georgia's participation in the free trade zone within the Commonwealth of Independent States is noteworthy, within the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) and Democracy and Economic Development Organization - GUAM Free Trade Zone, as the markets of Turkey

and the CIS are very convenient for Georgian exports, because the Georgian products are more or less adapted to their markets, both in terms of their quality requirements and competitiveness.

For any small open economies, it is important to diversify markets and thus to develop the integration links in different directions. One such direction for us is the post-Soviet space. The catastrophic consequences after the breaking-up the traditional business-economic relations after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the complete collapse of the attempt to enter the world market, made clear the need for the country to re-establish economic ties with post-Soviet countries. And the opportunity to develop specialization is the main driving force for getting the benefits from economic ties and free trade.

Today, Georgia has a comparative advantage over the post-Soviet countries in the production of many goods, on which it specialized during the Soviet era. Thus, by strengthening trade and economic ties in the post-Soviet space, the country will be able to get the benefits from the positive results from the development of industrial specialization. There are important preconditions for deepening integration in the post-Soviet space: unified transport, energy, communications systems are still maintained; unified standards, technical requirements, and sanitary norms; technological and territorial proximity; mutual market knowledge; having some trust in each other's products; the existence of cooperative connections between enterprises, etc.

To prove this, consider the statistics: despite the implementation of the policy of liberalization, accession to the World Trade Organization (since 2000) and the recent signing of the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) with the European Union, In 2019 Georgia's trade turnover with the CIS increased by 18% to 4.439.4 million USD

and the total trade balance is 34,6%. The export is increased by 20% and amounted to 2 003.1 million USD (re-export 57%) and it accounted for 53.1% of the country's total exports. The import was decreased by 9.5%, amounted to 436.3 million USD and it accounted for 26.9% of the country's total imports. The largest export flows come from commodities such as agricultural products (including wine, mineral water, spirits, nuts, turmeric, spices, tobacco products, citrus, cattle), industrial products (including cars, medicinal, nitrogen fertilizers, trucks, cyanides, and oxycyanides, carbon steel rods, ferroalloys, pharmaceutical products, tobacco products, etc.).

As for Georgia's largest trading partners, whose share in total trade turnover is up to 70% are Turkey, Russia, China, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Ukraine, USA, Germany, Bulgaria, and Romania. Accordingly, 4 of the main trading partners are members of the CIS. With other countries in the post-Soviet space that are not major trading partners (Moldova, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, etc.), there are prospects for increased trade flows and product diversification, which we discuss below (Fig. 1).

As it was said above though the regional agreements complete the multilateral trade systems, they can't replace them (Heydon, 2003). The same can be said concerning the asymmetric regional provisions. Regional agreements may work faster in certain areas than multilateral agreements, but they can't replace the latter with regard to non-discriminatory (preferential promotion) liberalization and the elaboration of multilateral extensive rules.

The preferential regional trade agreements offer faster access to the market than it is possible during the multilateral negotiation process. This may become an important factor for the business as the product cycle is shorter than the multilateral negotiation cy-

cle, this factor is highlighted in the Doha De-velopment Agenda as an impediment to pro-gress.
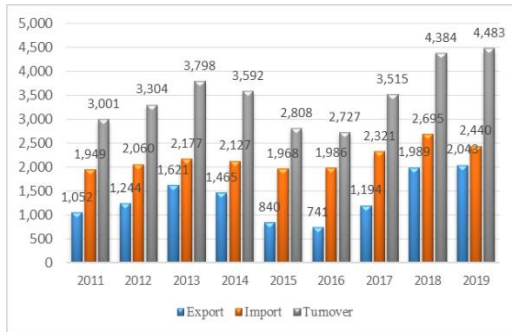

Fig. 1. Georgia-CIS Foreign Trade Dynamics (million USD).

Even if we assume that relatively less de-veloped countries will be able to see more profit by entering into regional relations in terms of asymmetry, this profit should be compared to the costs incurred by a member country to join the preferential agreements. It is well known that most of these costs are due to the increasing diffculties faced by businesses in their relations with member countries, where no less space is occupied by the growing rules of product's origin and standardization. Signing a growing number of contracts and agreements gives us a lot of rules about the origin of the product since multilateral relationships typically involve in-dividual negotiations with a member country, require a lot of detail and mechanism analy-sis. This is the balance that must be taken into account when moving to asymmetric integra-tion.

Georgia participates in the Multilateral Agreement on the Establishment of a Free Trade Area in the CIS space (April 15, 1994), which provides free trade between the mem-ber states. This Agreement has been ratified by all parties except the Russian Federation. In addition, Georgia has signed a "bilateral free trade agreement" with eight CIS member states, only six of them are in force, they also provide the exemption from customs duties the trade with goods and services. These countries are Azerbaijan, Armenia, Russia, Turkey, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine.

2. Georgia's Export Flows Diversification Is-sues

In order to assess better the involvement and role of the partnership in foreign trade with the countries of the post-Soviet space, to examine better the results and prospects of the partnership, we analyzed the structural similarity of Georgia with the export struc-ture of the partner countries. For this pur-pose, we conducted a survey and calculated Georgia's intra-industry trade index - the same as the Grubel-Lloyd index in relation to the CIS countries according to the SITC classi-fier at three-digit, as well as the export simi-larity Finger-Kreinin (FK) index according to 30 largest export goods with partner coun-tries.

After the liberalization of trade policy, as well as the liberalization of capital and labor force in Georgia, it is possible to develop the trade infrastructure with integrative dyna-mism, but it is also important to discuss the opportunities derived from deep integration. Tariff liberalization can significantly increase the level of welfare. The more similar and ap-proximate economic policies have the coun-tries, the more benefits they will receive as a result of the partnership. Similarities and ap-proximations mean the removal of existing barriers as well as the development of a uni-fied policy that will facilitate the develop-ment of trade between the partner countries, make the investments, creating positive ex-ternal factors, and increasing productivity (Dyker *et al.*, 2008).

Intra-Industry trade is a key indicator of the potential for deep integration between partner countries. There are two types of in-tra-industry trade: 1. Interchange of similar

goods of approximately the same quality and price; 2. Interchange of similar goods, but different quality and price; Exchange of goods within the trade classification is a vertically integrated supply network (parts of finished products and partially finished products). Each of them in the process of economic integration makes it possible to capture the niche of specialization, which will help to increase productivity.

The highest intra-industry trade index was revealed with Belarus (99%), which is in 37th place among the trade partners of Georgia according to its turnover, with Moldova (78%) – in 49th place. However, it should be noted that over the years, trade turnover with these countries has been steadily increasing. Quite a high rate has been also observed over the years with Armenia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan (Fig. 2).
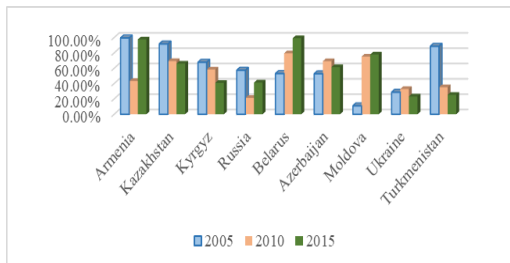
Fig. 2. Georgia's GL index with partner countries.

This shows that despite the size and proximity of the CIS countries' markets, Georgia's exports in this direction are much lower than possible. While the index survey by specific commodity flows it was revealed a high rate of indexation according to the specific commodity codes (Annex), which allows us to think about expanding and perfecting the nomenclature of export goods under these commodity codes for the future.

We have measured the quality of trade and industrial structure between Georgia and its trade partners according to the export similarity index proposed by J. Finger and M. Kreinin (1979). As it is known, in case if the

index has been increasing during the time it means the approximation of the export structure of two countries that also indicates high ongoing competition between these two countries in the third country market (Pomfret, 1981; Pearson, 1994). On the other hand, the decrease in indexes indicates that the specialization of the two countries is growing in the third country market.

The FC index, which determines the similarity of exports with Georgia and its main trading partners, is quite low. However, the highest similarity rate among the countries under consideration is observed with Armenia (43.4%) - which is lower than in 2010 (48.4%). Small increases from 2010 to 2015 were observed only in the indexes of Ukraine, Russia, Moldova, and Belarus. This gives us the reason to think that there are opportunities for future cooperation with these countries, especially based on identified trends in intra-industry trade (Fig. 3).
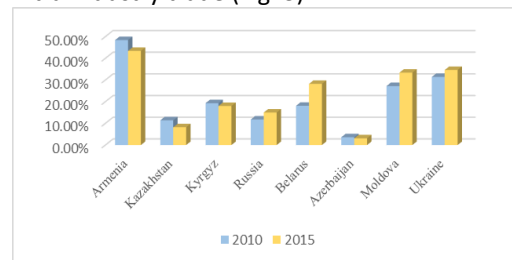
Fig. 3. Georgia's FK index with Partner countries.

Conclusion

In our opinion, the development of international flows should be promoted both regionally and globally. It is true that the European Union is a very important and oriented market for Georgia's exports, and its importance is increasing within the DCFTA, however, it is very important to raise regional aspects and one of them is the post-soviet space. Improving the quality of foreign trade and diversifying export commodity flows and markets, to our opinion, should be done by taking into account the trends set according

to our calculations, in particular, goods of high quality within the intra-industry trade, such as agricultural products, textiles, and industrial products, pharmaceuticals and other industrial products. It should be noted that the index of intra-industry trade and, at the same time, the index of similarity of exports is higher with those countries that are not major trading partners. Consequently, it is possible to develop these markets wisely, including both the realization markets and the industrial cooperation.

The only guarantee of sustainable development is interdependence and cooperation. The level of well-being of the population greatly depends on the country's involvement in international trade and the degree to which it realizes its potential. The countries are involved in this process both internationally and regionally.

Successful development in the region largely depends on the political will, the national interests of the countries, and the selection of the appropriate approach and time to solve the problems positively. Promoting peace and security in the region and the peaceful settlement of existing conflicts are vitally important. Bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation and the implementation of important projects will substantially strengthen the regional security system. Regional cooperation within one specific community is an effective means for developing all participating countries. Taking into consideration the examples of other regions, the CIS countries need to work more closely together and strengthen economic ties. Encouraging regional cooperation, working together on every important issue, and addressing key issues will ultimately.

In our opinion, the development of international flows should be promoted both regionally and globally. This means that it is desirable to carry out the foreign trade with high-quality goods such as agriculture prod-

ucts, textile, light industry products, pharmaceuticals, and others to take into account the trends established by the pre-calculations. This is evidenced by the fact that the index of intra-industry trade and the index of similarity of exports are even higher with those countries that are not major trading partners. However, no proportional change was observed between this index. Often its sudden increase or decrease is caused by a sudden change in trade flows from the smallest to the largest volume that is caused by non-trending trade flows and trade links between the countries (that is generally caused due to weak trade links, insufficient diversification of export-import structures).

The analysis also shows that with a number of countries in the CIS space we will be able to cooperate with the countries that have more or less similar export structures, namely: the possibility of medium and small volume cooperation. Though the countries with similar export structures are also our competitors in the world market, the volume of national export flows allows us to avoid conflicts of economic interests. However, we have a basis for cooperation in producing complementary goods and technologies.

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Annex

Georgia's Intra-Industry Trade (GL) Index with CIS
at SITC three-digit level 2005-2015

Country	SITC	Title	2005	2010	2015
Russia	001	live animals other than animals of division 03	0,00	0,00	0,21
Armenia	001	live animals other than animals of division 03	0,37	0,18	0,19
Azerbaijan	057	Fruit and nuts (not including oil nuts), fresh or dried	0,40	0,17	0,88
Moldovia	057	Fruit and nuts (not including oil nuts), fresh or dried	0,00	0,21	0,59
Armenia	057	Fruit and nuts (not including oil nuts), fresh or dried	0,07	0,01	0,83
Kirgizstan	057	Fruit and nuts (not including oil nuts), fresh or dried	0,00	0,00	0,58
Belorussia	058	Fruit, preserved, and fruit preparations (excluding fruit juices)	0,00	0,99	0
Armenia	058	Fruit, preserved, and fruit preparations (excluding fruit juices)	0,00	0,26	0,07
Ukraine	058	Fruit, preserved, and fruit preparations (excluding fruit juices)	0,67	0,24	0,01
Azerbaijan	081	Feeding stuff for animals (not including un-milled cereals)	0,00	0,67	0,63
Azerbaijan	111	Non-alcoholic beverages, n.e.s.	0,00	0,04	0,13
Moldovia	111	Non-alcoholic beverages, n.e.s.	0,00	0,60	0,42
Russia	111	Non-alcoholic beverages, n.e.s.	0,00	0,00	0,12
Armenia	111	Non-alcoholic beverages, n.e.s.	0,31	0,17	0,11
Ukraine	111	Non-alcoholic beverages, n.e.s.	0,23	0,46	0,76
Azerbaijan	112	Alcoholic beverages	0,12	0,17	0,47
Russia	112	Alcoholic beverages	0,07	0,00	0,11
Armenia	112	Alcoholic beverages	0,91	0,46	0,39
Ukraine	112	Alcoholic beverages	0,32	0,30	0,48

Azerbaijan	248	Cork and wood	0,00	0,14	0
Armenia	343	Natural gas, whether or not liquefied	0,00	0,00	0,91
Azerbaijan	351	Electric current	0,00	0,83	0
Russia	351	Electric current	0,00	0,72	0
Kazakh-stan	523	Salts and peroxysalts, of inorganic acids and metals	0,12	0,15	0,05
Azerbaijan	541	Medicinal and pharmaceutical products, other than medicaments of group 542	0,14	0,35	0,01
Armenia	541	Medicinal and pharmaceutical products, other than medicaments of group 542	0,05	0,26	0,15
Ukraine	541	Medicinal and pharmaceutical products, other than medicaments of group 542	0,46	0,30	0,38
Azerbaijan	542	Medicaments (including veterinary medica-ments)	0,25	0,10	0,01
Belorussia	542	Medicaments (including veterinary medica-ments)	0,01	0,09	0,37
Moldovia	542	Medicaments (including veterinary medica-ments)	0,09	0,00	0,68
Armenia	542	Medicaments (including veterinary medica-ments)	0,41	0,36	0,92
Ukraine	542	Medicaments (including veterinary medica-ments)	0,03	0,11	0
Kazakh-stan	542	Medicaments (including veterinary medica-ments)	0,33	0,98	0,02
Azerbaijan	553	Perfumery, cosmetic or toilet preparations (ex-cluding soaps)	0,08	0,89	0,14
Azerbaijan	625	Rubber tyres, interchangeable tyre treads, tyre flaps and inner tubes for wheels of all kinds	0,77	0,63	0
Armenia	625	Rubber tyres, interchangeable tyre treads, tyre flaps and inner tubes for wheels of all kinds	0,61	0,02	0,89

Russia	671	Pig-iron, spiegeleisen, sponge iron, iron or steel granules and powders and Ferro-alloys	0,03	0,00	0,11
Azerbaijan	676	Iron and steel bars, rods, angles, shapes and sections (including sheet piling)	0,19	0	0,13
Russia	781	Motor cars and other motor vehicles principally designed for the transport of persons (other than motor vehicles for the transport of ten or more persons, including the driver), including station-wagons and racing cars.	0,08	0,85	0,76
Ukraine	781	Motor cars and other motor vehicles principally designed for the transport of persons (other than motor vehicles for the transport of ten or more persons, including the driver), including station-wagons and racing cars.	0,76	0,45	0,34
Kazakh-stan	781	Motor cars and other motor vehicles principally designed for the transport of persons (other than motor vehicles for the transport of ten or more persons, including the driver), including station-wagons and racing cars.	0,72	0,02	0,6
Azerbaijan	782	Motor vehicles for the transport of goods and special-purpose motor vehicles	0,04	0,07	0,21
Russia	782	Motor vehicles for the transport of goods and special-purpose motor vehicles	0,02	0,10	0,21
Ukraine	782	Motor vehicles for the transport of goods and special-purpose motor vehicles	0,00	0,00	0,13
Kazakh-stan	782	Motor vehicles for the transport of goods and special-purpose motor vehicles	0,00	0,37	0,72
Russia	791	Railway vehicles (including hovertrains) and as-sociated equipment	0,02	0,41	0
Armenia	791	Railway vehicles (including hovertrains) and as-sociated equipment	0,40	0,27	0,53
Ukraine	791	Railway vehicles (including hovertrains) and as-sociated equipment	0,39	0,73	0
Ukraine	792	Aircraft and associated equipment; spacecraft (including satellites) and spacecraft launch ve-hicles; parts thereof	0,05	0,11	0,49

Azerbaijan	842	Women's or girls' coats, capes, jackets, suits, trousers, shorts, shirts, dresses and skirts, underwear, nightwear and similar articles of textile fabrics, not knitted or crocheted (other than those of subgroup 845.2)	0,00	0,11	0,96
Russia	842	Women's or girls' coats, capes, jackets, suits, trousers, shorts, shirts, dresses and skirts, underwear, nightwear and similar articles of textile fabrics, not knitted or crocheted (other than those of subgroup 845.2)	0,38	0,27	0,89
Kazakh-stan	842	Women's or girls' coats, capes, jackets, suits, trousers, shorts, shirts, dresses and skirts, underwear, nightwear and similar articles of textile fabrics, not knitted or crocheted (other than those of subgroup 845.2)	0,00	0,00	0,32
Azerbaijan	845	Articles of apparel, of textile fabrics, whether or not knitted or crocheted, n.e.s.	0,00	0,24	0,68
Armenia	845	Articles of apparel, of textile fabrics, whether or not knitted or crocheted, n.e.s.	0,08	0,47	0,05
Kazakh-stan	845	Articles of apparel, of textile fabrics, whether or not knitted or crocheted, n.e.s.	0,00	0,11	0
Azerbaijan	872	Instruments and appliances, n.e.s., for medical, surgical, dental or veterinary purposes	0,81	0,12	0,01
Russia	872	Instruments and appliances, n.e.s., for medical, surgical, dental or veterinary purposes	0,00	0,25	0,67
Armenia	872	Instruments and appliances, n.e.s., for medical, surgical, dental or veterinary purposes	0,39	0,49	0,9

The Freedom of Religion in the Post-Soviet Georgia

Manana Darchashvili *
Tina Tskhovrebadze **

ARTICLE INFO	A B S T R A C T
	After declaring the independence of the Georgian state at the end of the 20th century Georgia faced different kinds of challenges in internal politics and one of the most important issues among them was a peaceful coexistence of multi-ethnical and multi-religious groups in the new realities. Any governments of Georgia have always taken into consideration the issue. Depending on the actuality of the theme, we define the main aim of the paper, which is studying the quality of the freedom of religion in Post-Soviet Georgia. The work analysis the content of the research-based documents on freedom of beliefs and religions, prepared by different international organizations, and how the Georgian government reacts and answers to the dilemmas of freedom of religion. The empirical data such are – scientific works, research papers, official documents written by the state institutions discussed with the historicism method. The paper suggests different angles of view over the religious freedom reality in Georgia - how effective are tools and steps made by the Georgian government for solving the controversy or similar flows in society. What kinds of arrangements do the government creates for implementing recommendations worked out by the international organizations and guaranteeing basement religious freedom, respect for them, and tolerance. Modern Georgian policy on religion is oriented on peaceful examples shown by various counties political experience and nearest past, it relies on new trends in global politics and is looking for ways for creating a comprehensive environment for religious freedom and expression, at least all those measures serve and are meaningful pillars for creating democratic prosperity in Georgia.

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Introduction

The issue of freedom of religion is essential and perceived as an inviolable dignity of the individual and, therefore, is the subject of urgent debate, especially after declaring the Georgian statehood independence. Following the main principles of freedom of religion is a necessary condition for the establishment of democracy in such a multi-religious country as it is Georgia. At the same time, Georgia is a zone of contact between Western and Eastern cultures, which is why the issue has repeatedly been discussed and droves the attention of the researchers on a local and an international level.

In the post-soviet period, it is possible to express thoughts and share religious values. Studying the issue is more important and actual due to building a politically stable country, based on the results of the research paper suggests recommendations for the policy of religion in Georgia.

The work represents the reality in the country, more concretely how the religious diversity serves concrete political interests in the state of Georgia and also the main official policy, which is oriented on regulation the situation and following the democratic values in shaping the peaceful environment for any type of religion in the country. The measures implemented by the government of Georgia tend to enhance the freedom of religion and expression of thoughts in the whole territory of the state. Findings of the research regarding the effective solutions would enrich the Georgian government policy for stabilization and democratic development processes in the country.

It must be mentioned that there are different kinds of literature on the religious diversity of Georgia published within decades. Most of the works describe how religion and religious institutions form the society, what is the dynamic among the local various religious groups, vast of the papers make an accent on

peaceful coexistence in the religiously diverse country.

1. The Cases of the Religious Confrontations in the Georgian Reality

There had been facts of the conflicts between different religious groups of the country in the post-soviet period in Georgia. The most well-known cases through the last years occurred in the villages inhabited by both orthodox Christians and Muslim citizens of Georgia. For example in Nigvziani (common traditional prayer was avoided), in Tsintskaro (removing the cross from the grave gates), Samtatskaro (Christians canceling the Muslim prayers), Mokhesa (dispute over the building), Chela (The fact of unauthorized construction of the minaret).

While monitoring the process over the mentioned cases a few tendencies that merits attention as such the comments made by the politicians regarding the events connected to the religion or religious institutions. The public actors mostly do not follow the religious neutrality principle and they tend to make biased comments according to their belief system or mainstream religious conjuncture. At the same time, there were some occasions when the political parties used the factor of religion as an option to reserve the vote in the elections. Some politicians avoided expressing the positions based on the principles of equality, tolerance, and secularism.

In the last 30 years, there had been some complaints about insulting orthodox Christianity (which is thought to be a traditional religion in Georgia and around 83% of the citizens of Georgia follow orthodox Christianity). For instance, some Christian symbols were expressed in an inappropriate manner, which aroused negative feelings in many people so, the demand for regulation of the situation in some forms (at least on the legal basis) started to grow from the society and surely

some of the governments supported and idea.

Another fact the paper pays attention to is the summaries of religious or non-governmental organizations that are concerned about the tendency of the Georgian Orthodox Church being prioritized in the process of returning the buildings confiscated by the Soviet State. Some representatives of the Georgian church do not accept the work of the NGO-s that focus on the issue of human rights and especially on the rights of minorities.

Although there are examples of positive cooperation between churches and NGOs. It is interesting that cases like that consist of themes such as Euro-integration. So, it is evident - the blames of the church being anti-western oriented is not based on the truth and shows the progressive development of the official Georgian church in striving to the western culture (Monesashvili, 2017). The pro-western positions are evident in the epistles of the head of the Georgian Church Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia Ilia the Second (Darchashvili, 2015). In any kind of confrontation. Ilia II always tries to support peace among the people belonging to different religions.

2. The Georgian Government on the Freedom of Religion and Approaches to the Issue of Freedom of Religion

Georgia has made her choice in favor of Western-European values after redeclaring her independence. In 2005 Georgia ratified the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities according to which Georgia has worked on the civil consent and integration state strategy aiming to gain a common understanding and ensure equality (Ordinance of the Government of Georgia #1740, 2015).

The strategy shares the main commitments made in the Association Agreement between Georgia and the Council of Europe

in 1999 also Georgia made commitments to the aims of the agreement of Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas (DCFTA) in 2014, follows the international treaties. All those agreements focus on democratic reforms. As we know, cultural diversity, religion, protection of freedom of belief and integration are the main pillars of democracy. To implement the main goals Georgia adopted the action plans for decades. It is essential for the country that is strongly oriented to be a full member of European structures to protect human rights and ensure respect of fundamental values of freedom through collaboration according to the standards and recommendations are given by the European Union (The State Agency for Religious Issues in Georgia, 2014).

In 2014 the Georgian state took initiation of founding the State Agency for Religious Issues in Georgia. The organization is subordinated to the Prime Minister of Georgia. The other positive and meaningful aspect of creating the institution was the involvement of qualified experts and scholars in the process. The agency has a specialized structure that suggests policy on religion. It is based on national experiences and modern challenges of the civilized world. The State Agency for Religious Issues in Georgia to develop recommendations in the sphere of religion in accordance with the modern challenges and field of its competencies built on scientific knowledge of historical experiences and general values of mankind (The Constitution of Georgia, 2017). The agency owns the prerogative to distribute state compensation to religious organizations (Roman Catholic Church, Muslim and Jewish Communities, Armenian Apostolic Church) registered as legal entities under public law. The state compensates them for "material and moral damages during the Soviet period" (The USA Embassy Annual Report, 2016). They get concrete sum annually since 2014 and the Government of Georgia defines the amount of money per

year (Noniashvili, 2020). Since 2014 The Recommendation Commission of the Property and Financial Commission of the State Agency for Religious Issues discussed the cases of delegation of the religious buildings to the religious unions and the issue of permitting construction of new buildings, but herby it must mention that decisions of the commission are recommendations as long as the commission does not own the right of disposal of the property. It is remarkable to mention statements made by the agency on the facts proving discrimination of the freedom of religion in the occupied territories of Georgia.

The NGO focusing on religious issues is the Diversity and Tolerance Institute that was founded in 2013. Enhancing and supporting the freedom of religion, diverse culture, civil integration, dialog among the cultures, building a secular state are the main aims of the organization. The projects implemented by the NGO (financed by international society) focus on the major themes of the Diversity and Tolerance Institute. Both of the institutions – the State Agency for Religious Issues in Georgia and the Diversity and Tolerance Institute have made meaningful reports on the situation in the country and the documents will help to improve the situation in favor of the democratic developments in Georgia (The Diversity and Tolerance Institute, 2020).

3. Georgia - In the Context of Assessing the Religious Freedom of the Civilized World

In the modern world security, peace, solidarity, cooperation, mutual respect, a commonwealth belong to the main interests of the states. In the XXI century, the mainstream of the international society is to find solutions to the challenges that face the global world. The ways of solutions base on democratic, fair principles which help to grow the friendship among the countries and make it possible to live in a peaceful world altogether.

It is important to mention that interreligious visions of living put the accent on the necessity of developing new global ethics, which has a meaningful role in creating a comfortable environment for cultural and religious relationships (Tolerance and Diversity Institute, 2018). As for Georgia in a global context, she aims to create the laws that are fair to all kind of religious groups and unions that exists in the country.

The government of Georgia on the one hand focuses on the peaceful environment and spreading democratic values through the country and keeps in mind the attitude of the partner states of Georgia on the other hand. For instance, Georgia values and follows the recommendations mentioned in the reports of the US Department of State on the freedom of religion in Georgia (Tolerance and Diversity Institute).

The First Ministerial devoted to Advance Religious Freedom took its place in Washington D.C. on July 24-26 in 2018. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia had a speech on the Ministerial and he mentioned the situation in Georgia. He spoke about the Georgian history that is famous for its tolerance and multicultural characteristics. The cultural diversity and religious pluralism are the main features of the Georgian nation – mentions David Zalkaliani. He also stated – supporting and guarantying religious freedom in Georgia is the main priority of the Georgian government and herby he mentioned the meaningful policies that official structures of Georgia carried out, the minister recalled the case of contributing constructions to the religious confessions and unions. David Zalkaniani paid attention to the positive involvement of the religious institutions in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration of Georgia.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia spoke about the current circumstance in the occupied regions of Georgia - concretely he discussed the facts of damaging and destroying historical churches on a purpose, violating

the rights of believers, and as Mr. Zalkaniani mentions the occupier regime of the Russian state tries to vanish the historical Georgian trace and artifacts from the occupied territories of Georgia. The Minister addressed the international community for the adequate and proper action to the facts of offending the international laws and the fundamental Human Rights by the Russian Federation.

David Zalkaniani in a name of the Georgian people and the Georgian Government proved the readiness for dialogue of civilization and build bridges among the diverse cultural and religious groups and deepening the trust that was the successful work of the Georgian state throughout the centuries.

The XXI century shows that interaction among diverse individuals and groups is as essential and central paradigm as in between similar ones. Nowadays, it is rare to see the hegemonic society in which the members belong to the same religious group. Having that said Georgia realizes the interreligious groups' dialogues role in a peacebuilding process.

4. The Presidents of Georgia about the Freedom of Religion

Freedom of belief was strongly established in Georgia for centuries. The political memory of the country kept evidence of respecting religious differences in the country. The rulers of the Georgian kingdom realized religious verities, caused by the geopolitical position and were willing to build the country with the peaceful coexistence of the multi-religious society.

In the 20th century, when Georgia founded the first nation-state the Democratic Republic of Georgia religious groups had the freedom of belief and expression. Those days did not last for long and after the Soviet occupation, Georgia was forced to have only one religion – The Soviet Ideology. In the Soviet Republics, no one could freely express their religious feelings, views, and beliefs. As soon as Georgia redeclared her freedom and independence and got elected the parliament and the president of Georgia, the religious institutions started to reappear in the cultural, social, political life of the country. The Georgian Government puts an effort to improve the national legislation and fulfill the commitments made by signing the documents with the international structures. The empirical data collected in the process of research show the tendency through the different presidents and administrations. The presidents of the country and decision-makers were and are always oriented to keep up with the recommendations and western values. As long as the format of the paper does not allow to deliver an analysis of all speeches made by the presidents of Georgia in various cases and periods, the research team pays attention to the first president's Zviad Gamsakhurdia's and current president's Salome Zurabishvili's speeches. Hereby must be mentioned that also the second, third, and fourth presidents of Georgia always made statements oriented on tolerance.

The first president of the independent state of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia mentioned it right about the negative influences of the totalitarian and dictatorial regime of the Soviet Union. According to his words, not only social, political, and economic problems destroyed humanity but most of all, the absence of cultural and religious values did. Forgetting the spiritual ideals, losing human morality and vanishing beliefs threaten the well-being of the human race. The way out of the situation for him was radical reforms in the structures of protecting cultural heritage, restoring the statehood and independence by restoring the faith and morality as it was done in the past times in Georgia. Gamsakhurdia mentioned that the Orthodox Christian Church would not participate in the political processes directly and dividing the spiritual and political life of the nation did not mean

that the church and state shut the doors to each other. The first president of Georgia had the right vision of the role of the Orthodox Church in the political history of the state. Hereby he would always mention that the recognition of the power of the Georgian Church did not mean to violate the rights of the other religious unions, also he supported protecting the civic rights of those who associated themselves with atheism. Zviad Gamsakhurdia in his speech says: 'The state will support freedom of dignity and each individual will get an opportunity to be a member of the religious group or union which he/she recognize for her/himself. The rights of the civilians won't be limited based on what kind of religious group they belong to. Georgian state will be faithful again to the traditions of the religious tolerance' (Gamsakhurdia, 1991).

As for the acting president of Georgia Salome Zurabishvili she even mentioned in the pre-election period of her campaign that Georgia was a tolerant state, she respected all religions and she was going to be a tolerant president of Georgia (Zurabishvili, 2018).

The fourth president of Georgia mentioned several times that respecting the freedom of religious belief s is meaningful, as long as "religion is strongly connected to the Georgian spirit and culture, therefore Georgian religion and culture are deeply linked to one another" (The First Channel, 2020).

In the interview with the TBN Jerusalem office, Salome Zurabishvili mentioned that the Jews arrived in Georgia even before the Christianity era in Georgia, and they were warmly met and greeted. They always felt at home and that's why Georgia became their second homeland for the Jews. This is an example of tolerance to the world (The First Channel, 2020).

It is evident all official persons, heads of states always support religious and cultural diversity in Georgia and are tolerating any religious groups in the country. Diversity is a

heritage that is accepted and appreciated by the Georgian state. A good example of the support expressed by Eduard Shevardnadze the second president of Georgia (Shevardnadze, 2003). In his statement made as an answer to the provocative incident in the country Shevardnadze declares that he is against any kind of religious extremism awaking in the state, Georgia took responsibility to follow the recommendations and main principles of the signed documents with the Council of Europe, The United Nations and other international organizations (Shevardnadze, 2003).

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the data two main aspects are worth to mentions: the freedom of religion is the actual issue in the Georgian state, despite the facts showing some misunderstandings and conflict situations between different religious groups the administrative representatives of the state administration take adequate steps towards the peaceful regulation of the problems, building trust and mutual understanding for protecting the religious minorities in the country. The second finding is that the occupied territories of Georgia with the various challenges in the regions because of the Russian occupation face different kinds of problems and one of them is freedom of belief, protecting religious places and churches which are the visible heritage of the history in the regions.

Keeping those tendencies in mind, the recommendations are more active policy to raise the awareness of ordinary people in Georgia with increasing educational resources that are easily accessible to any groups despite their place of living, age, and gender, ethnic or religious belonging. To follow the recommendations given by the US Department of State, the Council of Europe, NGOs working on the issue of human rights,

and others. Public discussions and debates to stimulate gaining mutual understanding are also great tools to bring diverse minds closer.

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The Issue of Institutionalization of Political Parties in Post-soviet Georgia

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ARTICLE INFO	A B S T R A C T
	Political Parties are regarded as one of the main actors. They act as a mediator between the state and the citizens. Moreover, the proper functioning of strong party systems in the country guarantees the stability of the political system. The stability of party systems is particularly important and relevant in relatively young democracies where state institutions are not fully established. A clear example of this is the countries of the post-Soviet space. Where the formation of party systems is encountered differently but with some similar difficulties, taking into account the experience and adapting it to the interests of the country is prominent and relevant for the Georgian reality. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the most pressing issue in the world has been the observation of the development of post-socialist countries. During this period, political systems were also established in Eastern European countries and in the Caucasus region to allow non-communist parties seeking power to come to power. Institutionalization of the party system, which in the post-communist countries, has encountered considerable obstacles subsequently, Georgia is not an exception. However, it should be noted that compared to other countries, the process of institutionalization and transformation in Georgia has lasted a very long time. It is interesting how the political systems and parties of the post-socialist states went through the formation and what is the current state of their representation today. This is one of the main issues in this article.

Introduction

Political parties play a core role in building representative democracy in the modern state. It is the parties that represent the voice of the people. A healthy democratic environment has been created through inter-party relations and competition. The results achieved by the thorough work of political parties are one of the main indicators of public evaluation. Given that the nature of party

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politics exerts a noticeable influence on the democratization process, it is natural that Georgia will not be able to achieve a consolidated democracy without a proper foundation of the political party system.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the main challenge for Georgia was to strengthen the state structures and establish a stable democracy. A core factor in establishing a stable democracy is the level of development of political parties. It is interesting what the reason for the weak institutionalization of political parties in Georgia.

The multi-party system in Georgia does not have a long history, and this leads to frequent changes in the spectrum of parties. It is an interesting fact that about 300 parties are officially registered in Georgia, although very few of them are actively involved in political life. There is also a tendency for one dominant party to be the decision-maker.

This article presents the main and current problematic aspects of the political party system in Georgia, which in turn hinders the proper functioning of the system. The main aim of the paper is to present the transformation of the political party system of Georgia towards a growing democracy. It is interesting what the representation was in the parliaments of Georgia from 1990 until today. To achieve this goal, the paper analyzes the issue of party representation in the legislature. Specifically, this article offers the dynamics developed based on the research on the political parties participating in the parliamentary elections and their entry into the legislature.

Numerous studies on political parties have been conducted in the Georgian reality, however, I believe that in-depth analysis of the formation of the political party system and its accompanying challenges as Georgia, as a developing democracy, needs much more research. In order to determine what factors encourage weak institutionalization and why the system becomes dominant, a

multitude of scientific analyzes are required, which will allow us to identify the crucial problematic aspects and identify ways to eliminate them. That is why I think my research is a kind of novelty that will be an indispensable source in terms of information. Using scientific methods, I will try to explain the cause-and-effect relationships and, as far as possible, present a picture that analyzes the problematic aspects of the Georgian party system.

1. Literature Review

The article accumulates and analyzes the analysis of scientific papers that are directly related to the research topic. Having read a number of papers while working on the article (Chiaramonte & Emanuele. V. 2015; Darchashvili, 2020;), I would like to point out that a large number of scholars believe that a stable and representative party system in post-communist countries is prime for the consolidation of a democratic regime. The authors formulate the four dimensions necessary for the institutionalization of the party system (Mainwaring & Scully, 1995; Ibenskas & Sikk, 2016; Lewis, 2007; Molder, 2013; Rohrschneider & Whitefield, 2017). Interestingly, they primarily distinguish the degree of competition within the system. Since institutionalization in its content is essentially related to the issue of stability, we can consider this approach to be the easiest and most important to assess it. This theory is very interesting in my research because it presents the very criteria by which the degree of institutionalization of political party systems should be assessed. If we apply the criterion presented in the given theory to the Georgian reality, we will see clearly that in the Georgian reality there was almost no competition between the parties for years, for example, in 2003-2020 the dominance of one party within the Georgian party system was due to various objective circumstances. In Georgian

reality, the very first dimension of mainstream and scale was neglected. This was probably one of the reasons for the weak institutionalization. The second and vital dimension, according to Mainwaring and Scale, is that in more institutionalized systems, parties have deeper roots in society and, conversely for most voters, strong ties to parties. The point is that in vital cases, good institutionalization means that the majority of voters are identified with the party and they vote solely based on their party values and programs. This dimension is also interesting for my research because it directly contradicts the issue of "personification", one of the controversial circumstances that characterize the Georgian political agenda and contributes to the weakness of institutionalization. In the third dimension, in more institutionalized systems, political parties agree on the legitimacy of parties. Legitimacy contributes to the stability of the party system and is, therefore, an essential component in assessing institutionalization. Finally, according to the fourth indicator, in more institutionalized systems, party organizations are not subject to the interests of an ambitious leader, they acquire their own status and value. This means not gathering voters around a particular leader in society, but uniting around values and interests. As we can see, for the above authors, a high level of institutionalization is primarily related to the stability of the system, which in turn requires the existence of certain conditions. First, it is competition, and then the depth of party roots in society. That is, how much the voter identifies himself with this or that party.

The four main dimensions proposed by Mainwaring and Scala once again reveal that the personification of Georgian politics, the absence of party competition, has created an unstable environment, and the latter in turn is the cause of a weakly institutionalized system.

Leadership and personalization became supreme during election results. Authors Crew and King called the process "the modernization of the modern election campaign" (Crewe & King, 1994), This means that in highly developed industries, citizens make choices because of their commitment and belief in party programs, while in volatile systems, personalism plays a larger role in voting. The Georgian political reality itself is saturated with elements of personification; at the time of the elections, the figures of Gamsakhurdia, Shevardnadze, Saakashvili, and finally Ivanishvili were the ones who decided the election results. Accordingly, according to these two authors, a similar type of personalization is characteristic of unsustainable systems. It is clear that even for Crew and King alone, the Georgian political system is unsustainable, less institutionalized. Moreover, the authors also respond to the issue of populism, which enriches the Georgian political agenda. They say that populism and anti-politics are characteristic of an unsustainable system where individuals dominate and not party organizations.

With weak institutionalization, there is more uncertainty and doubt about the issue of election results, which weakens the democratic regime. The greater the probability of one party changing to another. There is a high probability that a person will be elected to a position based only on his / her characteristics. In turn, there are many examples in history when a high level of personification due to weak institutionalization was the path to authoritarianism. Weak institutionalization reduces communication between the public and the parties, which makes the issue of accountability problematic. Accountability on the part of the parties is the main condition for the existence of a democratic society.

2. Research Methodology and Theoretical Framework

The paper will use the theoretical framework of the work of Scott Mainwaring and Mariano Timothy on the institutionalization of parties (Mainwaring, 1999), where they develop two empirical arguments. The first is programmatic and ideological ties, a guarantee of stability between voters and parties, and the second ties between voters and parties are more personal in developing countries than in highly developed, industrial democracies. Interestingly, the authors' conclusion of these two empirical assertions, where they say that weak institutionalization negatively affects electoral accountability, weakly institutionalized electoral systems are more vulnerable and allow anti-party entities to come to power.

The paper is based on established research methods in political science. Qualitative analysis uses one type of research data analysis - content analysis. It includes a study of the literary material around the research topic. Also used is the method of comparative analysis, theories developed around the research problem, research results, and provisions that reflect the transformation and development of events and processes in this field, especially we use the method of studying documents and discussing the existing issue through comparative analysis.

3. Institutionalization of Political Parties in Georgia

There is a great deal of disagreement among scholars as to how to define the institutionalization of the party system. Huntington describes institutionalization as the process by which organizations and procedures achieve stability and acquire high values (Huntington, 1968).

There is no single universal definition in political theories of what institutionalization is and what the degree of institutionalization of parties implies. In economic theory, institutions create the rules of the game, while organizations are "players" within it (North, 1993). In this sense, political parties are organizations that should be developed within the system through institutionalization.

The development of party systems in Georgia has been greatly influenced by the presidential government, as power is concentrated in the hands of one person at a time. Georgia was established as a presidential republic in 1991. The 1992 parliamentary elections revealed 24 winning parties but failed to ensure electoral accountability and most of them did not even run in the subsequent elections. Unfortunately, with the intervention of radical forces, the government in Georgia was changed without elections. During Gamsakhurdia's rule in Georgia, the confrontation between alternative political forces overcame the election competition, and former allies confronted each other at gunpoint.

Georgia has continued its political life since 1995 under Shevardnadze. By this time, American-style governance in Georgia had been established as a strong presidential republic, as a semi-presidential republic was not considered an adequate form of government in the 1990s. During Shevardnadze's time, the opposition was weak and divided. Although the Georgian Citizens' Union has been challenged by many parties, a real alternative to the electorate has emerged within the former ruling party, the United National Movement. After the 2003 Rose Revolution, Mikheil Saakashvili, who came to power on February 6, 2004, gave the presidency even more powers under constitutional amendments. Under a strong presidential government, the president-elect party was in a dominant position, while the opposition parties were characterized by pragmatism and weakness. Weak parties in the opposition spectrum failed to offer Georgian society an effective alternative.

In the 2012 parliamentary elections, the former ruling party joined the opposition and continued its political life and activities, of course, this was a great precedent in the process of establishing democratic political traditions in Georgia. The Georgian Dream coalition continued the tradition of governing the government with a majority. The decisive factor in this process was the factor of Bidzina Ivanishvili, around which the main opposition coalition was formed. Ensuring the democratic conduct of the 2016 parliamentary elections was crucial to maintaining and perpetuating the above trend.

While the 2016 pre-election environment raises expectations for the formation of a multi-party parliament and a coalition government, polarization persisted in the final stages of the election campaign, affecting voter attitudes. Thus, instead of a multiparty system, we had contours of a bipartisan system. The fact was that the qualified entities that remained outside Parliament failed to assess the resource capabilities of the two major parties and were unable to pool their resources into a single platform. For example, if the Free Democrats and the Republics united in a bloc, they would inevitably cross the electoral threshold. The other parties also had a resource for cooperation. The Alliance of Patriots of Georgia does not change the existing reality. The local success of a given political union is linked to a marginal trend that is situational and proves once again that society is tired of other marginalized parties, such as the Labor Party.

I would like to point out that the stability of political parties fighting for office is fundamentally important for democratic elections. The stability of the parties is especially important in the context of Georgia: the country's political system is being formed as a parliamentary government after the 2013 presidential elections. Moreover, after the 2016 parliamentary elections, there are discussions about new constitutional amendments that would allow delegates to Parliament and City Councils to elect a president. Parties play a more important role when parliament has more power. Therefore, Georgian democracy is inconceivable without strong and sustainable political parties that are guided by the values of consolidating democracy.

One of the main barriers to the formation of a multiparty system lies in the interdependence of the parties. Frequent changes in the electoral system hinder the formation and development of political organizations as viable organizations. The system cannot ensure equal representation of the political will of the voters in the parliament and even in the conditions of inadequate support of the voters, thanks to the majority, the electoral system makes possible the existence of a constitutional majority.

The latest constitutional changes in Georgia, which serve to increase democracy, provide for the formation of a multi-party legislature. There has been a change in the electoral system, which means that Georgia will move from a mixed electoral system to a fully proportional electoral system from 2024, and the 2020 parliamentary elections will be held again using a mixed electoral system (Organic Low of Georgia, Article 196.2).

4. Discussion and Conclusion

It has been a fact since 1990 that the number of subjects participating in all types of elections is increasing: 1. 1990. Participants - 14, represented in the government - 6, of which proportionally - 2 (threshold - 4%); 2. 1992 participants - 36, represented in government - 24 in proportion (2% threshold); 3. 1995. Participants - 53, represented in government - 13; Out of proportion - 3 (5% threshold); 4. 1999. Participants - 45, represented in the government - 6, of which proportionally - 3 (7% threshold); 5. The results of the 2003 elections were annulled; 6. 2004

Participants - 20, represented in the government - 8; Out of proportion - 2 (7% threshold); 7. 2008 Participants - 12, represented in the government - 5, of which proportionally - 4 (5% threshold); 8. 2016 Participants - 25, of which 6 blocs with 16 entities, 5 represented in the government; Out of proportion - 3 (5% threshold); 9. 2020. Participants - 50, of which 2 blocks with 7 subjects). Georgia's transition to a fully proportional electoral system will allow relatively weak and small parties to be represented in the legislature, which I think is an indicator of growing democracy and should be viewed positively.

The topic of discussion is the separation between political and civil society. Most analysts believe that the ties of Georgian political parties with specific social groups are rather weak, and they are mainly a means of pursuing the private interests of narrow groups. Jonathan Wheatley (Wheatley, 2005) believes that Georgian political parties want to enter parliament only for personal gain, lobbying for defined business interests, and seizing the necessary legislative mechanisms. "In this sense, the parties' presentation of a program based on public interests is just a curtain, which they use to convince their own people that the party really cares about them, and to show Western governments that Georgia is a democracy".

The weakness of the connection of political organizations with society is also perceived by the parties as a problem, however, they believe that it is caused by the problems in the society. A representative of one of the parties said that public interest groups are very poorly developed and it is extremely difficult to outline public order. Consequently, parties have to take political risks and decide independently when deciding on specific issues. The problem of passive citizenship, which was discussed in the chapter on society and citizenship, does not provide enough incentives for parties, and they care about the

development of democracy only in cooperation with a small, active part of society. In order to define and implement effective policies, parties also need to gain practical knowledge about different social groups.

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Learning Outcomes Assessment Formats in Georgia after USSR

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ARTICLE INFO	A B S T R A C T
	The system of higher education in Georgia has been recently facing major challenges, especially in matching its outcomes to market and society demands. As the job market is becoming more globally competitive, these challenges are increasing. To survive in the current business world, there is high competition between companies for highly qualified manpower. Higher education systems are, on the other hand, traditionally considered conservative and slow in response to market needs. HEIs have many stakeholders: parents, students, faculty members, graduates, employees, regulatory organizations, and government. Their expectations are different and often are in conflict with one another in many respects. Multi-stakeholder involvement in the assessment of learning outcomes is essential to realize students' achievements. In these processes participation, collaboration and learning are emphasized. Participation leads to the perfect rating of the process and better evaluations of the outcomes. The assessment of students/graduates by stakeholders is shaped by their participation in activities and their experiences in the processes. Understanding stakeholder importance in the processes in which they are involved and their evaluation of outcomes is imperative; it influences the current and future levels of engagement and improvement.

Introduction

The introduction of the term 'learning outcomes' (LOs) is connected with the development of a student-centered approach to education. The debate on LOs vs. teaching goals has lasted for almost half a century. If the earlier widely spread term 'teaching goals' was teacher-centered and dealt with the goals that the instructor planned for teaching students, 'learning outcomes' is something that learners desire/need/ plan to know and be able to do after studying the course/program. "Using a combination of the learning outcomes approach and student workload in program design and delivery puts the student in the center of the teaching and

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learning process" (European Parliament, 2018, p.50).

Learning outcomes came to the center of educationalists' attention all over Europe in connection with European integration and especially the Bologna process. The Europe of the XXI century is not only politically, economically, scientifically, educationally, and culturally integrated, it stresses the need to take into consideration every person's peculiarities and needs. Thus, standards, which provide a high level and reputation of European education, co-exist with respect towards each country's traditions and each learner's abilities and demands. The development of common educational policy enhanced focusing on democratic values in education, which dealt with increased student-centeredness: student autonomy, student (and other stakeholders') involvement in decision making, growth of students' roles in the educational process, application of inductive and interactive teaching methods (Todorovski *et al.* 2015).

"In the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), learning outcomes were first mentioned in the 2003 Berlin Communiqué – not as a stand-alone goal, but as one tool to achieve comparable degrees and underpin structural reforms in the context of the Bologna Process" (Peterbauer & Zhang, 2020). Hoidn (2016) names learning outcomes as one of the four corner-stones of the Bologna process: LOs, student-centered teaching and learning methods, professional development of higher education academic personnel, and student support services. Gaebel and Zhang (2018) state that among the advantages of learning outcomes (instead of teaching goals) approach include easier recognition of credits, revision of course contents, teaching and assessment methods (to make them more student-centered), and collaboration among all stakeholders.

To consolidate the EHEA, meaningful implementation of learning outcomes is needed. The development, understanding, and practical use of learning outcomes is crucial to the success of ECTS, the Diploma Supplement, recognition, qualifications frameworks, and quality assurance (QA) – all of which are interdependent. Bologna Secretariat (according to the EHEA, 2012) stated: "We welcome the clear reference to ECTS, to the European Qualifications Framework and to learning outcomes in the European Commission's proposal for a revision of the EU Directive on the recognition of professional qualifications. We underline the importance of taking appropriate account of these elements in recognition decisions."

By providing a direct evaluation of student learning outcomes at the global stage and to enable institutions to benchmark the performance of their students against their peers as part of their improvement efforts, a new concept was introduced - the Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes (AHELO), which aims to complement institution-based assessments. AHELO is the first international attempt at measuring higher education student learning outcomes across borders, languages, and cultures; it is by no means unique or isolated. Later some similar efforts followed. So, nowadays AHELO is part of a broader context of distinct initiatives converging in their focus on performance, competencies, and learning outcomes.

Given AHELO's global scope, it is essential that measures of learning outcomes are valid across diverse cultures and languages, as well as different kinds of higher education institutions (HEIs). The development of Higher Education Learning Outcomes (HELOs) is a fairly new phenomenon in higher education that has recently attracted increasing interest. HELOs have attracted the interest of policy makers, quality assurance agencies, and university administrators amongst others, and engaged university teachers in formulating the expected or required 'outcome' of study programs. Importantly, the role of HELOs in

the main activities of higher education – teaching, assessment and learning – is not finite to impacts within higher education institutions, but should be seen in a broader policy and societal context, since HELOs are intended to provide stronger connections between these core activities, wider society and the labor market (according to the OECD, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2012 a; b).

Learning outcomes have repeatedly figured in Bologna-related events and documents grown to be an issue of considerable political significance. The Berlin Communiqué (2003), for instance, required that the degrees are based rather on learning outcomes than simply the number of credits. The Yerevan Communiqué (2015, p. 2), on the other hand, mentioned that student-centered learning should be supported by transparent descriptions of learning outcomes and workload, flexible learning paths, and appropriate teaching and assessment methods and that the application of LOs is crucial for graduates' employability.

The Bologna Process, thus, directing teachers' and students' attention to learning outcomes was defined as a pedagogical approach. Learning outcomes are experienced as influencing teaching plans and practice to various degrees.

Learning outcomes are concerned with the achievements (knowledge, skills, and employability) of the learner rather than the intentions of the teacher (expressed in the aims of a module or a course). However, ideally, they should be as close as possible to each other, as nowadays students are customers in higher education, and, as known well, 'customer is the king', so instructors have to teach what the students need to know at the end of the course/program. Teachers need to pose such goals in front of themselves (what to teach to students), which most probably students will need to know and/or be able to do.

Some other countries are not so much concentrated on learning outcomes, in the US, for instance, a greater emphasis has been put on the results of the Spellings Commission (Commission on the Future of Higher Education, 2006), stressing standardized tests for the measurement of outcomes in higher education, as well as federal guidelines to aid the accrediting bodies in developing national standards and comparative reviews of institutional performance (Busse *et al.,* 2010).

Learning outcomes are key to meaningful education, and focusing on them is essential in order to diagnose the state of teaching/learning/knowledge and to improve the teaching processes and student learning. Although there is a long tradition of learning outcomes' assessment within institutions' courses and programs, the stress on learning outcomes has become more important in recent years, especially within the Bologna process. The interest in developing comparative measures of learning outcomes has increased in response to a range of higher education trends, challenges and paradigm shifts.

1. Assessment in education

Assessment is an inseparable component of the educational system. If in the past in Georgia during USSR regime mostly students (their knowledge and skills) were assessed, nowadays everything – educational policies, institutions, programs, curricula and syllabi, materials, lecturers and courses delivered by them, as well as students' knowledge, skills and attitudes – has to be assessed in order to provide high-quality education.

Definition of assessment

According to some sources assessment is the collection of relevant information that maybe relied on for making decisions. Evaluation, on the other hand, is the application of a standard and a decision-making system to

assessment data to produce judgments about the amount and adequacy of the learning that has taken place. This definition can apply to any sphere of life – production, services, and education.

As for assessment in education, according to the online Glossary of Educational Reform (2014), "the term **assessment** refers to the wide variety of methods or tools that educators use to evaluate, measure, and document the academic readiness, learning progress, skill acquisition, or educational needs of students".Assessment in education is needed for decision making concerning students, educational institution and country accountability, establishing standards, planning the reforms and changes needs, student placement, diagnosing students' weaknesses and teachers' challenges in order to improve learning and teaching, and developing research, learning needs identification and educational research.

Some authors state that assessment refers to a variety of tasks by which teachers collect information regarding the performance and achievement of their students. The researchers highlight that assessment has two main purposes. One reason is for student learning and the other is for certification ('assessment of learning'), which involves the evaluation of student achievement (Carless, 2015). Formative and summative assessments fulfill these purposes (Carless, 2015; Saifi *et al*., 2011; Sambell *et al*., 2013). As Carless (2007) states, when an assessment is successful, these two functions need to overlap. Formative assessment occurs continuously throughout the course (Saifi *et al*., 2011; Sambell *et al.*, 2013). It inspires students to engage in the subject matter, which helps them become familiar with the information they are attempting to learn (Jacoby et. al, 2014). Active participation of students and teachers occurs for effective formative assessment. According to researcher McCoy

when students are actively engaged in the activities, it results in deeper thinking and long-term retention of learned concepts. Improvements in learners' performances are achieved through supportive feedback from various assessment tasks (Sambell *et al*., 2013). Because of its value to learning, formative an assessment is considered assessment for learning (Hernández, 2012).

Student knowledge and skill assessment play an essential role in the quality of the educational process. It helps administration, teachers, and students to understand how much the learning outcomes have been achieved and how much chance there is that students succeed in their further learning and career. Assessment defines the quality and relevance of assessment methods (essays, objective testing, performance assessment, portfolios, etc.). It also helps policy makers, stakeholders, and educationists to implement curriculum properly. Over the past two decades, more emphasis compared to the past has been made on assessing learners' performance (Gebremedhin & Asgele, 2015).

There is a debate on frequent changes and development in the assessment methods over the world. Traditionally, students were encouraged to demonstrate current knowledge and to play a passive role in the assessment process, rather than developing critical thinking abilities and being active in their own learning, as close-ended tests, so widely applied, require from students only reproductive knowledge instead of productive ones. Contemporary education is constantly looking for innovations that bring about improvement in teaching with the express purpose of improving student learning, it does its best to involve students in assessment and to make them responsible for their learning (Jogan, 2019).

Higher education institutions are continually striving to make education applicable to the working environment that their former students will encounter upon graduation.

One of the tools for enhancing an institution's quality and sufficiently informing students about their outcomes and learning opportunities is quality assessment. Quality assessment is a long process that establishes measurable student learning outcomes, then analyses and interprets them. This enables students to receive an assessment on their learning and helps them to improve their performance (Čechová *et al.*, 2019).

While teaching goals are not necessarily measurable, learning outcomes should be capable of being assessed (Adam, 2004, p. 4). Clearly, it is necessary to have some form of assessment tools in order to determine the degree to which the set learning outcomes have been achieved. Assessment techniques may be direct and indirect. Written examinations, project work, portfolios, grading system with rubrics, theses, reflective journals, performance assessment, etc. are direct measurements and surveys of employers, comparison with peer institutions, surveys of past graduates, retention rates, analysis of curriculum, etc. are indirect ones.

The minimum acceptable standard that learning outcomes specify, is to enable a student to pass a module. Student performance above this basic threshold level is differentiated by applying grading criteria. Grading criteria are statements that show what a student must demonstrate to achieve a higher grade. Rubrics – or 'multi-purpose scoring guides' (Wolf & Stevens, 2007, p. 3) - help to differentiate the levels of performance of a student. It is hoped that students will aim for the highest levels of performance; however, the minimum (passing) levels are also needed, especially for struggling students who make a lot of effort, but still are not very successful. For formative assessment, many levels of performance help the student to improve gradually, while a few levels for summative assessment simplify teachers' job (Wolf & Stevens, 2007, p. 7).

2. Importance/role of learning outcomes assessment in higher education

It is very important to assess whether higher education students have attained the desired outcomes. An assessment provides essential assurance to a wide variety of stakeholders that people have gained various knowledge and skills and that they are ready for employment or further study. More broadly, the assessment of LOs reflects the character of an institution and its educational programs. Much assessment is expensive, making it an influential focus for analysis. Assessment shapes education and how people study in powerful direct and indirect ways, influencing teaching and curriculum. Assessment is highly relevant to individuals, often playing a major role in defining life chances and directions (Zlatkin-Troitschanskaia *et al.*, 2018).

It is very important that there is alignment between the learning outcomes and student assessment, as the goal of student knowledge and skills assessment should exactly deal with the degree of achievement of learning outcomes (Ulker, 2018). This is why the contemporary syllabus has to reveal which assessment method has to assess which LO and how exactly it will be done.

Table 1 shows the desirable format of presenting learning outcomes-to-student assessment:

Table 1
The format of presenting learning outcomes-to-student assessment

	Assessment format 1 (e.g., multiple-choice test)	Assessment format 2 (e.g., case studies – offering solutions)	Assessment format 3....	Assessment format n
Learning outcome 1 (e.g., knowledge of the factual material in the course)	X			

Learning outcome 2 (e.g., problem-solving skills)		X	X	
Learning outcome 3...			X	X
Learning outcome n	X		X	

It is visible from the table that each outcome does not need to fit each assessment format (this would be impossible), but on the whole all course outcomes are met by a certain assessment format(s).

According to some scholars external stakeholders – governments, accrediting agencies, potential students and their parents – are holding institutions of higher education increasingly accountable for the quality of education they are providing their students. Assessment grades are one of the signs by which they can understand how good the teaching and assessment quality is: if too many students fail, it means that either teaching is not relevant and/or there is a discrepancy between assessment methods and teaching methods. On the other hand, if almost all students get high grades, it reveals that either the taught materials are too simple and/or so are the assessment methods. In both cases, there are some problems with the quality of teaching and learning.

According to Jonson, Guetterman, and Thompson (2014), the assessment of student learning outcomes can influence program improvement. Many authors support the view on the positive role of LOs assessment in the enhancement of program quality.

Who knows better than program graduates and their employers whether they gained learning outcomes that were relevant to the job needs? 'Evaluative thinking' is beneficial, as it challenges stakeholders in the program to ask critical questions about what the intended effects of the program are, how they could be measured, and what causal connection they have to elements of the program. Most evaluation theories: behavioral, stressing testing and measurement, as well as humanistic and cognitive, emphasizing personal and intellectual development (Szőköl, 2016), underline the importance of stakeholder involvement in building the evaluation capacity. Frye and Hemmer (2012) discuss several theories of educational evaluation: reductionist theory, which tries to find the impact of changes on the quality of education via experimenting on separate constituents of the educational program, Kirkpatrick's four-level model of learner outcomes, which studies the relationships between program components and learning outcomes, the Logic Model, which specifies the intended relationships between evaluation components, and Stufflebeam's Context, Input, Process and Product (CIPP) model, consistent with system theory and complexity theory: it is flexible enough to incorporate the studies that support ongoing program improvement as well as summative studies of a completed program's outcomes. While reductionist theory views the importance of stakeholders' participation in developing learning outcomes one by one, in isolation, the other theories view them in unity.

Clinton (2013) emphasized the significance of stakeholder engagement in LOs assessment for defining the quality of the program. Brandon & Fukunaga (2014) provided more details on the empirical support for stakeholder engagement, noting some problems (e.g., the importance of adequate resources for building the evaluation capacity of stakeholders) along with clear indications of the pattern of positive effects on evaluation use and influence.

Various researches have revealed that adopting the learning outcomes-based approach is beneficial at the program (Clarke & Reichgelt, 2003), individual courses as well as at society levels (Gowan et al., 2006). However, there are criticisms in connection with the issue as well. In particular, Havnes & Prøitz (2016) mention that by telling students the learning outcomes, universities sort of

providing a message that the outcomes are not only necessary but also sufficient, thus, limiting students' strive for better achievement.

3. How to measure the achievement of learning outcomes

Based on the discussion above, it is possible to sum up that to measure the achievement of learning outcomes, it is essential to define:

✓ whether the curricula/programs are relevant to educational policies in the country;
✓ whether the educational materials enable students to develop the required knowledge, skills, and values/attitudes;
✓ whether the teaching and assessment methods and the outcomes are congruent to each other;
✓ whether the offered objective tests enable to measure the expected knowledge and understanding;
✓ what percentage of students fail – pass – succeed in tests;
✓ whether the open-ended tasks (essays, presentations, projects, research) permit to measure critical thinking, application of cognitive/metacognitive strategies.

The relevance of programs to educational policies is usually measured in the process of internal assessment (through questionnaires) and external assessment (authorization by national and international bodies) (Anderson *et al.*, 2005). According to Harden, Crosby, and Davis (1999), "in outcome-based education, product defines the process. Outcome-based education can be summed up as 'results-orientated thinking' and is the opposite of 'input-based education' where the emphasis is on the educational process and where we are happy to accept whatever is the result (p.8)". To help people involved in program development satisfy the assessment requirements, special program/curriculum guides are being developed by governmental agencies ".

The efficient assessment uses quantitative, qualitative, direct, and/or indirect measures to define whether the learning outcomes have been achieved. The quality of educational materials, relevance of teaching, and assessment methods to the expected LOs can be accessed via teacher and student questionnaires and/or interviews with them. If the questionnaires apply close-ended (Likert scale or multiple choice) items only, the measures will be quantitative, if the items are open-ended, the measure will be qualitative, if both types of items are applied, then the measure will be mixed. Interviews represent qualitative measures. The direct measures are testing students (open-ended tasks in tests should be accompanied by rubrics to achieve objectivity), while questionnaires and interviews are indirect measures of |LOs fulfillment. The combination of all tools will provide the most relevant picture.

It is necessary to clarify whether teachers find the materials teachable (arranged from the easy to the difficult, with sufficient effective activities) and whether students find them learnable (easy enough) (Ashiem *et al.*, 2007). Teachers are responsible for both selecting effective teaching methods and helping students apply effective learning methods. Assessment methods have to be objective and corresponding to the expected LOs.

How learnable the materials are and whether the teaching/learning/assessment methods are relevant can be also understood from the testing results:

✓ if too many students (say, 70% or more) fail the tests, it means that either the materials were too difficult and teacher expectations too high or that the test was too difficult;
✓ on the other hand, if - too many students (say, 70% or more) fulfill the test correctly, it means that either the materials

were too easy and teacher expectations too low or that the test was too simple.

Understanding the quality of the open-ended tasks is the most difficult, thus, in-depth interviews will be more effective for that purpose than a multiple-choice or Likert-scale questionnaire.

According to Keshavarz direct measures of LOs achievement are provided by testing, portfolios, projects, and performance tasks. Both generic and discipline-specific knowledge and especially skills are more efficiently measured by performance tasks (portfolios, role play, business games and internships) rather than constructed-response and multiple-choice tasks (OECD 12a). A reliable assessment consistently achieves the same results with the same or similar group of students. Reliability may be decreased by ambiguous questions, vague marking instructions, and insufficiently qualified markers. A valid assessment measures what it is intended to measure. A test result is viewed as valid when it properly assesses what the syllabus names as LOs.

Summative and formative assessments are often described as 'assessment of learning' - and 'assessment for learning', - respectively (Earl, 2003). For formative assessment of the educational process, on the one hand, teacher observations and reflections (self- and peer-reflections) will be used. University quality assurance may develop and apply questionnaires to find out teachers' assessment of the process. For summative assessment tests involving both close-ended and open-ended questions (including essays, analysis, etc.) will be applied.

Conclusion

So, to conclude While writing/formulating LOs, it is necessary to concentrate on student knowledge and especially skills (particular actions that students are expected to fulfill

quickly, easily, and automatically). Making the wording "SMART" - specific, measurable, attainable, relevant, and time-bound – is possible through cooperation with stakeholders step by step. Clear (comprehensible) LOs are helpful for both students and their future employers.

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Challenges in Hybrid Learning Model Globally vs Locally in 2020

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ARTICLE INFO

A B S T R A C T

In the stage of globalization in 2020, we could be under a rapid technological revolution that might be caused by the pandemic situation. New and improved technologies are continuously emerging and invade both the private and public areas of everyday life. This accelerated innovation-transformation experience has fascilitated a rapid change in organizations, business, and the training industries. This new and complex future is very difficult to predict, and it has been perceived as an immediate technological change, requiring training, retraining, and even re-learning. Globalization requires the development of human capital from developing countries. The development of human resources in a country helps to attract foreign investment. Developing countries need rapid training and development of skills that are globally in demand through the business industry. The human development factor can be critically important for a country like Georgia. In the current context, achieving this goal globally is considered through a hybrid learning model. At the same time, remarkably little is known about what countries can do to increase national skills quickly.

The economic literature stresses the importance of investments in the hybrid learning model in education (at all levels), but skills development also takes place outside the formal educational system, particularly in vocational and professional training institutions and within corporations. Experts suggest that improving national skills requires a concerted national effort by involving multiple institutions, policies, and private-public sector collaborations.

Introduction

Education and technology are the key components of economic development and stability. Education increases the level of political and civic involvement and attracts international investment. Two main tools are

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used for economic development globally: human capital and the country's territorial resources.

Human capital needs an educated and experienced workforce, while the state needs infrastructure such as enterprises, technologies, buildings, roads, etc. In both cases, education remains a prerequisite for creating and maintaining high-quality products and services.

It should be noted that history has shown that education can be even a greater resource than natural resources. This can be seen when examining Singapore, which is out of natural resources but has a stronger economy than countries with richer natural resources, such as Nigeria, Venezuela, or others. At the scientific level, a study by Smith & Granberg-Rademacker (1999) showed a positive correlation between education and economic advancement.

1. Introduction the Problem

In this paper, we will focus on a hybrid learning model of blended learning that can be found as a learning platform where more than one type of learning is instituted. Blended learning models researchers focus on barriers of its implementation (Sayed & Baker, 2014), assessing effectiveness (Chen & Jones, 2007), and other peculiarities (Fetch, 2006).

The motive for the initial creation of the primary hybrid model could have been the goal of optimizing learning outcomes and reducing learning costs, increase accessibility; noteworthy is that during the pandemic, we acquired more roles and workload.

Despite the urgent need for mixed learning, there are many obstacles in implementing this model as a real-world application.

These obstacles include: a lack of social interaction between the lecturer and the student, technical shortcomings as the need for technological change has occurred faster than its full provision, and a problem of concentration for at home students.

Also, the hybrid learning model requires administrative assistance and a lot of attention. Besides, the hybrid model depends on the self-motivation of the students. Training course design control, presentations, materials, video recording quality, academic grading system tailored to participants, and maintained also should be considered.

A lack of assessment or a poorly generated program can also contribute to a deterioration in the level of education. (Al-Adwani and Smedli, 2012; Rhema and Milishevska, 2010). Appropriate equipment infrastructure is required, which should be equipped by a pupil, student, teacher, lecturer, and trainer – (the person involved in all these teaching methods,) and proper bandwidth, servers, software memory, camera, or minimum standards are vital.

The hybrid-learning model makes it possible to train online during a global pandemic. The future may develop in the direction of hybrid learning, which includes the following benefits: unlimited access to materials, videos, while participants can independently and at any time master the training materials they need. The hybrid model is considered to increase access to education because it saves on infrastructure costs and can be implemented anywhere where basic software is available.

As the hybrid model is the subject of greatest interest globally, Georgia aspires to build on a hybrid model 2020-2021, Because of this it is necessary to thoroughly examine all the risks, advantages, obstacles, as well as solutions to the challenges. Possible challenges the hybrid model will face are lack of adequate infrastructure; Learning through technology requires reliable hardware, easy-to-use software, and a high-bandwidth network connection.

To make the system easy and simple for students and teachers, seminars should be

held regularly and at a convenient time for both parties. E-learning involves the processing of large amounts of data between students, tutors, and servers, which requires a high throughput of the database and a large amount of software memory. Maintaining integrity and reliability requires user authentication, ad reliable and secure connections. To avoid these problems, allocating sufficient financial resources is essential.

Making financial investments in a hybrid learning platform in the future will give us access to education everywhere and long-term economic value. As technological advances expand, internet bandwidth, reliable and affordable hardware, experienced labor force, and support become less relevant.

A further obstacle might be global: a fear of technology and lack of involvement.. One year is not enough for a person to overcome resistance to completely unexpected changes. It takes time for an individual to get acquainted with new technology and recognize it, to reap its enormous benefits. E-learning makes the learning process more dramatic by increasing student engagement and student interests. Relationships between students and their peers, as well as tutors and students, are growing through the use of forums, email, chat, wiki, blogs, video conferencing, YouTube, e-portfolio, and e-polls. It is necessary to provide extensive technology and training in the use of new technology.

Globally, it is essential to provide timely training in the introduction of a hybrid model for teachers, lecturers, tutors, trainers, and those who are involved. It is necessary to promote engagement, which includes encouraging any questions, discussions, and commentary from the student, participant. Wilson (2004) argues that the extracurricular activities of a student determine the learning outcome rather than just the classroom process or strategy, and because of this it is essential

to take care of the motivation of those involved on the platform and maintain a high level of interest in them.

2. Discussion

When introducing a hybrid learning model, one may feel some apathy in society, a less positive attitude towards e-learning, which has its objective reasons. Until 2020, the benefits of E-learning were less relevant, and public or private structures were reluctant to invest in online learning. There are a large number of teachers and lecturers, who prefer to traditionally conduct classes in classrooms, auditoriums and oppose change. It is important to explain in detail the benefits of e-learning at all levels to ensure community support for the hybrid model. This can be done through the media, with the involvement of experts, pilot programs, training, surveys, and various information campaigns.

Through E-learning, time, and paper, energy can be saved in the assessment of pupils, and students. Some programs will immediately give feedback to the participant involved on the platform and such programs are available globally: Google Classroom, Moodle, Adobe Activate, TCExam and iSpring, and others. On the other hand, there may be an increased risk to the confidentiality and security of the assessments, students' disclosure of assignments to each other, and attention to this process as well. Special arrangements are required for midterm and final examinations, which are protected and reliable. Servers are needed to verify the identity of each student and the intervals at the start of the exam. Small pilot experiments are required before large numbers of tests can be performed.

Surveys conducted in Georgia during 2020
On behalf of the Trainers Association at the beginning of the year, I conducted a survey in the training industry. The aim of this

survey was to identify the latest trends and current challenges in the training industry in the country. Also, to determine the expectations and the importance that the participants have towards it before and after the training course.

The study was conducted by using a quantitative method, in the form of filling out an electronic questionnaire, in which 452 people participated. As a result of filtering from them, 386 participants are valid respondents.

Interesting trends were identified based on the questionnaire data processing. It was found that respondents: consider training as an effective method of gaining new practical experiences, as well as a good way to develop or improve existing or new skills. Organizations that actively use this professional development tool and actively take care of their employees' development by offering training, mostly have a high level of loyalty and belonging on the part of employees.

Training participants want to spend more time on the practical component during the training. This practical side is more important in the decision-making process for the participants than the location of the training center and the training centers' name itself. This view is supported by the statement that the majority of respondents agreed that training has a substantially significant impact on the future formation of a participant's personal and professional behavior.

The research also clearly showed that trainers enjoy a high trust and approval index from the training participants, as 241 respondents of the study expressed the opinion that they did not go through the same training several times, although they participated in training on different topics conducted by the same trainer. We might assume that this sympathy is evoked by the trainer's approach when he actively uses practice-based teaching methods and examples, role-plays and situational games, and conducts discussions on topical and real issues. However, the topic of

training is still crucial when selecting training. The decision of those wishing to undergo training is also influenced by the cost of the training course. Today one of the biggest challenges that the Hybrid-Learning model might have is the lack of a practical side to training or learning.

Based on the trends identified in the research, the Trainers' Association recommends that more educators use components and sub-tools udring the training process. Also, trainers and training centers, after the training, should take care to share the materials with the participants, as this helps them to strengthen their knowledge even more. It is important that the trainers allow the participants to evaluate the training, which will significantly help them in future improvement and development based on the evaluation and advice received.

In addition, guiding the training process in such a way that you have the opportunity for a high involvement of the participants. Organizations should take great care to find and offer interesting, relevant, and necessary training for their employees, because from the employers' point of view, taking care of their development brings a mutually beneficial, productive, and sustainable result for the employee, the employer, and the organization.

Current Survey during Covid-19

The Trainers' Association, together with Laboratory Z, launched a study on the impact of Covid-19 on the training industry, and before we have the results of the questionnaire, the information from the focus groups where we have interviewed 110 people is as follows: 51% of respondents thought they attended training by watching videos recorded on social networks. Current problems which were identified during distance learning have been several such as lack of interaction, lack of practice, problems related to technical defi-

ciencies, a lack of concentration at home, especially if a participant of training has children; less quality in online learning. The transfer of online learning behavior globally and locally is on the rise, and more blended/hybrid models may be introduced in Georgia as well, but definitely, requires development.

3. Global Researches and Practice

In 2020 no evident deep research has been made regarding a Hybrid Learning Model in Georgia, though we can discuss global practice. The hybrid learning model has the potential to transform student learning experiences in different ways because it consumes both face-to-face and online forms of instruction. Moving away from the traditional classroom, the hybrid learning model allows students to learn from materials through online technologies as well as through in-person instruction (Lopez-Perez *et al.,* 2013, Olapiriyakul & Sher, 2006).

Burgess Powell has published his latest article where he provided information on how the hybrid learning model has become increasingly popular for educational institutions and career development services. Before the Coronavirus pandemic, only over 34% of students enrolled in an online course, according to the National Center for Education Statistics and this number has been rapidly increased due to the pandemic situation, we can assume the same double involvement as well in Georgia.

Experts based, on observations, believe that online learning will continue to be integrated into higher education, especially now that so many organizations are using these models and discerning how to improve them.

Researchers suggest that the hybrid learning model is gaining high interest within institutions of higher education. As higher education shifts toward a teaching method of

applying both online and face-to-face interactions, learning technologies will influence a larger role in the learning experience of students during their time at and away (Olapiriyakul & Scher, 2006). The study has shown that the hybrid learning model meets student needs in terms of how they acquire and interpret information. "The true flexibility afforded to students about when to engage in an online discussion joined with multiple opportunities for engagement it provides, makes for improved learning and refection" (Sullivan & Freishtat, 2013).

The hybrid learning model maintains a crucial element for meeting different types of student learning needs. Hybrid learning model can provide students with an expansion of both physical and online time, largely afforded by the use of technology.

As a summary of this survey, I want to mention that the training industry has changed in the last decade and requires more tangible changes; Expectations are higher from training participants for training, and the technological revolution in just a few months, has forced the training sector to adapt to new virtual reality. The digital industry has made training both more accessible, and larger, and there has appears to be a number of problems while using digital platforms. Properly selected training is a great time saver for Business Sector.

Conclusion

The world is facing growing challenges through Covid-19. One of the main tasks of the country and the business sector today is to create a learning-development strategy that will be able to stand the conditions of the pandemic and continue the development progress of education in the country.

The global information and communication technology industry offers a discussion of the possibility of hybrid learning that is achievable, and successfully implemented

through global collaboration. The hybrid model requires additional research, the including the involvement of experts, teachers, lecturers, and others involved. Factors affecting the obstacles of a hybrid model are being explored. Infrastructural, technological problems are to be overcome and there is work to be done within attitude of the community that opposes or finds it difficult to take advantage of online learning. If the hybrid model is properly planned and implemented, some traditional teaching methods may even be replaced forever.

Therefore, investigating and a better understanding of the current shift occurring in higher education due to the growing adoption of the hybrid course model, will further reveal the potential risks and benefits to student learning experiences. Research already conducted on this topic reveals that the implementation of the hybrid course model can foster unsatisfactory sentiments with regard to the student learning experience in such a cours. Studies have revealed that a few contributing factors to this dissatisfaction are a lack of communication on the part of the instructor and a lack of innovation in the way learning technologies are used to foster a creative and engaging learning experience for students who have already had vast exposure to technology before entering higher education.

The technological revolution in just a few months thrust the field of education in the digital age. On the one hand, the hybrid model has brought great benefits to the world, and, new obstacles to the learning process have emerged, which must be overcome through the constant acquisition and exchange of global experience, to take on a new reality and prepare for change.

Acknowledgments

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Emergence of the Smart Society

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ARTICLE INFO	A B S T R A C T
	In the 1990s, humankind experienced social changes that led to the emergence of the information society. It was a new form of social existence in which the primary role is to collect, store, analyze and pass on networked information. The article focuses on the emergence of the information society and its transitions into Society 5.0. This transition came in the context of digital individualism, and its consequences are visible in the transformations in civilizing urbanization. The article represents a theoretical retrospective based on the systematic literature review of the existing scientific and professional literature on the current human challenges in a smart environment.

Introduction

During the third industrial revolution in the 1960s, humanity underwent a social transformation that led to the emergence of the information society or Society 4.0. It was a new form of social existence in which the primary task was to collect, store, analyse, and share networked information (Webster, 2014). Technological development during the Industry 4.0 enabled the transformation from a service-oriented society to the human-centered-technology, and with loT, andbig data has come different industries and the human social environment to the process of informatization. The informatization has created the cyber-physical environment (CPE)

and big data, allowing the information society to connect intangible goods as information networks (Roblek *et al.*, 2020). After this short a brief presentation of technological evolution, Industry 4.0 brought up view concepts that are important for the development of Society 4.0, indicating the essential characteristics of the future Society 5.0. According to the literature review on the phenomenon, the article focuses on the three characteristics of Society 5.0, namely the smart factory (or smart industrialization) (Guy, 2019; Skeggs & Yuill, 2019), smart urbanization (Bibri, 2019; Cardullo & Kitchin, 2019) and smart governance (Barns, 2018; Paulin, 2016; Roblek, Bach, Meško, & Bertoncel, 2020; Webster & Leleux, 2018). At this

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point, it is so worth noting some thoughts of Lefebvre (2009), such as the importance of adopting an urban social space, reducing the influence and abuse of capital. The importance of being aware of the duties and responsibilities of intelligent urban citizens are worth mentioning for an easier understanding of the globalized neoliberal and technocratic ideologies, on which the concept of the smart citizens is based in the social context of so-called smart urbanization, within which it is essential to enable the right to human resistance and prevention from technological control, or, as Zuboff (2019) said, it is a necessity to achieve consent to surveillance capitalism.

Based on social changes because of the technology development, the following research goal has been set to according to the past theoretical and practical experience about the social transformation and known theoretical background about the Society 5.0

The paper's contribution is mainly theoretical, and it has been achieved across the next sections. After introducing the theoretical framework on the information society and the digital and digital and informatisation transformations, the second section is discussed about the research method. The third section presents the theoretical questions of Society 5.0 and views on future socio-economic developments and changes in democratic processes. Finally, the paper concludes with the limitation of the study and proposals for further research.

1. Theoretical framework about the information society and digital transformation

1.1 Theoretical concept and historical overview of the information society

In the 1970s, the term information society began to be used in social and political development policy. The term's growing presence was ensured by the increasing penetration of computer and communication technologies and media in the 1970s and 1980s, both in the economic environment and in education, culture, health care, and private life (Webster, 2014).

The introduction of the Internet in the early 1990s introduced information society to respond to information's proliferation and ubiquity. In the context of the 3rd industrial revolution (1960-2010), the information society established the fundamental distinction between the second and third industrial revolutions (Lyon, 2013). While the main factors of socio-economic development in the second industrial revolution were steam power and fossil fuels, they were replaced by information in the third industrial revolution. Society was thus faced with the transition from "traditional heavy industry" to a technology-based development society (Alexander, 1983; Haberl *et al.*, 2011). Due to the often-inaccurate understanding of a technology-based economy, the authors decided to present in Table 1 the analysis of the factors that can be used accordingly for understanding the transformation processes in the human environment.

1.2 Impact of Industry 4.0 on the evolution of the information society

Industry 4.0 represents a whole new way of integrating technology into society. New technologies are being researched and developed that connect the physical, digital and biological worlds. These new technologies affect all disciplines, economies, and industries (Caruso, 2018).

Table 1

Transformation processes in the human environment

Factor	Main topics	Author
Professional	This approach is most closely connected to Daniel Bel the theory of post-industrialism. In his book The Coming of Post-Industrial Society (1973), the author describes the information society as a society where most work is informative. In post-industrial economic and social systems, whose most influential creators and performers are human beings, valid evolutionary laws apply regardless of automation, digitalization, and informatization. Irrespective of the emerging forms of social systems, we encourage reflection on new possibilities for the social environment's sustainable development. Old paradigms and patterns of behavior that were effective in the former industrial system are no longer appropriate. In post-industrial society is going for workplaces where production, communication, and analysis of information occur. The result of these processes is seen in a changed state and not in the subject form. Digitalization is forcing organizations in changing supply chain management, procurement, and human resources management. The consequence of Industry 4.0 is a higher redundant workforce like several new workplaces, and this happened the first time in the history of industrial revolutions	Bel,1973; Joseph & Gaba, 2020
Spatial	The focus is on the networks through which the information flows. Information technology in such networks serves as a tool for connecting and exchanging information in real-time and wherever we are networked (the impact of networks on the organization of time, space, and other relationships). Castells used the term "network society" for such processes	Castells, 2010
Culture	For the information society, television (which was initially made possible by cable television), advertising, different forms of lifestyle, several ethnic groups, many hybridized music terms, and the World Wide Web have become established. It is linked to cultural studies and an interest in postmodernism	Martin, 2017
Theory	The information society is dominated by theoretical information/knowledge. Therefore, theoretical information takes precedence over practical information and forms al-	. Webster, 2014

	most everything that is done. It will contrast to earlier societies where practical needs, knowledge and experience, and habits predominate	

Industry 4.0 appears as a continuation of the third industrial revolution. It has enabled the digital interconnection of products, machines, tools, and more. It brings 3D and 4D printers, self-driving vehicles, AI, and nanotechnology, but unlike the second and third industrial revolutions based on raw materials and energy, Industry 4.0 emphasizes knowledge as an essential resource (Roblek *et al*., 2016).

One of the most important innovations in Industry 4.0 is robotics. Robots have been around for several decades, but the question arises as to why today's robots are different from those of the past? The difference is that robots and humans are now equal partners, meaning robots today have a higher level of artificial intelligence and can communicate with machines and humans through smart devices.

It is important to compare and list the special human abilities concerning robots' unique abilities, and it becomes clear where robots can help us and what human characteristics they can replace with their unique abilities.

With the emergence of robots in everyday human life, the question of taxing not only internet companies but also robots increase, as some scholars suggest that "whoever owns the robots rules the world" (Freeman, 2015). Holder *et al*. (2016) discuss the identification of the main legal and regulatory implications of robotics. According to the authors, it is time to start a dialogue in society about "how our existing legal framework may need to be adapted and changed to meet the demands of the robotics era."

In the next subsection, two of the key concepts of Industry 4.0 are presented. The development of Society 4.0 and the guarantee of a future non-mediated Society 5.0 emerge Smart factory, smart urbanization, and smart governance, which is presented in subchapter 1.3.

1.2.1 Smart factory

Smart factories with fully digitized business processes that increase the overall quality of products and services. In these factories, everything needs to be connected. The focus is on the interaction between machines and semi-finished products, individual machine parts, and robots and people. For this process to succeed, the use of big data is essential. It is going for a technology that enables the collection and processing of large amounts of data in real-time (Büchi, Cugno, & Castagnoli, 2020). As shown in Figure 1, the starting point for technological development in smart factories is the digital transformation and of computerization of all production systems. The basis for evaluation, integration, and optimal process control is data related to the processes themselves, obtained based on sensory measurements. Smart sensors with a built-in microprocessor have become a fundamental tool in measurement and enable the digitization of the acquired data. Integrated smart sensors enable the implementation of logical functions, two-way communication, and adaptation to changes in the environment, decision making, self-calibration and self-testing during commissioning. Sensors are becoming smaller and more user-friendly (Roblek, Erenda, & Meško, 2020).

Radziwon and colleagues (2014) defined a smart factory as "a manufacturing solution that enables such flexible and

adaptive production processes that solve the problems encountered in production under dynamic and rapidly changing conditions in a world of increasing complexity." A smart factory could be associated on the one hand with automation, a combination of software, hardware, and/or mechanics that should lead to production optimization. Smart factories will play an important role in the future collaboration between different industrial and non-industrial partners, with smartness coming from creating a dynamic organization. In modular smart factories, cybernetic systems monitor physical processes, create a virtual copy of the physical world, and make decentralized decisions.

CPS communicates and collaborates with humans in real-time both within and between organizations via the IoT (Munyai, Mbonyane, & Mbohwa, 2017).

Thus, a smart factory is intrinsically "smart" enough to control and maintain its devices (Lucke, Constantinescu, & Westkaemper, 2008). The major challenges for smart factories present standardization, security, and IT infrastructure. The actual establishment of the above elements in the broader industrial environment will take several years, which is why some prefer to use the word evolution instead of the industrial revolution (Roblek, Erenda, & Meško, 2020).

Fig. 1. Smart factory technological development (adopted according to the Lekše, Sluga, and Rajšpelj, 2019)
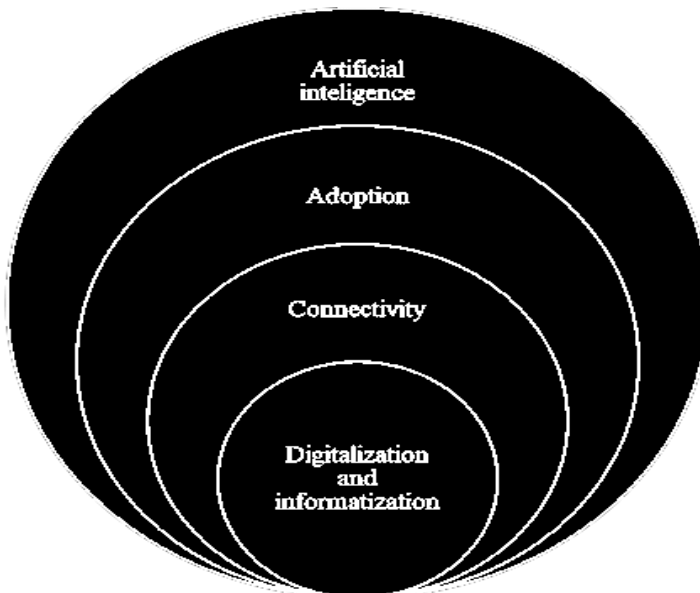
1.2.2 Smart urbanization

Worldwide, more than 50% of the world's population already lives in urban areas, and analyses predict that this figure will rise to 70% by 2050. For this reason, urban planning policies need to be in line with sustainable smart city (SC) development policies, as such a

change in urbanization poses a challenge to planners and developers who see rural suburbs as an opportunity and view them as indicators of sprawl. Despite some contrary views, urban systems can be more environmentally friendly than living in rural or suburban areas where people may be further away from each other, key services, and the workplace (Huo *et al*., 2020).

Urbanization can be seen in the high population density in a small area, which requires new forms of housing and living but also causes ecological problems and raises questions of citizen's security. , the questions of consumption and conservation of natural resources, waste management, and traffic congestions become important (Huo et al., 2020; Zoomers et al., 2017).

The issue of sustainable environmental, economic and social development of cities has thus become a very important part of the development strategies of city government, and cities are trying to integrate technological innovations into sustainability processes, which are also important for the creation of a smart community as an interactive organism in a social and technological ecosystem, for this reason, cities have started to invest in the digital transformation of the city administration1 (Trindade *et al*., 2017). CPS presents the urban governance system and enables the emergence of the so-called smart community that thrives in the data economy (Kuru & Ansell, 2020). Communities also began with the research about the modes of preparation for transforming the local community into a smart community and on the city's urbanization to make it suitable for introducing information technologies (Alawadhi *et al*., 2012). The Canadian Governance Center at The Ottawa University was criticized for its research approach, which they felt was too technically oriented. They suggested that research concepts should be more governance-oriented, emphasizing the importance of social relations and social capital in urban development (Albino, Berardi, & Dangelico, 2015). The lack of generally accepted definitions that would clearly explain these terms is partly due to the different scientific fields from which they originate and partly due to changing trends. The characteristics of SC are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Smart city characteristics (Adopted according to the Smart cities Ranking of European medium-sized cities Final report, 2007)

Characteristics	Factors
Smart governance (citizens participation)	participation in decision making, political strategies, and perspectives, public and social services transparent administration
Smart citizens as a subject to Society 5.0 (social and human capital)	the propensity for lifelong learning, social and ethnic pluralism, cosmopolitanism/openness, participation in social life, qualification level, flexibility, creativity, human-centered society

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[1] The emergence of smart governance

Smart mobility (traffic and IoT, Big Data & artificial intelligence)	availability of ICT infrastructure, sustainable, innovative, and safe transport system local availability, (inter) national availability
Data-driven economy (competitiveness)	digital transformation, cyber-physical environment, human-centered technologies, workforce flexibility
Smart environment (natural resources)	the attractiveness of natural conditions, sustainable resource management, environmental protection, pollution
Smart life (quality of life)	health conditions, a city adapted for the elderly, individual security, cultural institutions, quality of housing, educational institutions, tourist attractiveness social cohesion

According to Gretzel *et al.* (2015), the adjective "smart" was added to the word city, which began a transformation based on the digitization and informatisation of city ecosystem processes. The ultimate purpose of this transformation is to ensure the optimization of both tangible and intangible resources, to optimize the operation of public services and public infrastructure, to establish effective and fair (smart) governance with enabling access to open data, and to ensure the sustainable development of the city and the wellbeing of its citizens (Pedersen, 2020). Cities need to ensure sustainable development, develop and implement data-driven solutions that enable the flow of services, operations, and functions, and design and implement strategies and policies (Angelidou *et al.*, 2018). SCs become information hubs and knowledge repositories, where the complexity of the systems is increasing with the additional digital components that successfully use integrated computer networks and physical processes (Nitoslawski *et al.*, 2019). The central part of the CPS presents the urban data platform, whose task is to ensure and manage the knowledge management (KM) processes. A generic KM framework for SC is defined with the ISO /

IEC 30145-2: 2020.2 Within the KM framework, a security system of access to and control access to SC knowledge must be provided3. The KM processes include the storage, analysis of different data collected (with sensors, cameras, users generated-content) for different reasons and from different sources (from different stakeholders, citizens, urban buildings, neighborhoods and streets, city administration, and businesses), their transformation into value-added information – SC knowledge (with using analytical big data systems) and their managing (Chong *et al.*, 2018). In this way, the city government does not have to buy information from different providers but can even sell publicly insensitive information on the data market (Cassandras, 2016).

Moustaka, Maitis, Vakali, and Anthopoulos (2020) are the authors of an elaborate mechanism that allows us to recognize SC's DNA. An SC can be imagined as a molecular conglomerate in which human, environmental and socio-economic factors, often unintentionally, interact with each other to produce technological solutions. In this context, SC development strategies focus on introducing innovative technological solutions, such as the IoT, Internet of Ser-

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2https://www.iso.org/standard/76372.html

3 Interoperability of heterogeneous data and governance of multi-sources services)

vices (IoS), artificial intelligence technologies, blockchain technologies, new sustainable materials, introducing new economic models (sharing economy, circular economy), as well as the development of smart processes that lead to the continuous development and semantic characteristics of the SC (Sepasgozar *et al.*, 2019). The emergence of data-driven SC apps represents one of the goals of SC developers: the introduction of citizen-centric solutions of information and communication technologies, innovative products and services for the SC data-driven economy, SC development of business models, increasing the influence of citizens on political decisions and reorganization of political and public administration. In achieving this goal, they play an essential role in an innovative technological solution that influences the greater efficiency of e-services and m-services, urban infrastructure, increasing digital capabilities, and meeting stakeholders' needs (Komninos *et al.*, 2020). Thus, SC becomes part of the discourse on sustainable urban development, in which there is a growing interest of citizens and other urban actors not only after use but also in understanding the processes of sustainable urban development in which the actors (citizens, city government, public services, etc.) are involved. It is essential to be aware that the service providers within an SC rely on data collected at different city levels and that this data is fragmented and often periodically accessed (Yigitcanlar *et al.,* 2018). It cannot be imagining an SC without an IoT as the originator of a project on the links between smart technologies. For example, there are SC trends in using new monitoring techniques with sensors and IoT, open data, and citizens and other stakeholders' active participation, particularly through mobile devices and apps. Social networks and digital platforms have led to the development of a "community" - like a form of

social interaction among online users, which is increasingly becoming an extension of the offline life of users in the so-called "online public sphere" (Komninos *et al.,* 2019). Thus, SC can be defined as a data-driven ecosystem where stakeholders' communities can contribute and store data in different SC databases. As mobile apps represent one of the core parts, when it comes to city digitalization and transformation towards SC, they need to cover different aspects of everyday life in cities – from entertainment to healthcare. Therefore, different organizations have needed to develop corresponding mobile apps to cover aspects of their interests within the targeted domain. However, the development of native mobile apps due to mobile hardware and operating systems' variability can be quite expensive and time-consuming, as it requires high programming skills and expertise. Despite the emerging popularity and adoption of cross-platform mobile application development tools and environments (such as Xamarin and Flutter), they still require a significant amount of time and involve high expertise costs (Biørn-Hansen, Grønli, & Ghinea, 2018).

Finally, it is necessary to mention the criticisms of the Smart City concept. Krivy (2018) warns of an SC concept's incompatibility with the urban environment's unobtrusive and informal character. As such, it presents the corporatization and expansion of entrepreneurship as the goal of urbanization. It thus promotes social and urban inequalities. Another SC concept problem is that it increasingly creates a control society by using cameras and sensors for various data collections on citizens (Zuboff, 2019).

1.3. Society 5.0 as a social transformer: from technology first to human first

The aim of Society 5.0 is to further combine innovative knowledge with the use of

AI, which is only in the concept or development phase, and to offer new human-centered technological solutions in all areas of human activity. It should be noted that Society 4.0 focuses more on technological solutions in the field of digitalization of businesses and local government processes, intending to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the operational and financial processes of private and public organizations and public administration. On the other hand, Society 5.0 is expected to be more involved in all population groups' general social development. Thus, there would be a commercial focus on using new technologies and what is called social robotics. Thus, AI, IoT, virtual reality, algorithms, CPS would lead to positive social effects that can be incorporated under this technology (Chamoso, Briones-Gonzalez, Rodriguez, & Corchado, 2018; Song, Song, Timakum, Ryu, & Lee, 2018):

- Home automation for independent living (home security and safety systems, motion sensors, remote monitoring, indoor air quality control, smart lighting, safe bed, smart sofa, domestic/service robots),

- health and wellbeing for functional ability (safety bracelets, activity wristbands, personal health monitor, smart medicine disappearances, exercise and memory games, smart rollator, daily medical testing) and active participation and social inclusion (entertainment and news, smart governance, online work, video chat, remote medical consultation).

As shown by the technological and social development on which Society 5.0 is built, this case is the first appearance of a "super-intelligent society" in the world (Cabinet Office, 2016). We will show what significance it will have for further social development in public administration and political administration changes.

The digitalization of public administration becomes an important theme in the 21st century. Thus, since the mid-1990s, an e-democracy model has emerged, including e-participation, e-government, open data, and open administration. The tools of e-democracy are useful when they enable citizens to exercise real-time control over their political bodies' functioning (Pereira, Macadar, Luciano, & Testa, 2017; Wirtz & Birkmeyer, 2015).

In the period of digitalisation and informatisation, there is also a transfer of democratic processes into the cyberspace of technologically developed urban environments. Through the processes of digitization and informatisation of public administration, we are also experiencing the transition from e-government to »smart« governance (Bolivar & Meijer, 2016; Lv et al., 2018).

Smart governance is a framework for democratic governance that aims to introduce a combination of digital technologies (e.g. urban data platforms as interfaces for smart governance) and innovative practices to improve the delivery of public services and the engagement of citizens, with the first phase of cooperation and the second phase of a responsible, transparent and accountable approach to decision-making in the development and implementation of public policies and concrete public projects (Anand & Navio-Marco, 2018; Barns, 2018). Various authors (e.g., Chohan & Hu, 2020; Bolivar, 2015; Castelnovo, Misuraca, & Savoldelli, 2016) have stated that smart government, effectively used by politicians, is a management tool in public action that promotes public confidence in government institutions at all levels. Smart governments play an essential role in the initiative to develop an innovative urban environment, involving a complex dialogue between governments (supply) and citizens (demand) and other stakeholders (Pereira,

Parycek, Falco, & Kleinhans, 2018). However, with all the technological developments affecting citizens' opportunities to participate in electoral (or decision-making) processes and in the preparation and formulation of public policy itself, it is also important to recognize that we face a crisis of credibility for democracy 21st century. In established Western democracies, there is increasing polarization (Iyengar & Westwood, 2015), leading to tribalism (Hawkins, 2019) and authoritarianism (Browning, 2018). In the era of digitization of democratic processes, we have seen the rise of tech populism (De Blasio & Sorice, 2018; Roblek, Bach, Mesko, & Bertoncel, 2020). The provision of so-called smart governance in the future society is understood as a set of theoretical and practical concepts that can transform society. If we want to re-

alize this scenario, it is necessary to implement social learning policies and achieve an adequate educational structure through citizens' liberation process (Pitasi, Brasil Dib, & Portolese, 2018) efficient and safe use of technology to support democratic processes. It must be considered that effective democracy, which includes smart governance, is no longer based on periodic elections but is increasingly becoming a form of interaction between political administration and public bureaucracy and citizens. This interaction can occur from the bottom up (from the community, city, region to the country) and vice versa from the top down (Figure 3). It depends on a social consensus on the degree of implementation of smart governance, which entails a different distribution of decision-making power in the community.
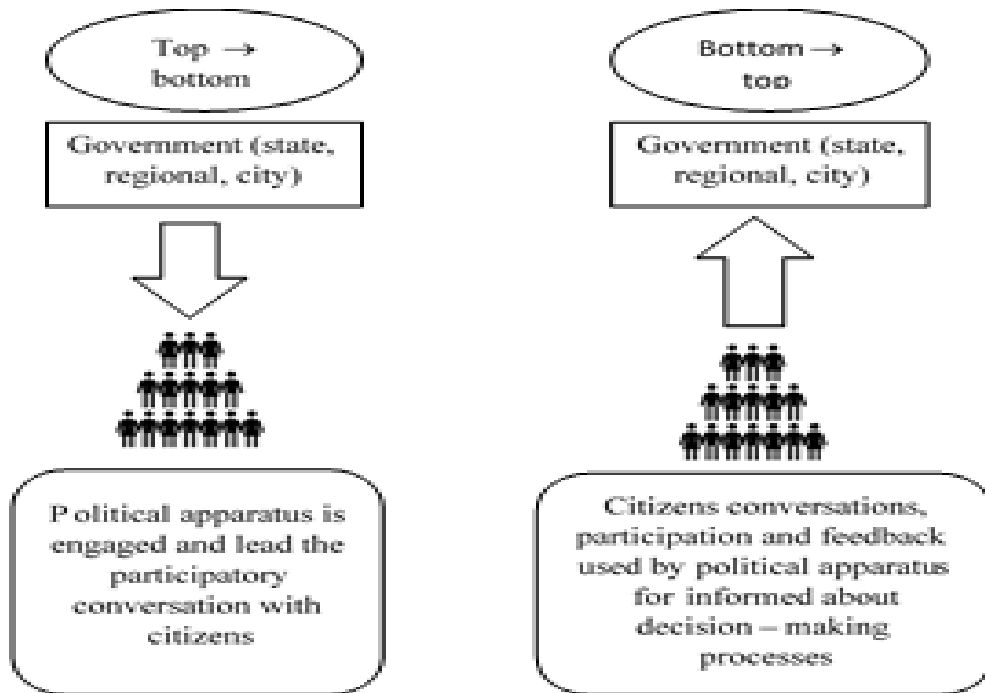

Figure 3. E-democracy approaches (adopted by Roblek, Bach, Meško, and Bertonel 2020).

Therefore, technology must give citizens the right and ability to vote and enable

them to vote effectively (Ford, 2002), in which they have had the opportunity to participate actively. Citizens' ability to govern depends on technologies that enable e-voting (Alvarez, Levin, & Li, 2018), online consultation/deliberation (Esau, Fleuss, & Nienhaus, 2020), and liquid democracy (LD) (Ford, 2002; Litvinenko, 2012; Blum & Zuber, 2016, Paulin, 2019). Technologies promise to increase the convenience and effectiveness of democratic decision-making, each of which comes with risks and significant unresolved challenges. Society 5.0 will introduce non-mediated governance, which will affect changes in the leadership paradigm. There will be a transition from a service/mediation model where officials issue documents to exercise rights to a model where rights are defined and based on requests in the information system.

The transition results will lead to the development of a network of legal systems containing a large amount of data, with detailed descriptions of the legal relationships that make up the public apparatus (Paulin, 2019, pp. 274-275).

Non-mediated governance gives citizens new mechanisms for governance. Through such mechanisms, new forms of communities can be enabled (e.g., smart city or smart village), embedded in social, political, and economic networks (Paulin, 2019). Citizens can be said to pursue their agendas and/or added value through networked governance mechanisms. This process leads to the government devolving its authority and responsibilities to various non-state actors and involves various stakeholders from the private sector, citizens, and non-governmental organizations (Hemmati, 2012).

Conclusions

The paper presents a series of activities necessary to transfer modern knowledge and new technologies, typical of the fourth industrial revolution or Industry 4.0, from research institutes and economic entities to the broader society, Society 5.0. The process can be achieved by implementing knowledge and technologies in the IoT, robotics, and Big Data to transform the existing society into a fashionable smartness society (Society 5.0). In particular, the concept would better enable the adaptation of services and industrial activities to individuals' real needs, as these technologies enable advanced digital service platforms that will eventually be integrated into all areas of life.

The more intensive the transition to Society 5.0 will be, the more services and daily tasks can be provided via the cloud, e.g., on the Internet. Therefore, this data processing would send information or enable services related to applications on the telephone, the computer, and robots, among others. This will allow individuals to have more free time and the free allocation of other activities because artificial intelligence will replace manual data processing, which is typical of traditional digital algorithms. It will save much time and increase the productivity of the individual. As a result, it will positively affect increasing the value-added in the economy and enhance our people of all generations.

It is expected that with the emerging Society 5.0, developed economies will solve many social problems through innovation in technology and science. According to some estimates, the share of Japan's working population will shrink from 77 million to about 54 million people by 2050. Economists estimate that it is precisely the demographic problem that will cause fewer and fewer young people to opt for family and children, which means that the number of older people in need of social care will increase. And not only Japanese society, which faces a similar, equally pressing de-

mographic problem, but also many European countries. The developed economies face environmental degradation problems, logistical problems (transport of people and goods within cities, between cities and rural areas, and environmental protection or reduction of greenhouse gases - climate change).

The limitations of the research are divided into content and methodological limitations. Among the content limitations, the presentation of only some aspects of Society 5.0 applies. As methodological limitations, we refer to the boundary associated with the research paradigm. This paper's limitation is that it is based on the various literature reviews and not on primary research. It is based on a topic whose development for the future capabilities of artificial intelligence depends on a parallel development of cyberspace and its importance for everyday human life. Our study should be taken as inherently biased from an analytical perspective, but at the same time, it enriches us with data that quantitative methods cannot obtain.

For future research, we suggest examining and identifying a set of good practices of Society 5.0. in Japan to assess the possibility of their implementation in other countries. We also propose future research to consider the risks that may arise in a digital society (e.g., cybersecurity, including possible cyber terrorism, relations between humans and robotics, and ethical questions related to AI implementation and its enabling of decision-making instead of human). Digital security is essential in Society 5.0, as the cause of systems intrusion is mostly human error. Due to flaws in the code, it opens a computer bug that hackers can exploit for unauthorized access to systems in companies, industries, and government institutions. Data security is also crucial in smart cars, for which technology has advanced dramatically in the last few years because if hackers gain access to cars or smart traffic lights and similar technologies, they can cause chaos and accidents on the roads.

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Zuboff, S., 2019. The age of surveillance capitalism: The fight for a human future at the new frontier of power. London, UK: Profile Books Ltd.

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Preparation of text

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A concise and factual abstract is required (maximum length of 300 words). The abstract should state briefly the purpose of the research, the principal results and major conclusions. An abstract is often presented separate from the article, so it must be able to stand alone. References should therefore be avoided, but if essential, they must be cited in full, without reference to the reference list.

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Divide your article into clearly defined and numbered sections. Subsections should be numbered 1., 2., (then 1.1, 1.1.1, 1.1.2), 1.2, etc. (the abstract is not included in section numbering). Use this numbering also for internal cross-referencing: do not just refer to 'the text.' Any subsection, ideally, should not be more than 600 words. Authors are urged to write as concisely as possible, but not at the expense of clarity.

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Reference to a book:
Strunk, W., Jr., & White, E. B. (1979). The elements of style. (3rd ed.). New York: Macmillan, (Chapter 4).
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Mettam, G. R., & Adams, L. B. (1994). How to prepare an electronic version of your article? In B. S. Jones, & R. Z. Smith (Eds.), Introduction to the electronic age (pp. 281-304). New York: E-Publishing Inc.
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