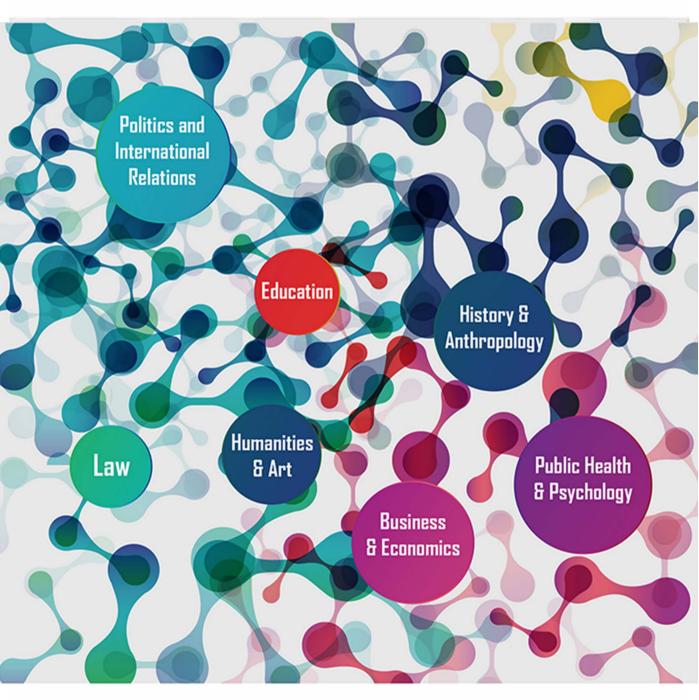
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LINGUISTICS

EXPLORING THE DYNAMICS OF LINGUISTIC CONSCIOUSNESS: AN EXPERIMENAL APPROACH

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Abstract

The article delves into the intricate domain of experimental research about linguistic consciousness dynamics. The exploration of linguistic consciousness dynamics encompasses a multifaceted examination that includes the analysis of how social, cultural, and psychological factors contribute to the formation of linguistic consciousness, the delineation of the developmental patterns it follows, the methodological principles that underpin its analysis, and the utilization of experimental techniques for its thorough investigation. The emergence of consciousness as a precise regulator of human behaviour is rooted in a complex interplay of inherent and acquired elements, all of which materialize during socialization. It is imperative to acknowledge that knowledge does not arise from unmediated perception; instead, perception is structured by cognitive models and schemas. Within the purview of the article, we underscore the efficacy of employing experimental methodologies, specifically those drawn from the realm of psycholinguistics, as a potent avenue for determining the precise position of specific concepts and the semantics of particular words within the intricate hierarchy of meanings and thoughts held by native speakers. The empirical data derived from experimental inquiries into the dynamics of linguistic consciousness serves as compelling affirmation for the existence of systematicity within this cognitive realm. Crucially, this systematicity does not represent an immutable trait etched indelibly into individuals; instead, it emerges due to their progressively deepening comprehension of the tangible world and the accrual of a more extensive spectrum of social experiences.

Keywords: The dynamics of linguistic consciousness, experimental methodology, transformation of values, associative dimension, worldview, concept, anthropocentric paradigm

Introduction

Contemporary linguistic research finds its cornerstone in the meticulous examination of linguistic consciousness within specific ethnic communities, functioning as a potent tool for unravelling the intricate tapestry of collective and individual worldviews that define their national identities. Linguistic consciousness, in its essence, wields a profound influence, sculpting the cognitive processes, distinct perceptual modes, and the cultural bedrock that underpins a linguistic-cultural community, all of which serve as a mirror reflecting its unique mentality. However, it is not merely a passive reflection but an active constituent, shaping and moulding that very mentality.

At its zenith of development, collective consciousness predominantly germinates through the fertile soil of linguistic-creative thought, wherein individual fragments and elements within the conceptual framework of our world find their creative interpretation. This intellectual endeavour, marked by the comprehension of structural interconnections, unfolds at the level of linguistic consciousness, wherein the linguistic worldview takes shape. Words, knowledge, experiences, and the collective wisdom passed down through generations intricately weave together, constructing a distinctive fabric of perception and engagement with the world.

The nexus between linguistic consciousness and mentality remains self-evident, for through language, individuals imbibe not solely specific cognitive connotations and linguistic nuances but also the intricate web of mental paradigms and predispositions. Consequently, mentality constitutes the profound bedrock upon which linguistic consciousness is anchored. However, it is worth noting that the influence on mentality extends far beyond linguistic facets, encompassing the broader spectrum of natural phenomena, geographical landscapes, genetic underpinnings, socio-economic dynamics, political processes, and evolving trends. In contrast to ethnic mentality, which displays a certain malleability capable of gradual transformation, linguistic consciousness exhibits remarkable resilience. Amid this dynamic interplay between mentality and linguistic consciousness, the latter emerges as the primary source through which the exploration of mental processes is conducted, unlocking the enigmatic realm of linguistic-cognitive meanings.

Exploring linguistic consciousness is one of the most intricate psycholinguistic phenomena to dissect. This complexity arises from the fact that consciousness itself epitomizes the pinnacle of mental introspection. The birth, formation, and evolution of consciousness occur exclusively within the linguistic milieu of verbal communication. This milieu mirrors a specific stratum of culture, thus establishing language as an essential prerequisite for the very existence of consciousness.

When we allude to consciousness, we encapsulate an abstract, intangible mode of comprehending and reflecting upon reality. This process is achieved through the prism of concepts, mental representations, and images intricately intertwined with language, culture, and social existence within specific historical contexts.

In its essence, language and consciousness are inexorably intertwined, forming an organic yet paradoxical union. This intricate interrelation dictates that language and consciousness mutually mould and define each other. Consciousness materializes and coexists with language due to the external manifestation of the ideal reflection of reality. Therefore, the genesis of human consciousness becomes feasible only when individuals acquire language. Through linguistic activities, individuals acquire precise cognitive meanings and linguistic values, thereby constructing the logic governing their thought processes and instigating self-awareness.

The process of human cognition is intrinsically linked with the formation of knowledge about objects, where the information concerning the state of these objects in the world is regarded as a "concept." The cognitive process responsible for crafting concepts is referred to as "conceptualization." This conceptual process's objective is to segment human experience into its units. The resultant conceptual system, in turn, serves as the repository of knowledge, effectively translating and expressing the cognitive tapestry of human experience.

Discussion

In human endeavours, individuals engage in the intricate process of fabricating a novel socio-cultural world that interposes itself between humanity and the natural world. Through this endeavour, they inexorably metamorphose from natural entities into socio-cultural entities. The genesis of aesthetic worth has perennially been inextricably enmeshed with the dynamics of societal interactions, preconditioned by these very interactions while concurrently exercising an indelible impact upon them. Consequently, it transpires that society itself engenders the values to which it indispensably cleaves for facilitating its efficacious operation.

Nonetheless, when society undergoes a profound metamorphosis instigated by a radical overhaul of its societal framework and the instigation of profound political, ideological, economic, and cultural transformations, it is all too common that the edifice of its value system buckles under the pressures of these radical shifts. In the most auspicious circumstances, it adapts through a process of evolution, whereas in the direst of cases, it succumbs to utter dissolution.

The vicissitudes of societal evolution witness the displacement of certain institutions by their successors, ushering in contemporary paradigms underscored by a cultural pluralism that gravitates towards diverse, often clashing interpretations and values. This burgeoning axiological reality takes root and solidifies through the sustained functionality of vestiges from the erstwhile infrastructure, historical mentalities, and the concomitant upheaval of social disorganization, all of which converge as a transient phase facilitating the trial and validation of innovative socio-cultural models. As such, the paramount characteristic distinguishing this reality is an overarching sense of ambiguity. Profound transformations in the societal fabric effectuate substantial perturbations in the collective and individual consciousness of the populace.

The burgeoning wave of globalization is giving rise to two diametrically opposed trends. On the one hand, long-established norms, ideals, and values are steadily eroding, while on the other, inhibitory mechanisms are coming into play, and cognitive stereotypes are gaining traction. Young generations find themselves thrust into a social realm that has been meticulously structured without their active participation, thereby disrupting the natural intergenerational connection and continuity.

Globalization's most conspicuous manifestation lies in homogenizing all facets of society, particularly concerning values and paradigms. The contemporary assessment framework delineates individuals based on their proficiency in fulfilling societal roles, explicitly evident through their income levels. Consequently, a substantial portion of modern individuals' vitality, time, and resources are devoted to the relentless pursuit of a specific idealized social status.

Nonetheless, it is imperative to acknowledge the inherent impossibility of imposing universal standards upon the entirety of the world or of forsaking age-old traditions and customs that have evolved over centuries, all while striving to craft a uniform, standardized cultural domain. It is precisely within the intricate tapestry of globalization's multifaceted influence that the axiological orientation of today's youth is crystallizing, marked by internal dissonance engendered by the interweaving of traditional cognitive frameworks with novel global socio-cultural paradigms and lifestyles.

Profound questions arise: Can universal human values truly coexist harmoniously with the fractures of human society stemming from national-ethnic, socio-class, and religious-confessional divisions? Is speaking of universal human values even conceivable when individuals from distinct socially and historically evolved communities attach divergent interpretations to concepts such as 'honor,' 'duty,' 'good,'

and the like? In response to these inquiries, we can assert the presence of a shared essence, even without direct linkage among them.

Universal human values are intricately intertwined with local values, encompassing the realms of nations, individuals, and collective groups. They find their expression through these localized values, and in turn, universal human and local values reciprocally enrich each other.

Throughout its natural-historical progression, each epoch inaugurates its tenure with a profound revaluation of its past and the spiritual principles that have shaped it. This process constitutes an inherent facet of societal evolution, contributing to the holistic development of social relations and society. As generations evolve, so do their systems of values. Each successive generation introduces novel elements into the overarching axiological framework.

The transformation of societal values occurs gradually, often requiring a substantial passage of time. Consequently, identical value orientations may undergo diverse interpretations in disparate historical epochs. Hence, we can delineate society as a value system moulded by an amalgamation of values contingent upon the ongoing evolution of social processes.

Value orientations serve as the bedrock for the distinct characteristics inherent to each socio-cultural milieu, with the values becoming emblematic of different generations. The amalgamation of orientations within each youthful generation is shaped by a complex interplay of factors, including socio-cultural experiences and a compelling desire to actualize their generation's cultural potential.

Developed value orientations serve as barometers of an individual's level of socialization. A stable and coherent framework of value orientations nurtures the cultivation of qualities such as integrity, dependability, unwavering commitment to certain principles and ideals, and an active engagement with life. Discrepancies within this framework result in behavioural inconsistencies, while underdeveloped value orientations signify a state of immaturity.

The fluid transformation of the value system throughout the progression of human civilization can be likened to a living organism, wherein each organ and every cell fulfils its designated function. Social institutions similarly play analogous roles within human society, with social values constituting the very essence of societal constructs.

Throughout human history, diverse societies and civilizations have thrived, evolving in consonance with their respective epochs and influenced by a plethora of cultural, climatic, social, technological, and geopolitical factors. At the heart of the social fabric of any given society has perennially resided a bedrock of spiritual and moral values, casting the die for the socio-cultural pursuits of the community and charting the course of development for various civilizations.

Values, deeply woven into society's spiritual and cultural tapestry, serve as vessels encapsulating a distilled, concise, and accessible repository of societal experience. They mirror the historically tried and life-sustaining potentials, norms, behavioural patterns, and worldviews of an ethnic group, nation, or society. Values represent the guiding principles and priorities forged by the crucible of history for the internal structuring of society, serving as the bedrock for its stability, cohesion, continuity, generational linkage, and capacity to navigate into the future.

The transformation of value orientations is conceptualized as a process of reshaping the internal underpinnings of an existing value system, marked by qualitative alterations in its foundational components, all while acknowledging the idiosyncrasies of society's collective psyche and traditional culture.

Within the realm of values, there exist both eternal and temporal dimensions. Temporal values evolve throughout an individual's life and are organized into a specific hierarchy. Certain values may ascend to primacy during specific junctures throughout one's lifetime, while others may recede in significance, with shifts in the hierarchy of values being a common phenomenon. It is recognized that various factors can catalyze a revaluation of an individual's life value system.

Moreover, the societal framework of universally accepted values profoundly influences individuals, often prompting mature individuals to revise their life philosophies. Influential figures and their value orientations can substantially impact an individual's belief system.

Hence, an individual's constellation of values is far from static; it undergoes notable transformations as various life situations exert influence over one's lifetime. Nevertheless, enduring, absolute, and universal human values persist. These values remain impervious to the passage of time, holding significance not solely for a particular subset of humanity but bearing relevance for all humankind. They endure unwaveringly throughout history, constituting the bedrock of human spiritual culture. These values are ingrained in every individual from birth, shared universally by all humans, regardless of nationality, race, or environment, and remain immutable over time.

Absolute universal human values possess profound intrinsic meaning, transcending mere external moral directives to manifest as objects of inner experience.

Methodology

Through the lens of the anthropocentric paradigm, humanity's perception of the universe takes centre stage. In essence, individuals establish within their consciousness an anthropocentric locus that profoundly shapes their spiritual essence, propels the intentions underlying their actions, and forges the intricate hierarchy of their values.

However, it is crucial to acknowledge that human perception of the world is inherently fallible and subject to continual evolution. This dynamic nature of perception leads to an ongoing transformation of our linguistic consciousness.

Each strand of anthropocentric linguistics is fundamentally geared toward investigating and delineating the symbiotic relationship encapsulated in the phrase "a man in the language and the language in a man." This anthropocentric perspective engenders fresh challenges: The study of anthropocentrism necessitates the development of novel descriptive methodologies and innovative approaches to the phenomenon of linguistic consciousness.

The foundational proposition of linguistic anthropocentrism can be succinctly expressed as follows: the world comprises a unity of facts rather than mere objects, with research centred around the speaker. This paradigm implies that contemporary linguistics is actively pushing its boundaries, essentially striving to transcend its limitations.

In the realm of modern linguistics, various avenues have emerged under the aegis of the anthropocentric paradigm. Our particular focus here is directed towards psycholinguistics.

The information gleaned from lexicographical sources must often be revised to construct a comprehensive and dependable lexical database that captures a language's rich and nuanced potential.

The development of the associative dimension of a concept plays a pivotal role in ascertaining the specific position of the content associated with a particular concept and the nuanced meaning of a specific word within the intricate hierarchy of meanings and cognitive constructs held by native speakers.

Within the framework of psycholinguistic methodology, concepts are perceived as dynamic entities that give rise to segmented associative dimensions. The intricate interplay of permutations and combinations inherent within these dimensions can unveil a profound array of insights:

- 1. The precise nuances characterizing the contemporary apprehension of concepts among native speakers come into sharp relief.
- 2. The very essence of linguistic consciousness undergoes a metamorphic shift, intricately attuned to the evolving extralinguistic realities.

Our contention is that the associative dimension should:

- 1. Articulate a comprehensive framework capturing the intricate web of imagery and the dynamic interplay among these images.
- 2. Expose the idiosyncratic facets characterizing the apprehension and interpretation of the world by a specific ethnic community.
- 3. Harmoniously amalgamate the realms of linguistic and extralinguistic synthesis, forging a unified understanding that transcends the confines of language alone.
- 4. Engage with multifaceted components, including linguistic knowledge, extralinguistic knowledge (pertaining to situational context and the recipient's perspective), and general knowledge. The seamless integration of these diverse forms of knowledge, along with the collective totality of the aspects of human perception, forges the complex fabric of individual and societal existence.

The foundational principles guiding the modeling of the associative dimension ought to encompass the following principles:

Relevance Through Structural Regularity: The significance of each constituent should emanate from the underlying regularity inherent in the entire structure. In essence, the salience of an element should be intrinsically linked to its contribution to the overall coherence of the system.

Elemental Determinism: Every element within this dimension should find its determination in the interactions with other elements. In simpler terms, the systemic dynamics should intricately shape and define the properties and characteristics of individual components, emphasizing the interdependence that underpins the dimension.

Governance by Organic Separation: The associative dimension should adhere to the governing principles of organic separation, ensuring that each element maintains its distinctiveness within the holistic context of the system. This separation should facilitate the discernment of individual contributions while preserving the harmony of the whole.

Reciprocal Influence of Constituents: Members comprising this organic entity should exert a mutual influence on one another. The dynamic interplay and reciprocal impact between elements should be acknowledged and explored as integral to the associative dimension's functionality.

Data analysis stemming from free association experiments unveils not only the tangible psychological content of a concept but also the expansive spectrum of its associational reach. The latter, in essence, encapsulates the vibrant and dynamic psychological content inherent in a "living" concept.

Language and memory researchers exhibit a keen interest in word associations due to their intrinsic value in discerning the intricacies of how the knowledge, acquired through experiences and conveyed via language, is organized, as well as the intricate interplay among words and their relationships (Nelson et al., 2000).

The chains of associations woven among words mirror the structured relationships that underpin the very fabric of concepts, for association represents a fundamental cog in the machinery of human cognition (Deese, 1965; Cramer, 1968).

Delving into the analysis of word associations offers a unique vantage point for unearthing the intricate structures that permeate our lexical knowledge. It provides profound insights into the convolutions of human cognition. The associative structures encasing familiar words exert a tangible impact on memory performance (Nelson & McEvoy, 2005). According to some researchers, word associations can predict the effects of semantic similarity in episodic memory (Steyvers et al., 2004).

Constructing an associative dimension around a concept serves as a conduit representing its content as a tangible psychological entity. This meticulous procedure involves the discernment of both enduring and variable components embedded within the concept's content.

It is essential to recognize that words and concepts do not dwell in the human consciousness and memory in isolation from one another. Occasionally, the connections that bridge distinct linguistic and conceptual units may appear enigmatic and seemingly paradoxical. However, the idiosyncrasies of "language and thought performance" are inherent in these connections' paradoxes and contradictions.

Some researchers have scrutinized word associations to explore the intricate semantic relationships grounded in associative typologies such as similarity, contiguity, and contrast (Marshall & Cofer, 1986; Nelson et al., 2000).

Conclusion

The research into linguistic consciousness, facilitated by the free-associative experiment, can accomplish several significant objectives:

Linguistic Worldview Discrepancies: It can illuminate the parallels and distinctions between the linguistic worldviews represented in dictionaries, thereby highlighting the nuances of linguistic perception and interpretation.

Contemporary Speaker Perspectives: This approach can provide a deep understanding of how modern native speakers perceive certain concepts, shedding light on the evolving cognitive frameworks within linguistic consciousness.

Impact of Extralinguistic Realities: The study can effectively capture linguistic consciousness's dynamic and adaptive nature, showcasing its capacity to adapt and respond to shifting extralinguistic realities.

An experimental approach can illuminate the intricate dynamics of linguistic consciousness, offering profound insights into the complex interplay of meaning, significance, and interrelations among its various facets.

Experimental approaches can unveil the intricate interplay between language, cognition, and cultural dynamics, offering valuable insights into how individuals construct and navigate their understanding of certain concepts in response to evolving societal and cultural contexts.

Modeling the associative dimension enables the identification of stable and variable components of the linguistic sensuousness of a particular ethnic community. Consequently, the construction of the associative dimension serves as an indispensable tool for delving into the depths of the linguistic sensuousness of a particular ethnic community.

While the associative dimension provides a valuable lens through which to unveil the unique linguistic consciousness of a specific ethnic group, it transcends being merely a fragment of human verbal memory. It also encapsulates a fragment of the collective worldview imprinted within the linguistic consciousness of a particular ethnic community.

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CLUSTERING PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATION Exploring the Methodology of Clustering the Thematic Dimension in Professional Communication (Politics)

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Abstract

This article examines the challenges associated with selecting appropriate methodologies and principles for organizing the intricate thematic dimension of professional communication. By employing suitable methods, fragmented knowledge can be synthesized, while the explanatory principle facilitates the identification of essential attributes within a given cluster. The rational application and integration of fundamental scientific principles, concepts, and methodological approaches establish specific criteria for objectively evaluating the construct of a cluster. Clustering is recognized as one of the most effective techniques for segmenting the diverse thematic dimensions of professional communication. The article analyzes the "Politics" cluster as an exemplar within the broader thematic dimensions of professional communication. The clustering process within the thematic dimension aims to encompass an expansive scope with a sense of comprehensive coherence. The model for clustering the thematic dimension provides a range of constraints and assumptions crucial in creating appropriate constructs.

Keywords: Professional communication, thematic dimension, clustering, clusters and sub-clusters, attributes

Introduction

The methodology employed in clustering the thematic dimension of professional communication (politics) encompasses creating relatively homogeneous groups, known as content-based clusters, along with their associated attributes. These attributes serve as indicators of similarity, determined through the factor of analogy. Homogeneous groups are formed based on shared criteria, while distinct groups consist of entities that exhibit differences.

Clusters establish a framework that serves as the foundation for conceptual analysis concerning knowledge representation structures within professional communication (politics). The relationship between the framework and its specific elements (clusters) is established through both "general" and "specific" types of relationships. Differentiating elements (clusters) within the framework involves distinguishing similar components (Fransella et al., 2004). Such differentiation implies a certain level of similarity and disparity between opposing elements.

The existence of alternative versions of the cluster framework suggests the potential for "reframing" the framework, thereby highlighting the dynamic nature of the overall structure (Jankowicz, 2004).

Constructing clusters emphasizes a depth of understanding rather than the mere objectivity of knowledge. Understanding is a multifaceted and ambiguous process that occurs within the depths of human cognition and requires the mobilization of various intellectual and emotional faculties. The primary objective of cluster construction is to establish a knowledge pyramid that facilitates enhanced comprehension. The cluster identifier, represented by the cluster's name, serves as the connective element encompassing all the individual components and the relationships that exist between them.

Methodology

The clustering methodology employed in this study is agglomerative. Agglomerative clustering begins by assigning each object to its cluster. These clusters are then gradually merged, forming larger clusters, until all objects are ultimately integrated into a single cluster.

The clustering process for the thematic dimension of professional communication (politics) involved the following requirements:

- 1. Development of a typology or classification system for the objects under consideration.
- 2. Identification of appropriate conceptual frameworks to categorize the objects.
- 3. Determination of the set of characteristics by which objects will be assessed.
- 4. Evaluation of the degree of similarity between objects.
- 5. Application of cluster analysis techniques to group objects based on their similarities.

The clustering process for the thematic dimension of professional communication (politics) was guided by the following approaches and principles:

I. STRUCTURAL-OBJECTIVE APPROACH

This approach involves decomposing and separating objects while treating each as part of a defined class. Essential postulates of this approach include:

- 1. Systematicity: Interconnections between elements within clusters and across different clusters.
- 2. Abstractness: Identification of cluster attributes by determining the essential features of elements integrated into the cluster.
- 3. Hierarchy: Ranking systems of abstraction (Etherington & Reiter, 1983).
- 4. Typification: Analyzing cluster elements to determine the partial inheritance of properties.

II. PRINCIPLE OF RELEVANCE

The principle of relevance holds a pivotal position in the clustering process as it governs the inclusion of an object within a cluster based on the discernment of conceptual correlations and thematic analogies between the element and the cluster. Notably, the relevance principle transcends the information processing domain, influencing the ultimate outcome.

Relevance assumes paramount importance as the foremost indicator for ranking data, encompassing linguistic and cognitive dimensions that form the bedrock of knowledge processing procedures. On the one hand, relevance serves as the fundamental basis for cognition, functioning as a criterion to gauge the efficacy or inefficacy of cognitive activity. On the other hand, relevance manifests as a prag-

matic phenomenon emerging as a consequence of the cognitive-practical activities undertaken by individuals.

III. PRINCIPLE OF GRADUALITY

The principle of gradualism aligns with the incremental stages and rhythm of shaping professional competence (Brachman & Levesque, 1982). It entails segmenting the teaching system into several complexes encompassing methods, forms, and techniques, which aim to provide learners with information of varying volumes and complexity at different stages of instruction. With each subsequent stage of training, the volume and complexity of information steadily increase.

The realization of the didactic principles of continuity and inheritance in the teaching and learning process hinges upon considering the principle of gradualism. Embracing this principle ensures precise information dosing and selecting the most effective teaching methods.

When defining the components of the methodological system, due regard must be given to the principle of gradualism. This principle facilitates the determination of the requisite and adequate amount of information for different stages of instruction, the identification of the most pertinent methods suited for diverse instructional phases, and the development of an optimal system of teaching materials characterized by escalating complexity to cater to the varying stages of instruction.

The principle of gradualism extends to the selection of didactic material, including introducing new vocabulary during different stages of instruction. In the realm of vocabulary instruction, the principle of gradualism becomes evident through the alignment of the difficulty of interpreting the meaning of a new word with the target linguistic competence.

The principle of gradualism necessitates a meticulous approach to the selection of the fundamental components of the methodological system. Specifically, content selection should eschew overwhelming language learners, ensuring that the information and the methods and techniques employed remain congruent with the goals and objectives of fostering target language competency (Goldstein & Papert, 1977).

Hence, the gradual progression of linguistic competence embodies a methodological category that aptly suits the contemporary stage of advancing linguistics.

IV. PRINCIPLE OF HYPONYMY

The principle of hyponymy elucidates that an element endowed with a more specific meaning inevitably encompasses the meaning of a more general element, thereby forging a unifying bond within a class. The narrower the extension of an element, the greater the likelihood of its consistent inclusion within specific general classes. An element possessing broader connotations within a comprehensive entity always remains subservient to an element imbued with a more precise signification.

The concepts of extensional and intensional intricately intertwine with the principle of hyponymy. In our perspective, the extensional aspect of an element denotes the class of objects to which the element pertains. At the same time, the intensional unit encompasses the set of properties that characterize an object about the given element. Consequently, extensional and intensional units display an inverse proportionality: as the extensional scope of an element expands, its intensional delineation diminishes, and vice versa. Consequently, as an abstract cluster assimilates various elements, its extensional scope widens while the intensional dimension contracts.

In the realm of hyponymy, we encounter a unidirectional implication. A member implies the meaning characteristic of a class, thereby justifying their inclusion within the given class. However, the class itself does not imply the meaning of its constituent members. The transition from members to the class adheres to the principle of hyponymy, engendering hierarchical systems wherein elements of greater generality subordinate themselves to those of particular significance, establishing a subordinating relationship between the class and its members.

V. INTEGRATIVE APPROACH

The integrative approach directs its focus towards discerning the attributes inherent in engendering new unity from disparate elements.

At the core of the integrative methodology lies the principle of wholeness, which perceives phenomena as intricate, open, multileveled, and multidimensional entities. By amalgamating diverse components, each subsequent level of integration brings forth qualitatively novel aspects that arise independent of the properties inherent in the individual parts.

The epistemological foundation of the integrative approach rests upon an orientation towards agreement as the criterion of truth.

The essence of the integrative methodology resides in the inherent ability of the complete unit to self-regulate and evolve. The entirety of the unit possesses a hierarchical structure wherein each element assumes the role of a "whole" concerning its constituent parts while simultaneously functioning as a "part" of the larger whole. Interactions between the parts of the whole encompass not only cumulative aspects but also horizontal, vertical, structural, functional, and causal relationships. Integrity transcends a mere amalgamation of discrete objects, instead encompassing an indivisible network of phenomena, events, and relations. The significance of individual parts emerges solely through their reference to the whole.

Results and Discussion

The establishment of clusters draws upon Gestalt psychology principles, which serve as the foundational framework for comprehending processes and events (Helson, 1987). The Gestalt theory aligns closely with the structural-objective approach to clusters and emphasizes generating profound knowledge. As the "constructor" of the cluster identifies distinct units of knowledge, it is crucial not to overlook the essence of the Gestalt within each fragment, as it influences the other components and facilitates their integration into a cohesive structural unit. Thus, the primary objective of the cluster "constructor" is to unveil the underlying Gestalt.

The level of aggregation within the clusters is relatively low, resulting in a high degree of similarity among the cluster elements. Conversely, the level of aggregation between clusters is relatively high, leading to a comparatively lower level of similarity between clusters.

The interpretation of clusters is conducted within the context of the variables employed in their construction. The validity of the clustering outcome is contingent upon the variables' relevance.

Identifying clusters considers certain assumptions and limitations regarding the essential characteristics of the elements integrated into the cluster.

The generated clusters encompass the following aspects:

Structural Aspect - the elements encapsulate a network of interconnected relations.

Integrative Aspect - the relationships between the elements adhere to the requirements of integrativeness. The characteristics embodied within the knowledge represented in the cluster are as follows:

Infinity - constructing a cluster entails substituting "incompleteness" with "completeness." In other words, constructing a cluster necessitates defining the boundaries of knowledge and incorporating the constraints and assumptions that are necessary and sufficient for its construction (Neimeyer & Neimeyer, 1993).

The selection of constraints and assumptions is determined by the relevance of the knowledge to the instructional level.

Systematicity - every element can be regarded as a collection of interconnected subsets (signs, details), and conversely, each element can be perceived as part of a more generalized class.

Subjectivity - the process of cluster construction is profoundly subjective and heavily influenced by the characteristics of the constructor. In other words, it depends on the specific segmentation principle chosen by the constructor and the particular status of the attribute (Beail, 1985).

The analysis of the "politics" cluster in English has unveiled the following attributes: "volume," "temporality," "significance," "axiology," "social aspect, social responsibility, and interpersonal relationships," and "personification."

Table I: Verbalizers of the Concept "Politics"

POLITICS	
Verbalizers	government, civics, diplomacy, affairs of state, power struggle, politi- cal science, realpolitik, campaigning, political leanings, party politics, political views, polity, machinations, electioneering, opportunism, public affairs, political sympathies, manipulation, statecraft, policy, political relation, art of the possible, diplomatics, political beliefs

Table II: Verbalizers of the Concept "Government"

GOVERNMENT	
Verbalizers	administration, control, authority, regime, rule, leadership, gover- nance, direction, governing, supervision, dominion, state, domina- tion, regulation, jurisdiction, power, ministry, bureaucracy, executive, guidance, politics, cabinet, public, legislature, running, supremacy, officials, form of government, reign

Table III: Verbalizers of the Concept "Elections"

ELECTIONS	
Verbalizers	polls, alternatives, choice, vote, votes, ballots, options, preferences, the ballot box, picks, plebiscites, referendums, electoral, decisions, appointments, selection, ayes, voting, popular vote, secret ballot, a cup of tea

Table IV: Verbalizers of the Concept "Civics"

	CIVICS
Verbalizers	politics, statesmanship, political science, statecraft, government, affairs of state, government policy, campaigning, polity, art of the possible, electioneering, legislature, backroom, jungle, diplomacy, realpolitik, sociology, civil law, governance, hat in the ring

Table V: Verbalizers of the Concept "Diplomacy"

	DIPLOMACY	
Verbalizers	tact, tactfulness, finesse, discretion, statecraft, statesmanship, ne- gotiations, discreetness, sensitivity, skill, subtlety, artfulness, pol- itics, poise, prudence, adroitness, care, address, consideration, civility, peacekeeping, dialogue, diplomat, talks, compromise, ex- ternal policy, external relationships, foreign liaison	

Table VI: Verbalizers of the Concept "Power Struggle"

POWE STRUGGLE	
Verbalizers	politics, authority, force, manipulation, strength, antagonism, argu- ment, conflict, conflict of opinion, contention, tug of war, battle for power, fight for power, strife over authority, power struggle, differ- ence of opinion, full blast, lack of approval, lack of consensus, leader- ship struggle, power play, strong arm, test of strength, black power

Table VII: Verbalizers of the Concept "Campaign"

	CAMPAIGN	
Verbalizers	campaign, electioneering, candidature, candidacy, canvassing, pol- itics, battle, hat in the ring, smoke-filled room, internal affairs, leg- islature, government, lobby, rivalry, contesting, advocate, agitating, competition, conflicting, confrontation, campaign trail, political cam- paign, passage of arms, campaigning for an election	

Table VIII: Verbalizers of the Concept "Party Politics"

	PARTY POLITICS	
Verbalizers	politics, political views, partisanism, political differences, political divide, political divisions, public affairs, policy differences, political affiliation, political beliefs, political sympathies, non-partisan way, political forces, political group, political party, political patronage, partisan political, political choice	

Table IX: Verbalizers of the Concept "Political Views"

POLITICAL VIEWS	
Verbalizers	political opinion, political spectrum, political affiliation, political ten- dencies, political trends, political positions, party politics, political currents, political thought, political viewpoints, political class, polit- ical groups, political ideology, political sympathies, political system, political persuasion, political philosophy

Table X: Verbalizers of the Concept "Machinations"

MACHINATIONS	
Verbalizers	intrigue, schemes, plot, trick, ruses, stratagem, contrivance, artifice, scheming, conspiracy, subterfuges, tactics, device, maneuver, wile, cabal, dodge, sharp practice, fooling around, dirty pool, opportunism, expedience, expediency, pragmatism, self-interest, self-seeking, exploitation

Table XI: Verbalizers of the Concept "Political Sympathies"

POLITICAL SYMPATHIES	
Verbalizers	politics, political beliefs, political leanings, party politics, political views, political sympathies, policy preferences, political affiliation, political expression, political inclinations, political opinion, political sensitivity, political spectrum, shades of political opinion, geopolitical, government

Table XII: Verbalizers of the Concept "Statecraft"

STATECRAFT	
Verbalizers	diplomacy, statesmanship, civics, political science, politics, finesse, government, affairs of state, government policy, negotiation, back- room, delicacy, matters of state, hat in the ring, internal affairs, inter- national relations, smoke-filled room, electioneering, policy, polity, state, statism, authority

Table XIII: Verbalizers of the Concept "Political Beliefs"

POLITICAL BELIEFS	
Verbalizers	political ideas, political ideology, political sympathies, political af- filiation, political alliance, political expression, political aspirations, political doctrine, political ideals, political morals, political opinions, political outlook, political perception, political persuasion, political views, political beliefs, political conviction, political positions

Table XIV: Verbalizers of the Concept "Political Tendencies"

POLITICAL TENDENCIES	
Verbalizers	political trends, political views, political spectrum, political opinion, political class, political currents, political groups, political view- points, general tendencies, movement, human tendencies, policy di- rection, policy guidelines, policy orientation, policy trends, political actors, political affiliation, political areas

Table XV: Verbalizers of the Concept "Political Ideology"

POLITICAL IDIOLOGY	
Verbalizers	political belief, political ideologies, political views, political philoso- phy, racial ideology, official ideology, political convictions, political doctrine, political ideals, political ideas, political morals, political principles, political system, set of ethical doctrines, cultural ideology, government ideology, human ideology

Table XVI: Verbalizers of the Concept "Political Regime"

POLITICAL REGIME	
Verbalizers	system of government, political organization, bureaucratic regime, political structure, federal regime, parliamentary regime, political au- thorities, civil government, local regime, militant regime, political circles, political class, political community, political dispensation, political entity, political establishment, political framework

From a procedural standpoint, the integration of the elements (verbalizers) occurred through a series of distinct stages. Initially, interconnections were established among the elements, followed by the dissolution of boundaries between them. Subsequently, the elements shed their previous (individual) characteristics, drawing nearer to one another and assimilating new properties.

Conclusion

The examination of the outcomes derived from the clustering process has revealed the following regularities:

All clusters encompass three distinct types of knowledge:

- a) Static or declarative knowledge, comprising definitions of rules, laws, methods, principles, and concepts.
- b) Dynamic or procedural knowledge, facilitating the practical application of knowledge by utilizing relevant rules, laws, methods, and principles.
- c) Functional or transfer knowledge, enabling the appropriate adaptation and utilization of knowledge in diverse contextual scenarios.

All clusters correlate with the conceptual "Professional Communication" identifier within the cluster grid.

Each cluster maintains an equivalent conceptual distance from the concept identifier of the cluster grid, thereby indicating a harmonized conceptual alignment of all clusters regarding the preservation of the conceptual essence of the cluster grid's identifier.

The conceptual definition of the clusters displays a complete correlation with the conceptual identifier of the cluster grid.

The repertoire of the cluster grid adequately reflects the intricate nature of the thematic dimension inherent in professional communication.

Within the integrative methodology framework, the principle of integrity encompasses a systematic analysis of the construct. This principle serves as a foundation for exploring the specific characteristics of clusters. Employing the principle of integrity is deemed an efficacious strategy for elucidating profound interconnections and attributes of the construct.

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FROM RUINS TO THE DECORATIVE AND APPLIED ARTS MUSEUM

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Abstract

The paper "*From Ruins to the Decorative and Applied Arts Museum*" reflects the complicated path passed by the outstanding monument, a pseudo-gothic style - mezzanine - "New Cavalry House"-

designed by the architect of German origin - *Albert Zaltzmann*. Based on scientific research, the work presents content and functional loading possibilities for the new Decorative-Applied Arts Museum building and its outer space. One of the main goals is to replace the Russian narrative with European content.

The European-style architecture Museum, located in the centre of the popular Georgian Spa resort Borjomi, with displayed decorative and applied arts collections belonging to the royal family, will be interesting for all visitors. Accordingly, it will be in demand and profitable. It has been noted that the museum is of an extraordinary, unusual nature, and it stands out from the rest of the similar museum institutions in Georgia thanks to the peculiar architecture, content, and collections displayed here.

The paper describes the mission of the future museum, its content, and the vital role it has to play in the context of educational and economic development, promoting the region and the whole country.

Keywords: Borjomi, museum, New Cavalry House, exhibition

The Decorative-Applied Arts Museum building ("New Cavalry House") is located in the city of Borjomi. Borjomi is an outstanding site among the Georgian Spa resorts; it is also the origin of the mineral water brand *"Borjomi.*" Borjomi Gorge has significant resources and great potential for the development of cultural tourism. In addition to its cultural assets and numerous monuments of cultural heritage, it has a unique beauty.

The highly favourable location of Borjomi town and the numerous places of interest (among which are: Likani complex, Borjomi-Kharagauli National Park, alpine ski resort Bakuriani, Vardzia, Akhaltsikhe Rabati and Historical Museum of Samtskhe-Javakheti, Abastumani resort) make this an important tourist destination. Borjomi has a significant advantage over other tourist proposals: it is located next to the National Borjomi-Kharagauli Park, the largest National Park in Georgia. The number of visitors to the town of Borjomi is rapidly increasing.

If there is appropriately planned and well-developed infrastructure, Borjomi has all the potential to become a beautiful, fascinating resort town of world significance. These were the prospects predicted for it back on the verge of the XIX-XX c.c.; Borjomi was considered a possible competitor of the best Spa Resorts in Switzerland and France (Figure 1).

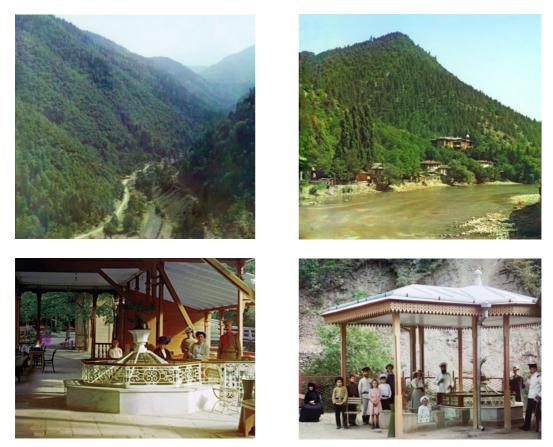
The museum building is located in the center of Borjomi (Gofmeister str.) in the historic park named after Adolf Remmert.. It is one of the most crowded places in the city. The location of the building makes it perfectly suitable to be transformed into a museum (Kacharava, 2018, pp.239-240) (Figure 2).

There are many factors why and how the idea of a museum adaptation of the "New Cavalry House" was born. This is its historical and cultural value and architectural appearance, the fact that the cultural heritage monument has avoided destruction, its favorable location, and potential to obtain the appropriate museum function based on its historical context, the opportunity for the cultural, educational, and economic development of the Borjomi region.

The majority of museums existing in Georgia are archaeological-ethnographic or historical museums, a collection of decorative and applied arts displayed within the building of European-style architecture, such as "New Cavalry House," is quite a rarity in Georgian reality; consequently, this museum will be rather visitable and in great demand. The new Decorative-Applied Arts Museum ("New Cavalry House") will become the most attractive, exciting, and visited place in Borjomi city. (Figure 3).

Figure 1

Old Borjomi views and Borjomi mineral water springs by S. M. Prokudin Gorski



Source: https://en.m.wikibooks.org/wiki/File:Prokudin-Gorskii-49.

Figure 2

Plan of Borjomi



Source: Gr. Moskvich illustrated a practical guide to the Caucasus, Odessa, 1902.

Figure 3 The Sketches by Albert Zaltzmann



Source: National Museum of Georgia Sh. Amiranashvili Museum

It is a stone building in a pseudo-gothic style – mezzanine, towers, and high frontons, designed by the architect of German origin - *Albert Zaltzmann*, probably between 1875 and 1883. Since then, the building has served as a summer residence for Grand Duke Nicholas Romanov prior to the construction of his Likani residence. Later, it served as a residence for royal family members, immediate nobility, and military aristocracy circles.

Figure 4

Likani Residence by S. M. Prokudin Gorski



Source: https://en.m.wikibooks.org/wiki/File:Prokudin-Gorskii-49.

In 2011, the palace of Mirza Reza Khan Arfa'Ad-Doule² - "Firouze" was rehabilitated in Borjomi under the leadership of the National Agency for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage of Georgia. During the business trip associated with this process, attention was attracted by a building, unusual for Georgian architecture, with preserved splendor despite its poor physical state. It became an unforgettable experience and a source of inspiration (Kacharava, 2018, pp.239-240; Kacharava, 2020, pp. 20-29).

Soon, functional zoning works started at the Borjomi Local Lore Museum.³ It became clear that the process of museum adaptation of a non-museum building (building designated for the Chancellery of the Romanovs' estate), as well as a cultural heritage monument (which in itself excludes active interference with the fabric of the building) to meet modern requirements, was going to be rather challenging. The lack of space for the exposition of exhibits with a rich, utterly diverse chronology, typology, origin, and history was an additional problem, making the complete exposition impossible.

Considering all the above, in 2015, the "New Cavalry House" moved from Borjomi municipal subordination to the National Agency for Cultural Heritage Preservation of Georgia. The process of replacing the Borjomi Local Lore Museum and rehabilitating the "New Cavalry House" was followed by lengthy formal correspondence with the World Bank and the Municipal Development Fund⁴. Finally, the decision favoured the "New Cavalry House".

The decision about the replacement was based on the lack of feasibility for a complete exposition of collections preserved in the building and the fact that the "New Cavalry House" was facing severe danger – the cultural heritage site was under threat of physical destruction. (Figure 5).

The design process was started. Nine years of efforts came to a successful end. The renovation was completed in 2022.

Mission of the New Museum

The mission of the new decorative-applied arts museum is to:

- reflect European ideas and content of conversion-development of Borjomi Estate belonging to the Emperor's family on the verge of XIX-XX centuries into a spa resort.
- to familiarize visitors with a complex and intriguing history of art pieces, formerly belonging to Borjomi palaces, later becoming museum collections, and share the information on their producers and artisans. These collections

demonstrate the essential episodes of 20 years of thrilling history of the Royal Family descendants, Borjomi Lady of the House, and their family members associated with Borjomi.

- act as a regional cultural-educational hub.





Source: Pictures by E. Kacharava

The Exhibition Area

The rehabilitation of the "New Cavalry House" and its adaptation for the museum of the Decorative-Applied Arts Museum, as well as determining its interior design, shall consider the specific aspects of its construction period (XIX-XX centuries.) and the characteristics of the collections. The new Decorative-Applied Arts Museum provided a realistic and the best opportunity for quantitative and thematic re-distribution of collections preserved at Borjomi Local Lore Museum. The collections stored in the Borjomi Local Lore Museum building accommodate collections

of different types, origin, and chronology: Georgian collections of archaeology and ethnology, numismatics - Georgian, Oriental, Russian collections, Natural History – Borjomi Gorge Flora and Fauna, Exhibits associated with Borjomi mineral water production, Rare book collection, Archive materials (historical documents, photo material, albums, maps, etc.). Therefore, it is not easy to adequately exhibit such a large and diversified collection in a single building.

The museum's decorative and applied arts exhibition area will comprise *One Temporary* (1st Floor - 44.12 m2) and *Three Permanent Exhibition Rooms* (^{2nd} Floor -1-39.41 m2, 2- 39.48 m2 and 3- 69.15 m2). The Museum of Decorative and Applied Arts will exhibit porcelain, glass, ceramic, faience, leather, wood, and semi-precious stone pieces dating back to the 18th century, fine art pieces (graphic, oil paintings), and furniture owned by Borjomi Palaces.

Temporary Exhibition Room (1st Floor - 44.12 m2)

Various interesting exhibitions relating to Borjomi Resort will be arranged in the temporary exhibitions room of the Museum (Borjomi Resort, Borjomi architecture, European architects in Borjomi, Likani Palace and Park., etc.).

The first Exhibition after opening will be dedicated to the founder of the Decorative and Applied Art Department at the Borjomi Local Lore Museum in 1935 - Artem Gabunia, his wife, the painter Barbare Bebutova, to their creative family and their efforts (Kacharava, 2020, pp. 20-29).

Presently, there needs to be more awareness about Artem Gabunia's contribution to the history of the Borjomi Museum and the study of decorative-applied arts collections. However, he was the one to be credited for the creation of this department in the Museum. He is also the author of the catalogue of art pieces, which remains essential for research on the decorative-applied art collections of Borjomi Palaces. (Figure 6).

European content of Borjomi spa may be unfolded around the Lady of the house of Borjomi Estate - the Princess Cäcilie Auguste of Baden, her descendants, creativity, charity activities conducted in Georgia, decision-making functions in the family, the unique attitude of the spouse towards her. Based on all the above, we believe that the establishment/development of Borjomi as a European resort was related to descendants of the Princess of Baden, to the desire to create a comfortable setting for her in the place, far away from her motherland Baden-Borjomi. We also need to consider that the implementers of Borjomi's scientific, architectural, and industrial projects are mainly scientists, architects/engineers, and constructors of European origin.

Figure 6 The Princess Cäcilie Auguste of Baden (Olga Feodorovna)





Source: https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/grand-duchess-olga-feodorovna https://www.pinterest.com/pin/572379433866386718/

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This was the period of extensive economic development of Borjomi. According to the assessment of contemporaries, large-scale industrial projects were implemented at an amazingly swift "American pace ."Involvement of names like *G. Eiffel, W. Siemens, Fr. Moldenhauer, A. Saltzman, L. Bielfeld, L. Benois, V. Shengardt, E. Schreter, V. Schweyer, G. Zezeman, G. Struve, E. Andreyevsky, A. Remmert, and others indicates the importance of the scientific, technical, construction and economic projects implemented in Borjomi.*

One of the central *Exhibition Rooms* (39.41 m2) will be dedicated to the Lady of the house of the 19th century Borjomi Estate - the *Princess Cäcilie Auguste of Baden* (20.IX.1839–12. IV.1891), the youngest daughter of Grand Duke Leopold of Baden and Sophie Wilhelmine of Sweden*. This space will open up to the public the story of the muse and the inspirer of transformation and future development of the Spa Resort of Borjomi– the smart, widely educated Princess of Baden with liberal ideas, her royal origin and royal family members, her charity in Georgia, her modest and impeccable taste, clearly seen from her beautiful belongings, - items preserved at the Borjomi Local Lore Museum, at Likani Palace and the Tbilisi National Museum. Some of these items presented here are The Secretaire, preserved at Likani Palace; the Lady's gun in a wooden burgundy velvet-covered case with her initials "O.Ф."; the embroidery and jewelry cases; memorial icon, etc.

Figure 7 *The bureau belonging to the princess Cäcilie preserved at Likani Palace*





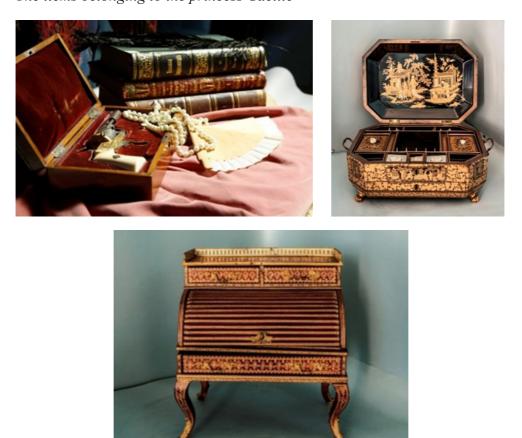
Source: Eka Kacharava's collection

The samples of fine arts (paintings, graphics, sculptures), the rare library, and various pieces of antique furniture will also be placed here. In this way, it will be possible to recreate the domestic environment and suggest the unique atmosphere of that epoch. The exhibits that represent and reconstruct the epoch will be arranged attractively, creating an exciting and unforgettable exposure for the visitor.

The other two spaces will house the collections of decorative-applied and fine arts belonging to the estate palaces in Borjomi, to the history of their origin and manufactures. These applied, and fine arts collections and furniture are kept at Borjomi

Local Lore Museum and Sh. Amiranashvili Museum of the National Museum of Georgia has up to 400 pieces. Possible inclusion of the significant part of applied and fine arts collections and furniture (still under examination) kept in Sh. Amiranashvili Museum of the National Museum of Georgia into the new Museum's collection should also be considered. The best samples, compatible with the exposition concept, will be selected considering the space, value of exhibits, and visual side.

Figure 8 *The items belonging to the princess Cäcilie*



Source: Borjomi Local Lore Museum. Photos by Sh. Lejava and Z. Tsertsvadze

Most collections consist of porcelain items produced by the Russian Imperial Porcelain Manufacturer. We must mention the very high-quality glass items the Imperial Glass Manufacturer produced. The collection also comprises semiprecious stone items. There are also several pieces from famous European porcelain manufacturers such as Meissen, Sevre, and Kophengagen Royal Factories, the Italian, French, and German figurines, etc.

Figure 9 Porcelain items belonging to the Romanov family



Note: Meissen Manufacture production Source: Borjomi Local Lore Museum. Photos by Sh. Lejava

Figure 10 Faience items belonging to the Romanov family





Note: French faience school - creil et monteraux Source: Borjomi Local Lore Museum. Photos by Sh. Lejava

Figure 11

Faience items belonging to the Romanov family





Photos by Sh. Lejava

Note: French faience school – CLEMENT MASSIER. Source: Borjomi Local Lore Museum.

Figure 12 Glass items belonging to the Romanov family





Note: Russian Imperial Glass Factory Source: Borjomi Local Lore Museum. Photos by Sh. Lejava

Figure 13

Faience item belonging to the Romanov family



Note: Dateshidze faience manufacture (Kharagauli) *Source:* Borjomi Local Lore Museum. Photos by Sh. Lejava

Multifunctional Cultural Hub

The Museum also aims to provide relevant information to visitors to promote the attractions of the region in general, including other museums, cultural heritage monuments, tourist infrastructure (hotels, spa services, mineral water "Borjomi," catering services, ski resort Bakuriani, Abastumani, etc.). For this purpose, a multi-touch interface will present all this information, and a desk in the reception area

where a dedicated person will provide visitors with all the needed information. The Multi-Touch Interface will display advertisements and information regarding ongoing and upcoming educational activities and cultural events.

Figure 14 Multi-Touch Interface examples





The museum may offer extra services and provide local guides and transport for visiting other cultural heritage monuments in the area. This can be an additional source of income for the museum.

In addition to the primary mission, the museum will be the location of the space for Educational Activities - implementation of educational programs concerning art history (decorative-applied, fine, artistic, drawing, embroidery-weaving, herbarium making, ceramic-faience painting, etc.); Organization of workshops local crafts held by local masters; The youth will be able to use modern technologies for acquisition of more profound knowledge – most of them do not have such an opportunity at home.

Mediatheque (hybrid library) for Scientific Research Activities - scientific research of museum collections and archives, monitoring, study, and preservation of the tangible and the intangible heritage; organization of lectures, scientific conferences, workshops, etc.; The hybrid library shall provide researchers and students with a comfortable working space to access a wide range of materials in hard copies and electronic format.

Small movie theatre -This is a space for demonstrating the museum movies that will be thematically related to exhibitions and collections. The space will be designed for ten people. Various Cultural-Educational activities include retrospective museum and informative-educational movie reviews, interactive artistic meetings, memorial and literary evenings, lectures, and conferences of the relevant profile.

The educational and cultural components of the additional service offers will be associated with the heritage of the Borjomi district (the tangible and the intangible heritage, meaning local crafts, traditions, etc). The Museum is expected to positively impact the cultural-intellectual and local crafts development opportunities in the region and support future employment opportunities for the local population. The museum will serve as a modern multifunctional cultural hub and an interactive educational center at the service of the community, as well as national and international visitors.

Recreational Area

Museum café, shop, and bookstore

Given the highly favorable location of the "New Cavalry House" from a commercial point of view (center, historical park), it is desirable to open a Museum café similar to the so-called "literary café." The interior, furniture, and accessories shall be consistent with the history and architectural style of the Museum (verge of the XIX-XX c.c.). It is desirable to arrange the most comfortable and relaxing setting (internet, service, climate control). This will create a sense of comfort and stimulate the visitors to spend more time at the Museum, thus increasing the possible revenues regarding catering services and spending money on book and souvenir shops (Georgian wines, sweets, and food products by local craftsmen).

It should be considered that the café will be open not just to Museum visitors but to all other clients, as it has an independent entrance in terms of supply and service. The cafè inside the Museum will significantly attract visitors, thus promoting the Borjomi district cultural heritage monuments and landmarks. (Figure 15)

Outer space of the Museum (territory of A. Remmert Historical Park)

As already mentioned, this is the usually crowded central area. There should be an outdoor space with an outdoor café for many visitors, with a comfortable environment during all seasons, ready to accommodate and serve significant flows of guests. The outer space will also be rehabilitated and refurbished in such a manner to be compatible with the epoch and style of the adjacent building: Arranging-greening of a garden, garden benches, and outer lighting corresponding to the epoch.

For further clarity, we present the functional zoning of the museum, indicating floors and spaces:

^{1st} floor

Figure 15 The same period café design example - The oldest Café Maiasmokk, Tallinn, Estonia



Source: Internet resources

• Reception and administrative area

This area includes:

- The entrance/reception room (57.38 m2) has an information desk, ticket desk, museum shop/corner for souvenirs, and multi-touch interface, where the information will be uploaded.
- Cloakroom (coat rack, space for storage of hand luggage and personal items 18.84 m2)
- Restroom old-fashioned design, accessible to people with disabilities (18.28 m2)
- Administration office (18.58 m2)
- Guide, curator, supervisor office (17.32 m2)
- Security room (11.70 m2)
- Elevator for people with disabilities.
- Museum cafe (55,88 m2)

^{2nd} floor

The second floor will house a permanent exhibition area with three rooms and comprise the following spaces:

- Permanent exhibition space with three rooms (39.41 m2 / 39.48 m2 / 69.15 m2);

- Small movie theatre (22.01 m2) the area with the relevant technical equipment, museum-related movies, retrospective review of photos and other visual materials;
- Office for museum personnel (11.89 m2);
- Storage (30.48 m2); scientific materials (catalogues, drawings, plans, sketches, photos) will be placed there, together with the artifacts not displayed;
- Restrooms (4.80 m2);
- Open balcony;
- Elevator for PWDS.

^{3rd} Floor - Mansard Floor

The following spaces will be located on the third mezzanine Floor of the "New Cavalry House":

- Educational space (40.47 m2);
- Mediatheque (hybrid library) (84.41 m2);
- Room for staff (20.57 m2);
- Restroom (3.37 + 2.47 m2).

As a result of the rehabilitation of the building of the "New Cavalry House" and its adaptation as a museum, we will be able to preserve the cultural heritage monument, we will obtain esthetically attractive exposition spaces of exciting content, meeting the modern requirements, placed within the historic building with the status of cultural heritage monument; from the infrastructure point of view, it will be premised (educational-cultural activities and events, *depository, space for official receptions, mediatheque, space for retrospectives of museum films, literature cafe, souvenire shop, WC*), fully adapted to the requirements of people with special needs.

Besides, opening this space in the center of Borjomi will significantly contribute to the quality of education and culture, support the creation of new jobs, and promote local craftsmanship. Consequently, in addition to the museum function, it should accommodate the role of the cultural-educational hub and thus facilitate the cultural-economic development of the region.

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How culture builds nations: the power of symbolism over nation-building

"Culture is the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate behavior." - James Spradley, Anthropologist (Spradley, 2022, para. 4)

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Abstract

Nationalism studies differ in terms of approaches to the subject. Various opinions on a given topic focuses on different aspects of nationalism, its core elements, and causal links between ends, ways, and means. This paper focuses on culture, arguably one of the most influential dimensions among other layers constituting and shaping nationalism among different nations. In doing so, it considers Anthony Smith's explanation of national identity, which, according to the latter, is shaped by a fundamental consensus among the population on things like culture, religion, history, language, ethnicity, political values, and norms of behaviour and aims and other related notions. The causal link between nation and culture is revealed by making a holistic account of different sub-elements of culture like memories and narratives; language, poetry, and art; national folklore and symbols; social norms, traditions, etc, in different historical eras and seeing their role in a nation-building process. The paper also focuses on a modern-day example, an ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine that has exceeded the boundaries of a mere military domain and is also visible from a cultural perspective. The paper's main finding is identifying elements affecting nation-building and making it work. While all these different elements of culture were, are, and will be used in the future in a nation-building process, perception remains a vital factor. Culture and its elements can certainly significantly impact nation-building. However, in the end, it will always depend on how individuals, communities, and populations perceive national symbols, the historic heroic deeds of their ancestors, poems and literature, and norms of social behaviour and traditions. Without socially constructing these perceptions, the "us vs them" narrative might not materialize.

Keywords: norms, culture, nationalism, traditions, behaviour, symbols, elements, notions, nation-building, narratives

Introduction

Nationalism helps us understand how nations are created and how people participate. It helps to understand why individuals identify with something greater than they are and what causes deep emotional attachments between them and large human communities (Kramer, 2011, p. 7). There are numerous ways to study factors that influence and shape this process, focusing on culture as one of the prominent methods. Culture, like nationalism, is a multi-faceted notion. It can be related to a range of things, from the habitual behaviour of individuals to religious rites involving masses, literature, art, language, or even items perceived as national symbols. These different layers of culture affect the nation-building process. To find if there is a causal relationship between the two, this paper explores key elements of culture from historical and modern perspectives. Findings are summarized in the conclusion.

Nation, identity, and culture – is there a connection?

The discourse around nationalism is wide-ranging. Some authors debate on its origins, while others tend to study typology by concentrating on beliefs in universal human rights (liberal nationalism) or race and ethnicity (integral nationalism). However, many historians and scholars tend to agree that all nationalisms take on a cultural dimension because culture and its elements powerfully stimulate the process of nation-building (Kramer, 2011, p. 24). The cultural dimension pervades various aspects of human lives. Its elements include language, traditions, religion, beliefs, national folklore and symbols, poetry and prose, etc. Culture deeply connects with how individuals live, think, communicate, and act.

The word culture comes from Latin *culture*, meaning "to cultivate," while nation originates from the word *natio*, which, used in ancient Rome, means "birth" or "decent." Importantly, in its original Latin form, it meant *community under the law* to which an individual belonged because of his or her birth (Schulze, 1996, pp. 99-100). Hence, one of the ways to understand how the nation is formed is to imagine people living in a specific geographical space, sharing unique cultural and historical traditions that give them a feeling of having a right to form an independent political entity called a state and live in that state having a sense of protection and boundaries (Kramer, 2011, p. 1). Moreover, if others recognize a nation as one with territorial boundaries, then with time, it can evolve, becoming a union of communities called states. The process of formation of a state takes time and effort. Nations have their ways of life. They seem "real" and last forever but come and

go under changing historical circumstances (What is a Nation? n.d.). Culture alone cannot guarantee the survival of the nation.

Understanding nation-building requires understanding what *national identity* is and how it is formed. National identity is about an individual's strong feeling of being affiliated with a large community with its peculiar characteristics. In other words, a nation can be seen as a community with fundamental consensus about culture, religion, history, language or ethnicity, specific cultural, social, and political values, norms of behaviour and aims (Smith, 2008, p. 19). This consensus on a shared worldview creates national identity (Kremer, 2011, p. 55). The question is, which factors are involved in creating that consensus, and is culture one of them?

Examining Key Elements of Culture

As history has shown, nation-building was a universal process, yet not all states had walked similar paths. For instance, if we consider the 18th century, we will see a dichotomy in forming a nation as one, whole entity. In the Western hemisphere, nation-forming was aided by the creation of specialized state institutions like the army and educational entities like academies. These state institutions helped to homogenize various ethnic, linguistic, or even religious groups into one nation. In contrast, Central and Eastern European nations did not have homogenous national cultures. For centuries, populations were fragmented or subject to foreign imperial rule (Berend, 2003, pp. 44-45). Nevertheless, culture, traditions, history, poetry, literature, national heroes, and symbols significantly impacted nation-building.

Nationalism did not stop existing after nation-building was accomplished. The people living in newly created states continued to support nationalistic ideas, and various state institutions continued to support national thinking and culture, in its broader sense, as an effective way to strengthen, nurture, and disseminate national sentiments among the masses. Why? Once unleashed, this process can hardly stop because the emerging sense of "national" is more potent than "universal" because all cultures in themselves carry "uniqueness," which effectively generates a sense of being something different. Nationalism continues to be alive to this day because cultural and political boundaries continue to effectively separate "us" from "them" (Kramer, 2011, p. 23). If *nation* and *culture* use the same building blocks, then there should be a causal relationship between these two notions. One naturally "feeds" the other and even causes changes over time. To illustrate this point, essential elements that define culture as a phenomenon are examined below with a brief look into history.

Memories and narratives

Culture is strongly linked with individuals' memories. With time, individuals' memories become shared national memories. It happens through the "territorialization of memory" when memories shared mainly by the population become attached to territories that afterward are perceived as historic homelands. Usually, such places are shrines, extraordinary historical or religious monuments, or places of battle. Such shared, public memories fuel national sentiments (Smith, 1996, pp. 453-454). Looking back into history, we will see that a firm belief that an individual's life is inseparable from the nation can even lead to self-sacrifice. For instance, the historical deeds of Nathan Hale (American martyr), Claude Rouget (French lyricist), and Johann Fichte (German philosopher) demonstrate that nationalism is culturally constructed, and personal and public identities do overlap (Kramer, 2011, p. 8). The deeds of these fine gentlemen show that memories, with time passing, can become national fantasies and myths as they have the power to inspire future generations (Kramer, 2011, p. 16). Thus, national cultural identity is constructed through memories and narratives that continue to live in the minds of future generations, amplifying their sense of pride and belonging to the nation. Individual memory becomes a collective and, finally - cultural memory of the nation and its history (Kramer, 2011, p. 17). To this end, exploration of the past, specifically - the rediscovery of history, became so important in the 19th century that nationalists living in countries of Central and Eastern Europe often resorted to history and memory in their attempts to strengthen their nations (Berend, 2003, p. 46). This process was called. "cultural purification." Nationalists used culture to identify themselves with the earliest, usually medieval, documented national history. They wanted to cleanse their culture of unnecessary elements and create it anew in a strictly vernacular mold by rediscovering, authenticating, and reappropriating history (Smith, 1996, pp. 450-451).

Family, society, and nation

Identity is not given; it is formed. In ancient times, individuals were loyal to the communities where they were born. They were eager to follow norms and laws developed in those communities (Schulze, 1996, pp. 99-100). Therefore, the identities of group members were formed within the families and communities they lived in. Families are starting points in the identity-forming process of individuals even today. Children are raised by traditions, certain morals, historical examples, and codes of conduct that have deep roots in ancestral memory and the historical-cultural legacy of their state. In other words, one's belief in national selfhood develops

through specific cultural experiences while living with the family (Kramer, 2011, p. 2). People live and interact in a society. Thus, the information they get outside their families also shapes adults' views. Individuals are continuously affected by information coming from interaction with schoolmates, neighbourhood friends, college and university fellows, work colleagues, etc. Ultimately, this information forms one's views on everything, including matters of nationhood and state. Individuals can develop several identities during their lifetime. Everywhere, people identify themselves with specific groups of society that share similar hobbies, favorite football teams, and anti-animal cruelty movements like vegans or lovers of nature. However, the most vital prerequisite for the societies' emergence as nations has always been people's will to be one nation with a common language, history, traditions, blood ties, etc (Berend, 2003, p. 45).

Language and Education

Although some scholars warn against overestimating the role of language in nation-building, most still agree that the culture in which one has been taught to communicate becomes the core of his or her identity (Gellner, 1983, p. 61). Language is not only a way to communicate and express oneself, but it also helps to be self-aware; thus, it forms our identities as well (Kremer, 2016, pp. 56-57). The best example of language significance in nation-building would be 18th and 19th century Germany, where, according to Friedrich Meinecke, the concept of *Kulturnation* consolidated the nation by merging what was called "Vaterland" (fatherland) with the "Muttersprache" (mother tongue) in a mind of ordinary German commoner (Kremer, 2016, p. 53). Education managed to integrate lower classes of society into a single German nation, stopping its organization exclusively according to classes. The process was similar to one in Great Britain earlier (Kremer, 2016, p. 57).

Another example might be the life of German philosopher Johann Herder, a staunch proponent of so-called "cultural-linguistic nationalism." Herder idealized folk poetry and art to the point that, later, his work was admired by nationalists of other European countries. The works of Herder and other philosophers of that time told how cultural approach helps the nation-building process. They successfully incorporated ordinary commoners into one monolithic society because they developed cultural bonds with the folk by wandering amongst them, sharing their stories and art, and simply socializing (Berend, 2003, p. 49). These examples help to see a connection between culture, language, and nation-building.

Poetry and art

Popular poetry and art give a distinctive flavor to every nation. Poets and artists, masters of telling stories about historical deeds of "good old times," acquired exceptional significance in the era of Romanticism. This period was one of those times when artists and writers used their skills to pen their views on the matters of nationhood. Romanticism in central and eastern parts of the European continent glorified individualism and an exhilarating cult of the nation, making Romanticism a significant nation-building movement (Berend, 2003, p. 44). Back then, literature and art, and all the subjectivity attributed to them, played a significant role in the fights for freedom and justice. Figures like Byron, Schiller, and Botev became national heroes due to their passionate attitude toward the cause (fight for freedom) and their poetic and artistic skills. Slovenian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, and other writers contributed not only to a mere discovery of the past (through their poems and novels) but also to the creation of publishing houses for books and newspapers. In a later period, the printing press had an even more significant impact on strengthening national sentiments and nation-building throughout the European continent as nationalists and revolutionaries actively used it to amass popular support and urge people to the streets (Berend, 2003, pp. 46-48). So, poetry, songs, music, and other art forms were essential in creating national historical myths. Their narratives were usually about love, patriotism, unity, and self-sacrifice (the more glorious, the better!). Such narratives wrapped in various tales, songs, poems, and parables significantly strengthened patriotic sentiments and the sense of belonging to a nation.

Us vs Them

Another important aspect of culture in nation-building is related to its ability to amplify "us" and "them" thinking, where specific individuals see themselves as a part of "in-group" and perceive members of other groups as inferior (Schulze, 1996, p. 98). This effect allows nations to differentiate themselves from people of other cultures. With time, it generates particular views about nations. For instance, France is regarded as "old" (political nationalism), Germany is seen as both "old" or "new" (cultural or ethnic nationalism), and the United States is primarily considered a "new" nation – a melting pot of diverse ethnic and immigrant populations (cosmopolitan state) (Kramer, 2011, p. 26). Amplification of "us vs them" assuredly leads to a sense of national uniqueness because it makes people believe that they are entirely different (and even better!) than everybody else. That imaginary thinking has usually been a product of socially constructed campaigns that aimed at strengthening the sense of national unity or achievement of certain political ends

almost everywhere. For instance, the expulsion of Jews and Moors in Spain and persecution of Protestants in France and Catholics in England served that goal well long before the revolutions of the 18th century, not to mention American nationalism that got amplified after President Bush's call for action against global terror (Kramer, 2011, pp. 21-23).

Putting pieces of the puzzle together

Culture, with all its elements, affects and shapes individuals' thinking so that they start identifying themselves with the sum of all parts. The views on the wholeness of the nation are achieved through traditions, literature, art, and national or religious symbols such as flags, coats of arms, crosses, ancestral monuments, history, and the legacies of famous figures. These attributes help to solidify the nation and make it distinct from other nations (or even look exceptional in countries with aggressive nationalism) (Kramer, 2011, p. 3). Moreover, if we assume that a nation, using the inherited right of self-determination, which is based on constructed shared history (Kramer, 2011, p. 11), creates the state, then it is easy to see the following causal link: culture solidifies a nation; nation creates a state; in turn, the state creates institutions to ensure society is charged with national sentiments. That way, the state's survival in preserving its sovereignty or sense of unique identity is ensured.

As regards the discourse among historians and scholars on a given topic, there are no necessarily right or wrong approaches to studying nationalism. Different theories are like different lenses to examine the subject. Although some argue that national identity is formed around ancestral ties, ethnicity, and blood, it is more than that. Individuals may not necessarily be related to distinct ethnic groups to identify as part of the same community or political entity or even share one language. Anderson's view of an "imagined political community" shows that individuals who have never seen and will probably never see each other would still identify with the same political entity (Kramer, 2011, pp. 18-19). It is about how one imagines/feels being part of a group or a nation or, as Smith defines it, about cultural traditions and shared history (Kramer, 2011, p. 12).

To this point, one can examine the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian dispute about common historical ancestry over Kievan Russ. Russia's claims over this ancestry aim to show the indivisibility of Russians and Ukrainians as a nation. People who call themselves Ukrainians, however, do not share this view, seeing Kievan Russ as a cradle of Slavic, albeit Ukrainian nation. Ongoing confrontation can be an exciting case that gives valuable insights into how nations are constructed today. There are many ethnic Ukrainians among those fighting under the Russian flag against Ukraine in the ongoing military conflict.

Conversely, many Russian-speaking individuals are defending what they believe is their statehood because they affiliate themselves with Ukraine, not - Russia. The question here is why large parts of the Russian-speaking population living in Ukraine, and not necessarily seeing themselves as ethnic Ukrainians, still prefer to identify themselves with the state of Ukraine. The survey data shows that their identities have gradually shifted from pro-Russian to pro-Ukrainian after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The process intensified since Russia established control over Crimea in 2014, especially considering the ongoing "Special Military Operation" launched in February 2022. Today, a large portion of the population in Ukraine sees *citizenship* as the most essential part of who they are (Barrington, 2021, pp. 162-168). Thus, based on this example, identities are also formed by external variables unrelated to blood ties, nationality, language, race, or religious beliefs. Citizenship, in the case of Ukraine, is the glue that binds together its diverse populace, which now affiliates itself with the state of Ukraine like it never did before.

Conclusion

To conclude, nationalism and culture indeed have many layers. In the imagined West, assimilating newcomers into one society is more accessible than in the East. Perhaps the more eastwards we go, the "thicker" the layer of culture becomes. Culture was, and will always be, an integral part of a country's nationhood because culture is both a byproduct of humans' deeds and a driving force for future action; as for the question of good and evil, culture alone cannot necessarily catalyze violent deeds. Ultimately, it all depends on the "cultural purification" process, namely the degree to which nationalists will try to "purify" everything they see as exogenous. If that degree takes a drastic scale, the consequences might be dire. The state will most likely be shaken by the stand between nationalists and the "rest" they regard as alien.

Conversely, if the "purification" process does not alienate minorities, then nation-building will go on peacefully. Lastly, culture is a great tool to construct identity socially. It positively preserves nationhood in states comprised or dominated by a single nation (nation-states). It can continuously strengthen the sense of "us" and "them" to resist the assimilation process imposed by a more powerful neighbour. Nation and culture strengthen each other; as such, they are intertwined. Culture has the power to preserve. "Purification" has the power to destroy.

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PLACE OF BURIAL OF ST. SHUSHANIK

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Abstract

The issues concerning Saint Shushanik's preparation for death, determining the location where she should be buried, and description of the process of her death/punishment take an important place in the structure of the text. Saint Shushanik's grave, according to her will, is in Tsurtavi, the very place where Varsken dragged her from for the first time. This is Iakob Khutsesi's statement and we come across the same information in all lists except A 95, which is not complete and where the last third part of the story is missed. As a matter of fact, there is some other information. According to some sources, Shushanik was reburied to Tsurtavi after the death of Varsken, while according to other sources, the tortured queen was reburied from Turtavi to Tbilisi and was buried in Metekhi Church. In our research, we observe all information concerning the location of Saint Shushanik's grave and discuss how realistic the information can be.

Keywords: Saint Shushanik; Tsurtavi; Iakob Khutsesi; Varsken; Metekhi Church

Introduction

According to the hagiographical canon, God informs saints of the time of their death. They prepare for this important event by intensifying prayer, chanting, blessing relatives/congregation, and saying goodbye to them by giving alms... in order to complete earthly deeds and be granted eternal rest among the righteous. By such a miraculous prophecy, the author wants to point out the synergy between God and man. Their death was predicted by *Abo Tbileli* ("Tomorrow my soul will leave my body and I will go to my God, Jesus Christ," (Abuladze, 1963, p. 67)), *Grigol of Khandzta* ("Worthy Father Grigol had a premonition that he would depart and go to God. God informed him that His will shall be fulfilled", Abuladze 1963, 313), *Serapion Zarzmeli* (This is the end. The time has come I should depart this world and misery be replaced by joy", Abuladze 1963, 341), and other saints. Shushanik also foretold her death.

Discussion

Bearing the heavy burden in the seventh year of her torture, the Queen says to the priest: "I will soon leave my miserable body and depart this life" (Abuladze, 1963, p. 25). The author devotes a long narrative to saints' preparation for death and the description of the attitude of their relatives and other members of society towards this fact. In the first place, Jojik and his family members wife, children, servants - go to Shushanik and beg "Christ's martyr" for blessing. Following Jojik, the clergy - Archbishop Samoel, Bishop Ioane and his relatives" (Abuladze, 1963, p. 27) and representatives of virtually all classes: "grand dukes, noble-born ladies, noblemen and commons from the villages of Kartli" (Abuladze, 1963, p. 27) go to the saint to bid her a final farewell. On the day she departed this world, Shushanik called Bishop Apots and Iakob Khutsesi over to her, thanked them again for their support, and pleaded to Apots, as the 'father and teacher,' for Iakob. Following this, she instructs them where her body should be buried: she begged them to be buried in the place where she was first dragged from" (Abuladze, 1963, p. 28). The will is performed according to the queen's desire: "We carried her righteous body to the church and interred Shushanik's holy, glorious, and righteous body in a place prepared in advance" (Abuladze, 1963, p. 28).

The grave of the saint has sacral significance. Believers associate it not only with the saint herself but with the Kingdom of Heaven. The saint's grave and her relics are great solace and hope for believers, the hope of healing, purification, and receiving help from God. In 'The Martyrdom of Abo' Arabs address a special request to the Amir to order to burn Abo's corpse so that his grave would not become a holy site for Christians: "If someone devotes themselves and sacrifices themselves to Christ, Christians are in the habit of stealing their body and paying respect by interring it. They will spread rumors that the body does miracles and heals the sick. That is why they will distribute their clothes, hair, and bones among themselves as if these will protect the sick, which will mislead many ignorant people" (Abuladze 1963,71-72). However, if someone sacrifices themselves to Christ, it will not become a hindrance to Christians' adoration of Abo. "Lots of Christians visited the site where Saint Abo departed this life; they overcame the fear of the conquerors, and everybody went to the place where Saint Abo's body had been burnt; they would take some soil from the site, bring the sick there who would be healed on the same day" (Abuladze, 1963, p. 74).

The monks of Khandzta are deeply concerned about the fact that aged Grigol of Khandzta is going to end his life in Shatberdi ..." Therefore, whoever was able to walk, they arrived in Shatberdi together" (Abuladze, 1963, p. 308) and asked their spiritual father to return to Khandzta, so that his holy body would be buried in Khandzta, in the place where the great confessor embarked on independent activities.

Thus, the resting place of a martyr saint is a hugely important site for Christians, and the saint herself is well aware of this fact. Therefore, Shushanik chooses the place, which has a symbolic significance for her as a martyr, of her burial.

The text provides a straightforward account of the fact that Shushanik passed away in Tsurtavi and was buried in the place where Varsken the Pitiakhsh had dragged her out for the first time. This is what the text says, and this account is provided in all the extant copies of 'The Passions of Saint Shushanik'', except for A 95, which is incomplete and lacks the last third of the text.

Catholicos Anton's redaction of 'The Passions of Saint Shihsanik,' which has a much more extensive ending than the text by Iakob Khutsesi, reads: "On hearing about Saint Shushanik's torture and death, Bakur, King of the Abkhazians and Georgians, secretly gathered his army and campaigned against Varsken. At the time, Varsken stood on the bank of the Mtkvari, where it joined the river Anakret. Moreover, he attacked Varsken, captured him, and hung him, already

stabbed with a sword, on a pole" (Martyrica 1980, 104-105)¹. Bakur III, son of Parsman IV, mentioned in this section of the text, ruled in the sixth century. Therefore, according to this account, whose source is 'Life of Kartli,' a chronology of the text changes substantially. Following this, Anton focuses attention on another account of the chronicler, according to which Bakur transferred Shushanik's relics and interred them with great honor: "King Bakur brought Shushanik's holy relics to Tsurtavi with great honor" (Martyrica, 1980, p. 105). However, Anton realizes this information is unreliable and adds: 'I believe that the church which Iakob Khutsesi says Shushanik should be buried in is Tsurtavi" (Martyrica, 1980, p. 105).

As we see, there are two inaccuracies in the section mentioned above of the text: 1. Varsken's punishment is attributed to Bakur III rather than to Vakhtang Gorgasali; 2. After Shushanik died and was interred, her body was transferred to Tsurtavi and reburied there. Anton casts doubt on the second account, whereas he shares the other one about the punishing Varsken by Bakur, which is provided in 'Life of Kartli' by Juansher ("Then Bakur, King of Georgians, appealed to all his governors, secretly gathered the army and marched towards Varsken. At the time, Varsken was standing on the bank of the Mtkvari, where the river Anakert joins the Mtkvari; he attacked Varsken and captured him; his body was cut into pieces, and its parts were hung on a tree, while Shushanik's body was moved and buried in Tsurtavi with great honor" (Kaukhchishvili 1955,216). This information is encountered in Ioane Batonishvili's 'Kalmasoba' (S 3687, 61v) with minor alterations (see: Tskhadadze 1978, 177).

P. Ioseliani first published this account. The scholar makes a correction to the part of the text that tells about the punishment of Varsken and replaces Bakur III with Vakhtang Gorgasali; however, he does not consider Catholicos Anton's note and leaves the story of the transfer and reburial of Shushanik's body unchanged (Joseljani, 1850, 62-63.)

M. Sabinin, the first publisher of 'The Martyrdom of Saint Shushanik,' adds the section mentioned above of the text of 'Life of Kartli' to the text following Anton:

¹ K. Tskhadadze provides an exciting discussion of the problem in the work 'From the History of the First Edition of The Martyrdom of Saint Shushanik,' 1978, 169-182, in the jubilee collection of 'The Martyrdom of Saint Shushanik,' Tbilisi, 1978, Tbilisi State University Publishing House.

Catholicos Anton	M. Sabinin
On hearing about Saint Shushanik's torture and death, Bakur, King of the Abkhazians and Georgians, secretly gathered his army and campaigned against Varsken. At the time, Varsken stood on the bank of the Mtkvari, where it joined the river Anakret. Moreover, he attacked Varsken, captured him, and hung him, already stabbed with a	On hearing about Saint Shushanik's torture and death, Vakhtang Gorgasa- li, King of the Abkhazians and Geor- gians, secretly gathered his army and campaigned against Varsken. At the time, Varsken was standing on the bank of the Mtkvari, where it joins the River Anakret. Moreover, he attacked Varsken, captured him, and hung him,
sword, on a pole (Martyrica, 1980, p. 105).	already stabbed with a sword, on a pole (Sabinin).

As we see, two substantial differences exist between the two cited texts: 1. Anton considers Bakur III as the one who inflicted punishment on Varsken. At the same time, Sabinin believes it is Vakhtang Gorgasali 2. Catholicos Anton casts doubt on the account about the place of Shushanik's burial -' I believe that the church which Iakob Khutsesi talks about as Shushanik's burial place is Tsurtavi" (Martyrica, 1980, p. 105), which M. Sabinin does not direct attention to at all.

Anton ends the narrative with the part cited above, if not considered a minor prayer of thanksgiving, which could be more informative. However, Sabinin adds another piece of information to the text: Catholicos Kirion had Shushanik's body transferred from Tsurtavi to Tbilisi, and Queen Tamar abundantly adorned her coffin with jewels (Sabinin). K. Tskhadadze notes that the source of this account of Sabinin should be 'Kalmasoba' by Ioane Batonishvili, or an abbreviated version of 'Kalmasoba' which slightly differs from the original one (Tskhadadze, 1978, p. 180). 'Kalmasoba' reads: "Tradition has it that Queen Tamar had the body of Saint Shushanik moved and deposited in a coffin which is in the church of Tbilisi palace, on the right side in Metekhi (H 2170, 257v).

According to Platon Ioseliani, Shushanik's body was transferred to Tbilisi, in the church of Metekhi, 120 years after her death. Separation of the Armenian church from the world church and ruling of the church of Tsurtavi by an Armenian bishop were the reasons why 120 years after the saint's death, in 586, Catholicos Simeon or Kirion of Georgia banished the Armenian bishop from Tsurtavi and gave the order that the corpse of Saint Shushanik, who had been buried in the church of Tsurtavi, should be transferred with proper honor to Tbilisi and interred in Matekhi

Church. Her grave is still preserved in the chapel (diaconicon) south of the altar (Joseljani, 1850, pp. 62-63) (translated by me N.M).

Metekhi Church is mentioned by Vakhushti Batonishvili as well. He describes the setting: A perfectly built domed church of the Virgin of Metekhi, the seat of the archimandrite, is in the fortress on the rock over the Mtkvari. Here is the bridge between Kala and Isani, between the fortresses. On the south, near the bridge, is the grave of Abo, whom Persians tortured². (Vakhushti Batonishvili 1904, 72).

The information about transferring Shushanik's body to Tbilisi and interring it in Metekhi Church is not supported by any ancient sources. Moreover, V. Beridze considers that the presence of Shushanik's grave in the diaconicon of Metekhi Church and the construction of the church by Vakhtang Gorgasali must be just oral tradition and cannot have any connection to reality. It is probably the result of this tradition, too, that feasts commemorating the saint were celebrated here every year (Beridze, 1969, pp. 7-25).

In chapter three of 'The Passions of Saint Abo,' Ioane Sabanisdze describes a place which, according to scholars, is in the environs of Metekhi Fortress; however, Sabanisdze does not mention the church, but *Sagodebeli* (place of wailing) and *Sadilego* (place of dungeon): When Saint Abo's body was brought, moved from the cart and deposited on the ground, they brought wood, hay and kerosene and lit fire... until the body of this saint was burnt in the place which is a fortress east of the city, on the edge of the rock, in a place called Sadilego (dungeon), on the bank of the river that flows to the east and is called the Mtkvari" (Monuments, 2020, p. 73).

According to scholars' observation, it is the area where presently the church of Metekhi stands, with the grave of Saint Abo nearby.

Conclusion

Thus, the information about bringing Saint Shushanik to Tsurtavi and burying her there cannot correspond with reality. The account about her transferring to Tbilisi and being buried in Metekhi Church is even less trustworthy. We believe that the most reliable information is provided in the text itself, and the martyr must be interred in the place where she desired herself – Tsurtavi, the place where Varsken first dragged her out and which the Queen considered the beginning of her martyr-dom.

² It is known that Arabs, not Persians tortured Abo.

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For Specification of One Context of "The Passions of Saint Shushanik" ("He visited a holy man in his place (*vani*)...)

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Abstract

The article deals with the specification of the context of one phrase from "The Passions of Saint Shushanik" – "He went to a holy man at his residence (*vani*) to ask about something." This excerpt from the text gives rise to some questions: 1. Who is the holy man? Is he a secular or a religious figure? 2. Why do Iakob and Apots go to him – to ask about something or to make a visit to his place? 3. What could '*vani*' (residence, monastery) mean in this context? The article discusses E. Chelidze's interpretation of this phrase, according to which the holy man is a religious figure. At the same time, Apots and Iakob go to pay him a visit at his place. Taking specific arguments and the reading preserved in the earliest copy (A 95) of "The Passions of Saint Shushanik" into consideration, we try to show that the holy man must be a churchman, and Apots and Iakob went to him to ask about something. At the same time, the word *vani* probably means where a religious person resides – a monastery or a cell rather than a house.

Keywords: holy, bishop, monastery, saints, monk, priest, confessor

Introduction

Iakob, Shushanik's confessor, and Apots, court bishop, learn about Varsken's adopting Zoroastrianism and the Queen's being stricken with grief from a deacon. They are visiting a holy man, and this is where the deacon, urgently sent from the palace as a messenger, calls upon them: Apots³, the bishop of the Pitiakhsh's palace, was not there but was visiting a holy man at his residence (*vani*) to ask about something. Moreover, I, Queen Shushanik's confessor, accompanied the bishop" (A 95, 434). Here, the text is cited from the Parkhali Gospel, which preserves the earliest text of 'The Passions of Saint Shushanik.' This excerpt attracts our interest from several aspects: a) who is the *holy man*? b) what is the purpose of Apots and Iakob visiting him – *to enquire about something or to pay him an ordinary visit*? And what is the meaning of *vani* in this context?

After observing this section, researcher Edisher Chelidze concludes that the bishop would not visit a religious or secular figure to enquire about something. Consequently, the scholar believes that the phrase - "to ask about something" - was added to the text by the scribe and was not written by the author: "The holy man mentioned by Iakob, indeed, does not possess any religious title; otherwise, like in other cases, the author would have reported about it. He cannot be a monk either, as it is sometimes suggested because Iakob would comment on it. Even if the mentioned man possessed any degree or was a monk, it appears unconvincing that the bishop personally visited him to enquire about something instead of summoning him. Moreover, the bishop would never visit a secular figure, even a dignified Christian, for a reason mentioned above" (Chelidze, 2014, p. 297). Eventually, the author concludes that "the bishop and the priest paid a visit to a worthy member of their congregation who was unable to visit them probably because of his feebleness and illness." Resulting from the discussion, the vani (residence) should be considered not as a cell or a monastery, i.e., a religious abode, but the residence of a secular figure (this is how E. Chelidze explains it: "I went to that house (vani) together with him," A130, 172). Thus, it is necessary to specify the context to interpret the term.

In our opinion, the researcher's discussion mentioned above is somewhat contradictory. First, we should pay attention to the epithet 'holy,' which the author applies concerning this man. This epithet is mainly used in the text to refer to the martyred

³ Manuscript A 95 mentions Aput; all the others mention Apots; it must be the case of confusion about the graphemes 't' and 'ts,' which resemble each other in *Bukhari*.

queen. Several religious figures (deacon, priest, bishop, archbishop) are shown in the plot as main characters. However, the author mainly refers to them by names and religious hierarchy – Bishop Ioane, Archbishop Samuel, etc., and there are only a couple of occasions when the author uses epithets such as holy and blissful (And the holy bishop was served a meal"; then blissful Bishop Ioane quickly brought a shroud for wrapping") to refer to them. Thus, Iakob does not refer to even high-ranking religious figures as 'holy,' and it would be even weirder to use this epithet for a secular person. Therefore, the assumption that Iakob mentions the holy man to indicate a secular person – a member of the bishop's congregation, rather than a religious figure renowned for his purity and worthy of this epithet, appears groundless.

E. Chelidze puts forward another argument to support his position and remarks: "The 'holy man' mentioned by Iakob, indeed, does not possess any ecclesiastical rank, or else the author, just like in other cases, would inform us about it. He cannot be a monk either, as it is sometimes assumed, because Iakob would mention it" (Chelidze, 2014, p. 298).

There are four religious figures in the text whose names are known to us – Iakob Khutsesi (his name is mentioned randomly), Archbishop Samoel, Bishops Apots and Ioane. Apart from them, another *priest is* mentioned in the text section where the enraged pitiakhsh tells Bishop Apots on Easter Monday: 'Hand my wife over to me, why are you keeping us apart?' Moreover, he started cursing and condemning God fiercely. And a priest told him: "Lord, why are you behaving and speaking so cruelly and cursing the bishop and Saint Shushanik?" Two *deacons* are mentioned in the text: one, who informs Iakob and Apots about Varsken's adoption of Mazdean religion, and the other – who tries to encourage the Queen and hides away halfway through his word for fear of Varsken. In addition, it cannot be excluded that the deacon mentioned twice in the text is the same person. As we see, the author does not consider it necessary to specify the names of these figures because they have no vital importance for the author's purpose. Moreover, of no importance is the name of the holy man, who is not connected with the events in Pitiakhsh's palace either.

In our opinion, the phrase "He went to his residence to ask about something" has an unambiguous context: accompanied by Iakob, the bishop went to a holy man to ask about something. This version is applied in the earliest copy – Parkhali Gospel. However, this phrase is missing in other manuscripts (they lack the ending – "about something"): "But Apots, the court bishop, was not there because he was visiting a holy man at his residence to ask after (or about something); and I, the Queen's confessor, too, was accompanying him at that residence" A130, 172; comp.: But Apots, the court bishop, was not there because he was visiting a holy man at his residence (*vani*) to ask after (or about something), and I, the Queen's confessor, too, was accompanying him at that residence" A170, 121; comp.: But Apots, the court bishop, was not there because he was visiting a holy man at his residence (*vani*) to ask after (or about something), and I, the Queen's confessor, too, was accompanying him at that residence" A170, 121; comp.: But Apots, the court bishop, was not there because he was visiting a holy man at his residence (*vani*) to ask after (or about something), and I, the Queen's confessor, too, was accompanying him at that residence" A 176. 198, etc.). As we see, only the phrase from Parkhali Gospel includes 'about something.' Based on the other manuscripts, E. Chelidze considers that Iakob and Apots were paying an ordinary visit to the man rather than intending to find out about something. This assumption seems correct if we ignore the reading preserved in Parkhali Gospel and draw a conclusion from the incomplete phrase – "was visiting."

Moreover, this form is encountered with precisely the same connotation at the beginning of the text (the servant sent by Varsken asked after Shushanik). However, it would be illogical to disregard the reading of the earliest copy and consider the version of the later manuscripts to be correct. We suggest that these two words (about something) were lost while copying, or if we consider editorial interference (which is less likely), then the scribe should be making corrections to the text according to the same logic as followed by E. Chelidze – the bishop would not go to a holy man to ask about something. However, if the bishop is unlikely to visit a religious figure, it is even more unlikely that he visited a secular one. Or, why the reason the researcher considered it possible for the bishop to visit a secular person cannot be the same as one for visiting a religious figure? These reasons could be the age, feebleness, illness of the holy man, or a specific vow.

Thus, if we believe the reading of the earliest copy is correct, i.e., restore the phrase to its original version (it is pointed out by E. Chelidze too – "Generally, it is indeed much more convincing that the later scribe, who interpreted "ask" as "putting a question" rather than asking after, added the word 'something' instead of extracting it"). There is no ground to cast doubt on this reading. It becomes clear that with lakob, the bishop went to a holy man – a religious figure - to ask about something; otherwise, the author would not use this epithet concerning him. However, the author does not specify his name for a simple reason – this man is not connected to the subject of his narrative. The author mentions him because Apots and himself went to this man to find out about something and because he probably could not go to the bishop due to his old age, illness, or a vow. Furthermore, attention should be paid to the pathos of the narrative of his section: "He went to a holy man to ask about something" – to the residence of **a** holy man to ask about *something*... It

means that in this context, neither the person is essential, which is why it is "a holy man," nor the subject, which the bishop tries to find out, that is why the problem is 'something.'

Let us find out what 'vani' (residence) might mean.

The sentence should be interpreted as follows: Apots went to the residence of a holy man to find out something. Let us consider the holy man to be a religious figure. It is logical that the *vani*, where he is, must be a religious facility, the residence of a religious figure – a cell or a monastery.

But which? Which form of the above-listed activities can be presumed? Did the man reside in solitude, or could *Vani* imply a monastic unity?

Christianity recognizes three primary forms of ascetic practice: *anachoretic, lavral* and *cenobitic*. Anachoretic means living in solitude, while a person leading this life is called an anchorite or a hermit. They would settle in a desert or some other secluded site and try to conceptualize and conceive the notion of God. This practice became a religious lifestyle because of the many followers of such asceticism in the third century. The most renowned site for solitary life chosen by anchorites was the Desert of Thebaid in Egypt).

Lavra was a unity of monks in which members were essentially hermits. Each followed their way of spiritual life, but they were united around a leader (abba) as a single sizeable religious family. On Sundays and feasts, the brethren of a lavra would congregate in a typical church and conduct liturgy together. Lavra monasticism was based on a close relationship with a specific virtuous person. There were no standard rules or a typicon, members of a lavra did not practice the tradition of dining together. Eventually, a lavra became a dense settlement, with the main church standing in the center and surrounded by a fence. Such architecture became a classical form of later-period Byzantine monasteries. After a certain period, a lavra was used to indicate simply a large monastery (Gabidzashvili, 2007, p. 476). *The Cenobitic* (κοινός+βίος, life in common) form of asceticism differed from the lavral one. It was based on the unity characterized by regulated community life of religious persons and strict discipline defined by the typicon.

What is the situation like in Georgia at the time?

K. Kekelidze suggests that the founding of early monasteries in Georgia must be associated with the beginning of activities of the Assyrian Fathers. M. Tamarash-

vili believes that in Georgia, "monastic life probably began not later than the fifth century since the priests sent from Constantinople or Antioch would not be able to ignore such a powerful means of distribution of the true faith" (Tamarashvili, 1995, pp. 334-345).

Based on recent research outcomes, D. Khoshtaria concludes that in Georgia, the first monasteries probably emerged not later than the fifth century, at least a century prior to the arrival of the Assyrian Fathers (Khoshtaria, 2001, p. 49). The scholar considers that the earliest source of the history of Georgian monasticism is the Greek inscription of the crypt of Tsilkani ("I, Tikas, and my monk, Abba Paranuses, built this crypt with hewn stones for ourselves"), which, in terms of structure, content and paleographic features, must belong to the fourth-fifth centuries and must point to the burial of the monks of the monastery. This is evidenced by the remains of a hall-type church, which must be a rather old construction, revealed just three meters from the crypt. D. Khoshtaria considers that when Saint Ise of Tsilkani arrives in Tsilkani, there already exists a cathedral there, and he is ordained a bishop: "And Saint Ise became the bishop of Tsilkani and the grave of him, blissful, is still visible there" (Abuladze 1063, p. 229).

In the same period, there was another monastery in Kartli; an account about it is found in a Syrian document of the sixth century – in an epistle of Toma, superior of Beit Mar Isaak Gabuleli, which, apart from other information, contains that about the arrival of Mar Simeon, a Syrian monk, in Georgia. This fact took place in the 540s-550s. In Georgia, he visited Tana Monastery and anathematized unworthy bishops. According to G. Abramishvili, Tana Monastery must indicate Ateni - the oldest and most important ecclesiastical centers of the Tana Gorge (Abramishvili, 1996, pp. 64-65). The original church was probably built here in the mid-fifth century, and this must also be the monastery's establishment date (Abramishvili, 1992, pp. 10-11). D. Khoshtaria suggests that the early dating of the monasteries of Ateni and Tsilkani gives grounds for our more careful approach to the account of the founding of Opiza Monastery in the second half of the fifth century, which is preserved in the 'Vita of Vakhtang Gorgasali' and which was considered to be an unreliable source by Georgian scholars (Kekelidze, Javakhishvili). Here, D. Khoshtaria notes that while discussing the early period of Georgian monasticism, it is necessary to consider the fact that a long time before the Assyrian fathers arrived in Kartli, there had existed Georgian monasteries in the Holy Land (mid-fifth century – the monastery of Iberians built by Peter the Iberian in Jerusalem, near Tower of David; the monastery of St. Theodore, discovered as a result of archaeological excavations near Bethlehem, as well as the monastery of Iberians in Jerusalem,

which Procopius of Caesarea mention, are also associated with the name of Peter the Iberian, etc.) (Khoshtaria, 2001, pp. 53-54).

Thus, researchers conclude that in the fifth century, Georgian monasteries existed in Georgia and abroad. In contrast, the arrival of the Assyrian Fathers in Kartli in the mid-sixth century gave rise to asceticism - an eastern (Syrian) monastic practice – and the emergence of numerous new monasteries.

In old Georgian, Vani is a polysemic term meaning 1. residence, dwelling: 'many people came to his residence (vani),' Acts 28:23; however, sakhe/sakhed is applied as its parallel from: "She (a Zoroastrian woman) came to Saint Shushanik to thank her and went back home (sakhed) delighted" (Abuladze 1063:23); "when dusk fell, she went to the entrance of the temple to the servants of his master, not to her home (sakhed)" (2 Kings, 11,13); 2. Monastery/cell: Hilarion the Iberian "built a monastery (vani), let his mother into it and donated villages to it"; "I am not to blame if anyone goes back to their monastery (vani) (Goguadze, 1986, p. 177) [comp.: savane -(+14.8 Jerem. ZA)- residence ZAB; daivana (26, 17 Genesis) - camped ZAa). In "The Life of Grigol of Khandzta," Vani is used in the context opposite the house: "He owned villages near the residence (savane) of Blissful Grigol, when Grigol saw the poverty of his disciples, with God's will, he went to the house of Gabriel Dapanchuli." (Abuladze 1063:258). At the same time, Vani and monastery are used as parallel forms: "Blissful Father Grigol searched carefully and found a suitable place near Gunatle, blessed it, and a monastery of nuns was built there, now called Gunatlis Vani. The priest conducting liturgy in this *monastery* (vani) was sent to Khandzta by Blissful Grigol on Gabriel's plea (Abuladze 1063:260). Moreover, they headed for the deserts in Samtskhe and Kartli and found two sites for the *monastery*, and built cells in both places. Tevdore's monastery (vani) was called Nedzvi, and that of Christepore – Kvirike-tsminda" (Abuladze 1063:279).

The above-mentioned gives grounds to assume that *vani*, where the holy man was staying, was a monastic complex, considering that we are dealing with the *cenobit-ic* form of monasticism here. But if this man is a hermit and ministers in solitude, then *vani* should mean a cell, a single-room residence of an anchorite.

Thus, in our opinion, the holy man is a religious person, a monk, whom Bishop Apots visits to ask about something. His dwelling -vani – is his cell, which could be the accommodation of an anchorite monk, or this cell could be part of a monastic complex since, as mentioned above, by this time in Georgia, there had already existed the communities of ecclesiastics that formed monasteries.

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Historiography

South Caucasus under the interests of the great empires (XVI-XVIII centuries)

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Abstract

This article examines the great empires' imperialist ambitions in the South Caucasus during the 16th -18th (in particular, till the 1720s) centuries. During this period, the region was under the control of two powerful eastern countries, Persia and the Ottomans, which threatened the region's stability. However, by the mid-sixteenth century, a new political landscape began to be shaped, with Moscow State as a third power with strategic interests in the region. Unlike Persia and the Ottomans, Russia adopted a comparatively diplomatic approach to its involvement in the region based on avoiding military confrontation whenever possible. Within the frames of the study, we employed the historical-comparative method, analyzed various historical facts, and conducted a systemic analysis to draw relevant conclusions. Our research included an examination of written sources in this period. Through this analysis, we discovered that Moscow's primary objective during this period was to maintain its position in the Caucasus by creating its influence on the individual South Caucasian governors. Our research also revealed that the Georgian kings and princes needed to understand the objectives of Russia's foreign policy despite their desire to be liberated from Persia and the Ottomans. This lack of understanding was partially conditioned by the complexity of Russia's regional strategic goals. Nevertheless, the common faith shared by Russia and Georgia provided a "good bait" for Russia to expand its influence in the region. In preparation for its eventual attack on the South Caucasus, Russia complied with various types of political, economic, and statistical information to ensure its success. The information was critical to the success of Russia's imperialist ambitions in the South Caucasus in the 16th - early 18th centuries.

Keywords: Caucasus, Russia, Ottomans, Persia, imperialist, empire

Introduction

The South Caucasus, situated strategically between the Black and Caspian seas and encompassing present-day Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, holds significant geopolitical importance. The focus of this report is to provide a comprehensive historical and political overview of this region spanning from the 16th century to the early 18th century.

Owing to its pivotal location, the South Caucasus has historically attracted the attention of major empires. Throughout antiquity and beyond, notable powers such as Achaemenid Persia, Rome, Sassanid Persia, Byzantium, the Arab Caliphate, Seljuk Turks, Mongols, Safavid Persia, Ottomans, and Russia vied for supremacy in this region.

The 16th century was particularly tumultuous as Georgia, fragmented into various kingdoms and principalities, found itself contending with two assertive Islamic states. The prolonged conflict spanning 40 years (1514-1555) between Safavid Persia and the Ottomans, intermittently punctuated by periods of ceasefire, culminated in the Treaty of Amasia. As per this truce, Persia and the Ottomans delineated their spheres of influence: Persia secured Eastern Georgia and the eastern portion of Samtskhi, while the Ottomans claimed Western Georgia and the western part of Samtskhi. Consequently, the historical region of Meskheti fell under Ottoman control.

Consequently, by the mid-16th century, the Caucasus region was under the dominion of two assertive Eastern powers – Persia and the Ottomans.

Subsequently, in the 1560s to 1580s, a new geopolitical landscape began to take shape. A third influential entity with its strategic objectives emerged in the region – the Moscow State. The Muscovite authorities initiated diplomatic relations with the Georgian royal principalities, including the kingdoms of Kakheti, Kartli, Imereti, and the Principality of Samegrelo.

The tangible diplomatic ties between Muscovy Russia and the Kingdom of Kakheti date back to January 1483, when King Alexander I of Kakheti dispatched an official delegation to Ivan III, the Grand Duke of Moscow, carrying a formal message. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the primary objective of Kakheti's monarchs in fostering close ties with Moscow was to preempt incursions from the North Caucasus, particularly from Dagestan's Shamkhali region. Simultaneously, the rulers of Kakheti, Kartli, Imereti, and Samegrelo believed that aligning with a robust Christian power would emancipate them from the influence of perennial adversaries - Persia and the Ottomans - and serve as a deterrent against further invasions.

Despite the absence of direct documentation, historical references indicate sustained diplomatic interactions between the Moscow kingdom and King Levan Kakhti during the 16th century. The Georgian monarchs and princes, unaware of the harsh realities of Ivan IV's regime and drawn by the prospect of an influential Christian state, sought favor with the newly emerging power. Concurrently, the Moscow kingdom was intrigued by Kakheti and Georgia's strategic position and economic prospects.

In 1586, envoys representing King Alexander II of Kakheti were received in Moscow, and in 1587, Moscow's ambassadors, Rodion Birkin and Peter Pivov presented the "book of oaths" to the King of Kakheti. However, this document did not explicitly benefit Russia in any tangible manner.

In the 17th century, the ascendancy of Iran's influence in Eastern Georgia disrupted Georgian-Russian relations. Internal upheavals within Russia itself marked this period. Foreign interventions and peasant uprisings plunged the country into a catastrophe (Zhuzhunashvili, 2006, p. 280). Naturally, these domestic tumults reverberated in Russia's external engagements. The nation ceded territories in its western and northwestern frontiers. Adding to this turmoil was Wladyslaw, son of Polish King Sigismund III, laying claim to the Russian throne. Consequently, Russia faced three primary challenges during the 17th century:

- 1. The consolidation of Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian territories in the west entailed grappling with the Kingdom of Poland.
- 2. The conflict with Sweden to secure access to the Baltic Sea.
- 3. The defense against relentless incursions by the Ottoman Empire and its vassal, the Crimean Khanate, into the central and border regions of the state (Saitidze, 1995, p. 302).

Simultaneously, Russia maintained ostensibly amicable relations with Iran, motivated by economic ties (foreign trade) and shared geopolitical interests (common adversary - the Ottoman Empire). Evidence of this lies in the exchange of 35 diplomatic missions between the two countries from 1588 to 1676, with 20 missions from Russia and 15 from Iran (Zhuzhunashvili, 206, p. 284). Consequently, Russia's trade, economic, and political interests precluded direct military aid to Georgia against Iran. Throughout the 17th century, Russia and Iran endeavored to outwardly sustain favorable diplomatic ties. However, Russia concurrently sought ideological dominance in the South Caucasus to secure a reliable foothold for prospects. Notably, Christianity emerged as a pivotal factor in this context; the Georgian monarchs perceived a unified Christian Russia as a means to emancipate themselves from Islamic Iran and the Ottomans, a sentiment Russia also found advantageous.

In the 1620s, Persia orchestrated devastating campaigns in Kakheti, resulting in the deportation of 200 thousand individuals to the Fereydan, Khorasan, and Mazandaran provinces of Iran. Numerous cities and villages razed during this period were never reconstructed. Turkmen populations began settling in the depopulated territories of Ivri and Alazni. King Teimuraz I revived diplomatic channels with Russia to address this dire situation. Concurrently, as Persia and the Ottomans, arch-antagonists, reached a truce and partitioned the South Caucasus anew, Teimuraz I perceived Russia as the sole power capable of aiding the Georgians. The Georgian rulers naively hoped that involving a new Christian nation in the Persian-Ottoman conflict would tilt the scales in their favor. Consequently, Teimuraz I actively dispatched envoys to Moscow seeking explicit assistance. However, Moscow's response appeared somewhat detached; Mikheil Teudorez dze expressed concern for their plight and advised them to seek help from "the Almighty God."

Following Shah Abbas I's ruinous campaigns in 1625, Teimuraz I sought Russia's assistance again and dispatched ambassadors. Moscow reciprocated with an embassy, yet the envoys returned with hollow assurances. Throughout the 1630s to the 1660s, embassies continued actively. Georgian monarchs and princes (Levan II, Chief of Odisha, Alexander III, King of Imereti, Teimuraz I, King of Kakheti) collectively implored Russia to liberate them from Ottoman and Persian dominance and assist in their struggle against these powers.

During the politics of the Persian Shahs, one of the most contentious issues revolved around the religious allegiance of the Georgian kings. Beginning in the 1630s, regardless of the merits held by the Georgian king in the eyes of Persia, no king would receive the Shah's approval without adhering to Islamic law. Those Georgian kings and princes who converted to Islam were granted prestigious positions within the Persian court. They held significant roles as Qularaghas and Tarughs in Isfahan for nearly a century and a half. The presence of Georgians in the Persian army was notably extensive.

Despite outward displays of satisfaction, the Shah handled Georgian affairs with meticulous caution, employing various imperial methods to ensure complete compliance: bribery, intimidation, confrontation, and other coercive measures. Persia strategically intertwined the royal lineages of Kartli and Kakheti, deliberately weakening them and facilitating their subjugation and defeat. This policy was initiated in the 17th century and persisted into the 18th century.

From the 1620s to the 1720s, Russia's approach toward the Caucasus was primarily intelligence-oriented. The nation thoroughly assessed Georgia's distinct kingdoms and principalities' political, religious, and economic landscapes. This encompassed internal relations and the kingdoms' stances regarding the Ottomans, Iran, and the North Caucasus. Perfect intelligence would have facilitated Russia's expansion in the Caucasus. Through embassies in the 16th and 17th centuries, Russia meticulously examined the South Caucasus' geographical layout and access routes.

Consequently, detailed descriptions of regions such as Samegrelo, Imereti, Kakheti, Dagestan, and North Azerbaijan were compiled. The instructions provided to Russian ambassadors before departure to Georgia are exciting. In the 16th century, these instructions were rather general. However, with Russia's growing interest in the South Caucasus, refined instructions and specific questionnaires were developed in the 17th century. Two primary types of questionnaires emerged: political and statistical-economic. The political questionnaire entailed detailed descriptions of the political landscape, while the statistical-economic questionnaire aimed at gathering comprehensive information regarding geographical features, population, economic status, military potential, political sentiments, and attitudes. In certain instances, a third questionnaire concerning religious matters accompanied these two, prompting Georgians to demonstrate adherence to Orthodox tenets.

Drawing from these inquiries, detailed descriptions of different regions of Georgia were produced in the 17th century. Fedot Yelchin documented Samegrelo, Danil Mishetski wrote about Kakheti, while Nikifore Tolochanov and Alexi Yevlev penned descriptions of Imereti. Russia endeavored to portray itself as a peace-lov-ing, Christian, and civilized entity in the Caucasus, aiming to foster amicable relations with neighboring nations and safeguard the security of bordering populations.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, Russia lacked sufficient strength and opportunities to openly launch an assault on the Caucasus. The global geopolitical landscape did not favor such endeavors. During this period, Moscow's efforts focused on securing its foothold in the Caucasus, gradually consolidating influence among Caucasian chieftains. The gathering of diverse political, economic, and statistical information marked this period. Effectively, this era served as preparation for Russia's future advances into the Caucasus. Simultaneously, Georgian kings and princes needed a comprehensive understanding of Russian foreign policy's primary directions.

At the onset of the 18th century, Persian-influenced kingdoms once again installed rulers upon their acceptance of Islam. Among those who resisted this religious con-

version was Vakhtang VI, supported by the eminent Georgian writer Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani. Georgia faced Persian aggression not just physically but also in terms of national identity during this time. The contributions of figures such as Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, Davit Guramishvili, and Vakhtang VI and their intellectual circles were significant.

Vakhtang faced imprisonment in Persia due to his refusal to convert to Islam. Disturbed by the Shah's policies, he sought to counter Persian aggression with the aid of European nations. Sensing Persia's relative vulnerability, Vakhtang sought to disengage from Persian influence and placed hope in the Pope of Rome and the King of France.

An embassy dispatched to Europe, led by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, witnessed his self-sacrifice by adopting Catholicism to facilitate dialogue with the Pope and the French King. However, the embassy (1713-1715) failed as Europe was reluctant to confront Persia because of Georgia. Negotiations at the French King Louis XIV's court and Pope Clement XI's court concluded fruitlessly. Consequently, Vakhtang was compelled to convert to Islam and was appointed as an ambassador and commander of the Persian army by the Shah.

Subsequently, between 1716 and 1721, the Kartli kingdom's normal relations with the Persian court were reestablished. However, the Georgian king and his cohorts, disillusioned with this relationship, pinned their hopes on Russia and sought to distance themselves from their former conqueror.

The king of Kartli's pro-Russian inclinations strengthened during his time in Persia, catalyzed by the Shah's hostile policies toward him and Russia's successes in the Northern War. In 1715, Russian Emperor Peter I dispatched Ambassador Artem Volynsky to Persia, tasked with gathering intelligence and initiating diplomatic ties with the South Caucasus, specifically the Kingdom of Kartli. The embassy proved successful; Volynsky established contact with the Kartli king and signed a trade agreement between Russia and Persia.

Peter the Great aimed to exploit the already weakened Persia-Ottoman axis, primarily for economic gains in these regions. Since the 18th century, Russia's interest in the South Caucasus, notably Georgia, became pronounced as Mediterranean and East Asian issues became pivotal in politics. This marked the commencement of Russia's aggressive policy toward Georgia, initially camouflaged under a veneer of peace and diplomacy. During this era, Peter the Great formulated his imperialist plan, envisioning the subjugation of the Caucasus and the establishment of Russian dominance in the region. Consequently, from the 18th century onwards, the Rus-

sian Empire actively pursued its expansion into the South Caucasus.

During the late 17th and early 18th centuries, Western Georgia remained within the sphere of Ottoman political influence. The kings of Imereti, alongside the leaders of Odisha, Guria, and Abkhazia, were among those claimed by the Ottoman Sultan, manifesting their compliance by sending annual tribute to the Sultan. Despite this, the rulers of Western Georgia diligently sought ways to break free from Ottoman dominance. The Abkhazians, acutely aware of the peril posed by Ottoman rule in Western Georgia, joined forces with other Georgian factions in resisting the invaders, setting aside their conflicts with Samegrelo for this united cause. Abkhazia faced internal strife compounded by Ottoman incursions, making it challenging for Abkhaz princes to maintain control. The practice of purchasing captives became widespread in this period. Seeking relations with a unified Russia emerged as the favored path for the kings and princes of Western Georgia to liberate themselves from Ottoman influence.

Around the early 1720s, under the Ottoman Empire's instigation, attacks by the Leks on Persia and its associated territories escalated. Lek detachments emerged in Daruband, Shemakha, Ganja, and Kartl-Kakheti. Georgians actively engaged in combat against the Leks.

In 1720, Russian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Artem Volynsk persuaded Vakhtang VI that Peter the Great harbored considerable goodwill toward Christians and assured the Georgian king of Russia's support in his struggle against Muslim powers.

Peter the Great's strategic maneuvering in the Caspian Sea campaign was astutely calculated:

- 1. Peter refrained from formalizing a written military-political agreement with Vakhtang, thus avoiding legal obligations, as his primary objective was not solely to assist Kartli but to safeguard Russia's interests.
- 2. He informed the Persian Shah that the campaign aimed to chastise his adversaries the Dagestanis.
- 3. Anticipating the Ottoman Empire's adverse reaction to Russia's Caspian campaign, Peter signed a treaty with the Ottomans in Istanbul in 1720, thereby neutralizing Ottoman hostility in potential future conflicts.

Kartli's involvement in the war stemmed from a singular motive: an invitation from a potent Christian monarch requesting aid in battling a common enemy. Vakhtang had firm confidence in Peter's potential victory. However, Russia's strategic Caucasian policies and imperial ambitions did not align with establishing a Christian union in the South Caucasus under Vakhtang's leadership. Russia aimed to conquer the Caucasus, expel the Persian Ottomans, and assert dominance in the region, diverging from Vakhtang's aspirations.

During Peter the Great's era, his initial aspirations to implement a specific project fell short. Nevertheless, subsequent Russian authorities persisted in advancing toward a similar objective.

In 1722, Russia commenced a military campaign against Persia, an endeavor also involving Vakhtang VI, the king of Kartli. Vakhtang and the Russian emperor pursued distinct aims: while both sought to defeat Persia, Vakhtang, with Russia's backing, aimed to establish a robust Georgian state in the region, whereas Peter sought dominance over the Caspian Sea and Eastern Georgia. These conflicting interests rendered the Russian-Georgian alliance inherently untenable.

Events unfolded as anticipated. In 1722, Peter mobilized a sizable army towards Astrakhan, while Vakhtang anticipated reaching the Persian borders soon, planning to confront the Leks and jointly invade Persia. Vakhtang, leading a force of 30-40 thousand soldiers, eagerly awaited the arrival of the Russian army in the Caspian Sea. Despite numerous appeals from Vakhtang to Peter, the latter did not arrive. Peter's reversal left Vakhtang isolated against the adversary. Consequently, in July 1722, Vakhtang VI ventured into Russia with a meager force of 1200 men.

On September 13, 1723, a treaty between Russia and Persia was concluded in St. Petersburg. Persia ceded Caspian cities like Baku and Daruband to Russia in exchange for Russian assistance against the Afghans and Leks. With the Ottomans also asserting claims on these territories, Russia geared up for a potential conflict but temporarily opted for a truce. The 1724 truce acknowledged Ottoman supremacy in Eastern Georgia under Article X. Russia's endorsement of this agreement amounted to an apparent betrayal of Georgia, especially Vakhtang VI, prioritizing its own country's interests over others. The shameful nature of this agreement was such that the Russians themselves refrained from incorporating its complete text into any collection of diplomatic documents.

Russia's actions deliberately contributed to the downfall of the Kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti. Initially, Russia sought to exploit it to fulfill its imperial objectives, later relinquishing it to Georgia's adversary, the Ottomans.

In conclu sion:

1. During the 15th to 17th centuries, Georgian rulers made significant con-

cessions, hoping for substantial aid from their powerful Christian northern neighbor. Despite their concessions, including sending their descendants to Moscow as honorable hostages, they received nominal gifts, unfulfilled promises, and ineffective, condescending handouts rather than genuine military support.

- 2. In the early 18th century, Russia seized Persian territories amidst Persia's weakened state but acquiesced to Ottoman claims, acknowledging its dominance over the South Caucasus.
- 3. The Russian emperor disregarded the pledges made by the King of Kartli through diplomats, taking a step detrimental to Georgian King Vakhtang VI, tantamount to destroying statehood and precipitating a national tragedy.

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THE SECRET DIPLOMACY OF TURKISH NATIONALISTS AND THE SOVIETS IN 1919

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Abstract.

Following the Treaty of Mudros, a pivotal moment in the history of the weakened Ottoman Empire, Turkish nationalist forces emerged and initiated a struggle for national liberation. To achieve success in this endeavor, it became imperative to establish a strategic alliance with a party that shared common interests with Turkish nationalists and was amenable to providing military assistance. In this context, amidst the conflict against imperialist forces, Soviet Russia emerged as the sole viable guarantor of survival. The Bolshevik leadership, recognizing the need for an ally in the south, perceived the Kemalist revolution as a means of propagating socialism and replacing pan-Islamist ideologies with revolutionary nationalism.

This paper delves into the historical events at the onset of the national liberation movement in Turkey. Its primary objective is to identify the key individuals involved in negotiations between the Kemalist Turks and the Bolsheviks and to elucidate the dynamics of these negotiations. The study employs qualitative research methods, particularly descriptive and historical event interpretation methods, to substantiate hypotheses and contextualize the alliance between the Bolsheviks and Turkish nationalists. Furthermore, this research endeavors to ascertain the negotiators' identities through an analysis of primary sources.

Through a rigorous examination of historical facts and analysis, our study concludes that the alliance between the Bolsheviks and the Kemalist Turks was forged out of mutual interest. The initial meeting between Georgian Chekists and Turkish nationalists in Havza played a pivotal role in forming this alliance, which, in turn, had profound ramifications for global geopolitics and the fate of the South Caucasus.

Keywords: Bolsheviks; Ataturk; Turkish nationalists; Kazim Karabekir; Karakol

Introduction.

After signing a temporary truce at Port Mudros, the Ottoman Empire capitulated and surrendered to the Entente powers. The Young Turks Unity and Progress Party triumvirate, which has been at the head of the state for years - Talat Pasha, Cemal Pasha, and Enver Pasha fled abroad. (Oreshkova, et al., 1982). On December 8, 1918, the United Army of the Entente States entered Istanbul and established the United Allied Administration. At the beginning of March 1919, the Freedom and Consent Party, which supported England, came to the head of the state. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved by order of the Sultan. On the order of the Sultan, the persecution of the government of the Young Turks began. On February 8, the French general Franchet d'Esperey, like Mehmed, the conqueror, entered the city riding a white horse gifted by the Greeks. (Bernard, 1968). On November 26, 1919, the court declared Enver and Cemal Pasha guilty. (Bernard, 1968). The Entente fleet entered the straits, and the English occupied Mosul and Iskenderun. The French had occupied the north of the Ottoman Empire, from Syria onwards, and Italy - south-eastern Anatolia, including Konya. In addition, on May 15, 1919, the Greek army, with the consent of the Entente, entered Izmir. (Oreshkova, et al., 1982). British occupation units entered the South Caucasus. The British army commander, William Montgomery Thomson, demanded the Turkish army immediately leave Baku and then, in a month, leave the entire South Caucasus. (Chachkhiani, 2013). "The Ottoman Empire was defeated, the Ottoman army was disbanded, and the state was forced to sign a cease-fire agreement that included devastating conditions for the Ottomans. The people were tired and impoverished from the long war. Those who dragged the nation and the country into the world war fled the country to save themselves. The Sultan thought only of saving the throne and the Caliphate. The government headed by Damat Ferit Pasha was humble, weak, cowardly, and obedient only to the wishes of the Padishah." (Ataturk, 1981)

Methods

This paper delves into the historical events at the onset of the national liberation movement in Turkey. Its primary objective is to identify the key individuals involved in negotiations between the Kemalist Turks and the Bolsheviks and to elucidate the dynamics of these negotiations. The study employs qualitative research methods, particularly descriptive and historical event interpretation methods, to substantiate hypotheses and contextualize the alliance between the Bolsheviks and Turkish nationalists. Furthermore, this research endeavors to ascertain the negotiators' identities through an analysis of primary sources.

Results and Discussion

Dissatisfaction among the Turkish population gradually grew more assertive. The revolutionary mood that began in 1919 swept the masses of workers in Anatolia. Guerrilla detachments appeared in almost every district, waging a guerilla war against the occupiers. (Oreshkova, et al., 1982). At precisely this time, Mustafa Kemal Atatürki enters the arena. On his initiative, in December 1918, a contradictory guerilla group was created - the Society for the Protection of Rights. (Müsafaa i Hukuk). (Bernard, 1968). On May 19, 1919, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk arrived in Samsun. This date is considered the beginning of the national liberation battle. (Svanidze, 2007). Protest rallies began; on May 23, 1919, a large rally was organized in Sultan Ahmed Square; on May 28, a clash occurred in Anatolia between the Greek army and Turkish partisans. On June 20, 1919, a secret meeting was held in Amasia, attended by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Rauf Bey, Refet Bey, and Ali Fuat Jebesoy. Several vital resolutions were adopted at this conference and sent to all military and civilian organizations involved in the counter-movement against the Entente: 1. The country's sovereignty is under threat. 2. The government of Istanbul does not fulfill its duties. 3. The nation itself ensures the independence of the country. 4. It is necessary to create a national government that will voice the demands of the Turkish nation. 5. A national congress should be convened in Sivas.

As soon as the national liberation battle started, it became necessary to search for an ally. At that time, the situation in Soviet Russia was not peaceful either. The counter-revolutionary movement of the White movement led by Anton Denikin posed a significant threat to the security of Soviet Russia, and the war with Poland continued. Allied fleets entered the straits; Baku and Batumi came under the British protectorate and posed a significant threat to the southern border of Soviet Russia. After November 21, 1918, the Black Sea coast came under British and French control.

Along with French liaison officers, Greek military units appeared in Odessa to protect the region from the Bolsheviks. In the same period, around December, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Government, Pavle Milukov, arrived in Istanbul and asked his allies for help in the fight against the Bolsheviks. (Kurat,2011). The Allies also tried to use the Ottomans in the battle against the Bolsheviks. In April 1919, British intelligence officer Beneti Mustafa visited Kemal Atatürk's home in Istanbul and offered to fight with Denikin against the Bolsheviks; in return, he promised to leave Thrace and Istanbul. (Yerasımos, 2000). The use of Turkish military power by the British against Soviet Russia was in favour of the Turkish reactionary forces. Rauf Bey, who attended the Mudros meetings,

claimed that the unity of Turkey and England would ensure Turkey's return to the Caucasus borders of 1876. (Shamsudinov,1999). Ali Fuat Jebesoi evaluates the British policy of this period as follows: "Neither General Denikin nor General Wrangel nor the foreign forces could prevent anarchy in the Caucasus. The Bolsheviks, with their propaganda, tried to bring the situation under control. If England had a correct policy in the East, then Denikin's and Wrangler's troops would not have tried to restore the tsarist regime there. Moreover, with the help of the Turkish military units of Ahmed Izet Pasha, the Federation of the Caucasus would be created, and in this way, we would have a strong base against the threat from Russia in the East." (Cebesoy, 1982).

These political changes gave a push to the beginning of the relationship between Soviet Russia and Turkish nationalists. For both the Turkish nationalists and the Bolsheviks, the "struggle against imperialism" in the context of the revolution of the world proletariat was also acceptable. As Stalin mentions in his article "C Востока свет" (A Light from the East): "Gradually, the wave of the liberation movement is moving inexorably from east to west in the occupied regions.... The motto of bourgeois nationalism "all power to the national bourgeoisie" has been replaced by the motto "all power to the working masses of the oppressed nations!" A year ago, after the October coup, the liberation movement was carried out with the same motto. The bourgeois-nationalist "states" created at that time tried to stop the wave of the socialist movement coming from Russia, they declared war on the Soviet government... German imperialism stopped the liberation movement on the borders, and the power was shifted to the bourgeois-nationalist "states ."Moreover, after the destruction of German imperialism, after the expulsion of the occupying forces, the liberation movement has been rekindled in a clearer form." ("Правда" [Pravda]№ 273). Therefore, cooperation with Turkish nationalists in the fight against "imperialism" was also promising for the Bolsheviks. In 1918, before the national liberation movement broke out in Anatolia, the strategic favour of the Bolsheviks among the Turkish high-ranking military was already noticeable. Even Kiazim Karabekir advocated strategic cooperation with the Bolsheviks to stop British expansion in Batumi and the South Caucasus. "To protect pan-Turkism in the Caucasus and protect it from Georgian and Armenian imperialism, we must adapt to Soviet rule. If we do so, Akhaltsikhe and Borchalo will also come under Soviet rule in the region, besides Kars, Batumi, and Artaan. They will be freed from the occupation of Georgia. Therefore, I am on the side of the Bolsheviks,"- claims the Division Commander Kiazim Karabekir, and so he continues: "The last hope of the Muslim population of Batumi to free themselves from Georgian captivity (!) is to recognize Bolshevism." (Karabekir, 1960).

The meeting of Turkish nationalists and representatives of Soviet Russia did not happen suddenly. Preparation for the meeting began after the Bolshevik coup in Ottoman Turkey. The ideology of Marxism had a significant influence on Ottoman political circles. Since 1918, Turkish communists Mustafa Sufi, Suleiman Sami, Husein Hilm, and others have been actively appearing in the arena. In 1918, the party of communist ideology Türk Halk İştirakiyun Partisi (People's Communist Party of Turkey) was founded. Since 1917, under the editorship of Mustafa Sami, the newspaper "New World" (Yeni Dünya) has been published in Moscow, in which he called for rapprochement between Soviet Russia and Turkey. Decisions and speeches made by Soviet leaders were printed in the same newspaper. (Vandov, 1982). On November 4, 1918, a plenum of the Communist Party of Muslim Peoples was held in Moscow, attended by the Turkish Communist Mustafa Sufi. In his speech at this congress, Stalin stated that the main task was to organize a united revolutionary front. (Chachkhiani, 2013). In 1919, the Socialist Party of Turkey was founded by Huseyin Hilm and Mustafa Fazil. In the beginning, the leader of the party, Husein Hilm, supported the Marxist-Leninist ideology; however, after being bribed by British intelligence, he claimed the need to cooperate with the Entente states. (Vandov, 1982). Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha, and Cemal Pasha, the leaders of the triumvirate in Germany, met in Germany in 1919 the ardent German Communist Karl Radek, who was imprisoned in the uprising organized by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Linecht. Radek was so fascinated by the meeting with Enver Pasha that he actively brought Turkey and the International together after he was released from prison. All of Enver Pasha's studies during this period in 1919-1920 were aimed at bringing the Islamic countries closer to the International and defeating British imperialism in the Islamic world together with Soviet Russia. (Savran, 2020)

There are different opinions of when the first meeting of Bolsheviks and Turkish nationalists occurred. At the end of 1918, the Turkish nationalists were already looking to establish ties with the Bolsheviks. During this period, Major Husrev's rather extensive letter from Havza to Kiazim Karabekir testifies, in which he states that "Bolshevikism can become the basis of unity in the fight against the injustice of the imperialists." (Karabekir,1960). Kazim Karabekir was initially suspicious of the prospect of cooperation with the Bolsheviks. However, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk thought that "if Turkey supports the exit of the Bolsheviks in the Caucasus and we act together with them from the West to the East, all doors will open in Anatolia, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and India." Karabekir calls this statement of Atatürk baseless because. He says: "How can we be sure that if the Bolsheviks defeat Denikin's army, they will not enter the Caucasus, or the governments of Azerbaijan

and Georgia will not reconcile with the Bolsheviks or organize an internal coup... The main thing is not to open a new front with the Bolsheviks and to join forces with them on the eastern front, to protect them from the threat from Armenians and Georgians, and to transfer our military units stationed in the East to the West. Also, we should get weapons, ammunition, and money from the Bolsheviks. Therefore, it is necessary to open the door for the Bolsheviks in Anatolia in advance and put them in danger," writes Karabekir. - "Ataturk and some other officers are ardent supporters of Bolsheviks, and I have expressed my opinion several times in writing that if we make a mistake, we will trample our interests under the feet of the Bolsheviks." (Karabekir,1960).

The first concrete connections have already been observed since the spring of 1919. For the Bolsheviks, Ali Fuat Jebesoy recalls a letter sent by Talat Pasha to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk at the end of 1919, in which he writes that the national liberation movement started in Anatolia caused great admiration. According to Talat Pasha, the leaders of the Bolsheviks in Germany agreed to assist the national movement. For this purpose, Enver and Cemal Pasha went to Russia and waited for further directives from Mustafa Kemal Pasha. (Cebesoy, 1953). The first connections between the Turkish nationalists and the Bolsheviks were made at this time, specifically in Havza. The fact that the meeting between Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the unknown Bolshevik was not in vain is evidenced by the memory of the head of the intelligence of the Turkish army, Husametin Erturki: "Mustafa Kemal was well aware of how difficult the road he was standing on. Even one mistake could destroy the goals. Courage was needed to start a united national movement, and weapons and ammunition were needed for the battle. Where and from whom should we get all this? It had to be a country against England's expansion in Asia and had a soft policy. We were forced to choose a country to help us with weapons and money against the victorious countries. After the meetings held in Havza, Mustafa Kemal went on a new path; after the meetings, we were provided with help from Russia." (Nafiz, 2012).

Based on the memories of Husametin Erturki, several researchers believe that the first meeting between Mustafa Kemal and the Russian Bolsheviks should have occurred in Havza in May or June. To determine the identity of the Russian Bolshevik, we will bring the opinions of several researchers to the meeting. Russian researcher Stanislav Tarasov believes that it must have been Semyon Budion, whom Stalin assigned to negotiate. (Tarasov,2009)According to another opinion, a meeting did take place in Havza, but not with the Bolsheviks, but with the Turkish communists from Odessa, led by Mustafa Sufi, where the prospects of assistance to the national

liberation struggle launched in Anatolia were discussed. After this meeting, as Stefanos Yerasimos writes, the delegates returned to Odessa. However, due to attacks by Denikin's detachments, Mustafa Sufi's group joined the 12th Red Army and fled to Moscow. (Yerasimos, 2000). Russian author Alexander Kolesnikov cannot give an exact date. However, he supports the idea that the relationship between the Bolsheviks and Turkish nationalists also began in May 1919. (Kolesnikov, 2010).

Alexander Ushakov, the author of Ataturk's biography, believes that the meeting occurred not in Havza but in Amasia. As he writes in Amasia, "Mustafa Kemal first talked about tactical cooperation with the Bolsheviks. Nothing was surprising in the fact that Kemal, for whom the communist ideology was completely unacceptable, still agreed to cooperate with the Bolsheviks ... because he believed that a compromise was necessary." The author does not believe Ataturk met Semyon Budion in Havza in 1919. who also promised money and weapons.

Along with all this, Semyon offered Communism to Ataturk, as the author writes: "To make the Turkish brothers happy in the fight against the bloody bourgeois for a bright future." This opinion of Ushakov is baseless because Atatürk himself, later, on January 3, 1921, speaking at the tribune of the Mejlis, said that no one had asked him to be a communist in order to start a partnership, just as "we did not say that we decided to become communists in order to establish friendly relations." (Atatürk et al. Book 10, p. 248). The author believes that Budion would be less likely to represent the Bolsheviks, as "Lenin and Trotsky were unlikely to send a cavalryman who barely spoke Russian to such an important meeting when other, smarter people could have been found in his place." (Ushakov,2002). A researcher of the history of relations between Soviet Russia and Ataturk, Mehmed Ferinchek, also does not share the opinion that Semyon Budion attended the meeting between the Turkish nationalists and the representative of the Bolsheviks from the Soviet government. In July 1919, Budion was appointed as the commander of the cavalry, and due to his duties, he could not come to Turkey. According to him, it must have been Budu <dovani. "His name was misunderstood and attributed to a more unknown person, Budion." Budu Mdivani held high positions for years, and in 1920, he was the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Turkey. Therefore, Atatürk might have met with him. (Perinchek, 2007).

Another researcher of the relations between Soviet Russia and Turkey, Dimitri Vandov, believes that the representative of Soviet Russia, whom Atatürk's supporters met with at the end of 1919, was Shalva Eliava. This opinion is not baseless because, in 1919, Shalva Eliava was the chairman of the Turkestan Affairs Commission of the Executive Committee of Soviet Russia. In 1920, he was appointed as

the plenipotentiary representative of Russia in Ottoman and Iran; however, due to his illness, he sent Jan Upmal to perform his duties. Ali Fuat Jebeso also confirms that Shalva Eliava was the representative of Soviet Russia in negotiations with Turkish nationalists. "The Russian commander who secretly arrived in Istanbul" he titles this chapter and writes: The Bolsheviks, who are at the head of the Russian state, are at war with the Entente countries on various fronts. They declared that they were ready to provide material and military assistance to save the East from the influence of imperialists and capitalism. After the Sivas Congress (September 4, 1919), Comrade Shalva Eliava, the commander of the Caucasian Bolshevik detachments of Soviet Russia, secretly arrived in Istanbul to ascertain the situation created in the Ottoman Empire. Shalva Eliava, with the help of the representatives of our partisan movement in Istanbul, contacted us and said that they are ready to support the Turkish people in the fight against the imperialists." (Cebesoy, 1960 Ali Fuat Jebesoi recalls another essential fact, which is also related to the first attempt at negotiations with Soviet Russia. This fact concerns the story that happened in Berlin, where Talat Pasha was contacted by Redek, one of the representatives of the Third International, who asked to send Jemal Pasha and Enver Pasha to Moscow and promised to help these two generals in Anatolia. Jemal Pasha and Enver Pasha went to Moscow at different times. In Ali Fuat Jebesoi's memoirs, he cites a letter from Cemal Pasha as a sign of the beginning of these negotiations, in which he writes that the Russians are "sending us an ambassador. This ambassador is Eliava, who is said to be a professional, serious person. It seems that they want to send an ambassador from you to Russia. They (Russians) believe the cooperation agreement between Turkey and Russia must be signed." (Cebesoy, 1960). This letter is dated June 11, 1920, and was written by Ali Fuat Pasha because the Bolshevik government would send a person who was well aware of the issues of the East, specifically Turkey, as the first ambassador. We can assume that Shalva Eliava was the representative of Soviet Russia who appeared with Secretary Budu during the first contact with the Turkish nationalists.

We are still determining whether the first meeting between the Bolsheviks and Ataturk was about accepting Bolshevism. Still, the acceptance or non-acceptance of the Bolshevism ideology caused a significant difference of opinion among Turkish nationalists, as evidenced by the memoirs of Ataturk's commander, Kiazim Karabekir. Above, we quoted an excerpt from Kazim Karabekri's memoirs, showing how cautious he was about the Bolsheviks. Even in 1919, when there was a specific meeting between the two sides in Havza, the argument about Bolshevism continued among Turkish nationalists. On June 16, 1919, Atatürk Kiazim sent a letter to Karabekir, precisely after the secret meeting held in Havza, where he wrote about

the necessity of cooperation with the Bolsheviks: "Once again we consulted and agreed that Bolshevism, as an ideology... has nothing to do with faith and tradition and, therefore, does not pose a threat to our country. However, ... it is necessary to act so that we do not put our homeland under the threat of the expansion of the Bolsheviks, and the partner forces are far from our country. They were...Let us not wait for the first proposal from the Bolsheviks; let us select a reliable person from there (Kazan et al. are meant) to start negotiations." (Atatürk'ün Bütün Eserleri, 2004). It seems that the differences of opinion around Bolshevism lasted for a long time. Even in the February 29, 1920 letter, Kemal Atatürk did not rule out accepting the ideology of Bolshevism, if necessary. An excerpt from the letter addressed to Talat Pasha: "Our cooperation with the Bolsheviks was limited to joint action against common enemies... Even today, money and other needs are urgent for us. The recognition of the Bolshevik principles may be unimaginable today, but in case of need... To preserve the unity of our homeland and save our people from the pressure of England, if the solution is to recognize the principles of the Bolsheviks, despite the great difficulty, we must consider our existing forces and think again about this matter." (Atatürk'ün Bütün Eserleri, 2004). Turkish nationalists were indeed faced with a great dilemma. The prospect of cooperation with the Russian Bolsheviks was viewed with caution, but there was no alternative in the political arena. The leaders of the Communist Party of Turkey were also actively involved in the process of rapprochement with the Soviet Union and Turkish nationalists. As we have seen above, some researchers believe that the Turkish Communist Mustafa Sufi was the first to discuss with Atatürk the prospect of rapprochement with Soviet Russia. However, this opinion is equally unfounded since the meeting between Atatürk and Mustafa Sufi occurred in August 1920, which is mentioned in Mustafa Sufi's letter to Stalin. This opinion is developed by Mehmed Ferinchek, a researcher of Russian-Turkish relations, with whom we also agree. The Russian communists did not ignore the differences of opinion among the Turkish nationalists. In the meeting of Atatürk with the Turkish Communist mentioned above, Mustafa Sufi says that "the government of Anatolia is far from the ideology of Communism and is foreign to its principles, this may raise suspicions about Turkey in Russia. To be sure that Russia will help you, Turkey should, therefore, be open to meetings with the communists." (Perinchek, 2007). Grigory Zinoviev, one of the leaders of the Russian Bolsheviks, said the same thing: "Mustafa Kemal's policy is the policy of the Communist International; that is, it is not our policy. However, we are still ready to help the rebellion linked to the rise of British imperialism." (Cebesoy 1982).

One way or another, Turkish nationalists were still looking for ways to get closer

to the Russian Bolsheviks. A few months after the Sivas Congress, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk sent Halil Pasha to Soviet Russia as an ambassador. (Perinchek, 2007) Halil Pasha served in the Caucasus after World War I and was captured by the British. There are different opinions regarding the place of captivity. Ali Fuat Jebesoi writes in his memoirs that the British captured him in Bekir Agha's company and, as the researcher Yerasimos writes, also in Batumi. Along with Halil Pasha, the commander of the Islamic Army, Nuri Pasha, was also in prison. (Yarasimos, 2000). He escaped from prison on August 7, 1919, with the help of the secret organization "Karakol." In the memoirs of Ali Fuat Jebesoy, Halil Pasha mentions a certain Mulazim Shadi who was directly involved in his escape. (Cebesoy, 1982). and went to Ankara, where he met Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. We quote Halil Pasha's account of this meeting from the memoirs of Ali Fuat Jebesoi: "We want you to go to the East," - said Mustafa Kemal - "you should help us establish relations with the Bolsheviks; after establishing contact with them, we should try to get weapons, ammunition, and money from them as aid." Atatürk's choice of Halil Pasha was unsurprising because he "served in the Caucasian army and knew the Bolsheviks well." (Cebesoy, 1982). Atatürk sent Halil Pasha to Baku in the East. where "a large part was already Sovietized" (Cebesoy, 1982). Halil Pasha is another important figure who greatly contributed to establishing relations between Soviet Russia and Turkish nationalists. At the end of 1919, he arrived in Baku, where he learned that Nuri Pasha was in Dagestan. (Cebesoy, 1982). In Baku, he was met by a certain Levandovsky - a communist born, raised, and Bolshevized in Tbilisi. The Red Army members were interested in the purpose of his departure to the north. After Halil Pasha confirmed the purpose of his arrival, they attached a colonel named Iskochko to him and sent him to Moscow (Cebesoy, 1982, p.176). Halil Pasha arrived in Moscow in 1920 (Perinchek, 2007). and met with Chivherin with the help of a colonel. (Cebesoy, 1982).

Another group of Turkish nationalists - "Karakol" - tried to establish relations with the Bolsheviks. Karakol was a secret organization created by Unity and Progress Party members that operated independently of Ataturk's resistance movement. The first connections with the Bolsheviks in the South Caucasus were made with the help of the members of this organization. At the beginning of July 1919 (Yerasimos, 2000). In a letter written by one of the founders of Karakhol, Kara Wasif, to Ali Fuat Jebesoy, we learn that "the Russian Bolsheviks told the representative of the Eastern Committee, who asked them to send two delegates to agree on the terms of aid, that Soviet Russia agrees to give aid to the Turks from the Crimea." (Cebesoy, 2000). Ali Fuat Jebesoy immediately sent this information to Erzurum, where Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and Kazim Karabekir were present. Mustafa Kemal

Atatürk rejected the arbitrariness of the rulers of Karakhol. From then on, contacts with the Bolsheviks were to be conducted only under the direct supervision and directives of Kazi Karabekir. Accordingly, Omer Lutfi and Doctor Fuat Sabiti went to Baku on a particular assignment, and Fuat Sabiti met Victor Naneishvili, a member of the Caucasus Committee of the Communist Party. Omer Lutfi returned to Erzerum on September 2. In the letter sent to Kazim Karabekir, we read: "Bolsheviks have not set foot in the Caucasus yet. However, their silent influence is felt. The Musavati government of Azerbaijan in Baku is under the influence of the British, and they believe that the Bolsheviks will soon be defeated. The Georgian Menshevik government is also in the hands of the British. In Baku and Tbilisi, the British military forces are not very visible. Most likely, the British will leave the entire Caucasus. Dr. Fuati went to Moscow to negotiate with the Bolsheviks." (Karabekir, 1960). Before leaving for Moscow, doctor Fuati, a supporter of Turkish nationalists, met with a representative of the Bolsheviks in Baku. Ierasimos thinks that he should be the Georgian Chekist Victor Naneishvili. (Yerasimos, 2000). However, he does not mention the name in his letter, which Dr Fuat sent to Kazi Karabekir on November 21, 1919. During the meeting, the representative of the Bolsheviks promised to be ready to help Soviet Russia, but at this stage, it was limited only to monetary assistance. (Karabekir, 1960). Shalva Eliava was also involved in the negotiations with the representative of Karakhol, as proof of which we cited above the letter sent by Jemal Pasha to Ali Fuat Pasha. Some researchers (Mehemed Ferincek and Yerasimos) believe this person should be Ilyichov, and Ali Fuat Pasha might have needed clarification. At the same time, Baha Saittive of the Ushak Congress at the same time and was involved in the negotiations with Soviet Russia. In January 1920, in Baku, he signed a cooperation agreement with the representative of the Caucasus Regional Committee of the Communist Party. Kara Wasif, one of the founders of Karakhol, sent a copy of the agreement to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who in turn conveyed the information to Kiazim Karabekir in an encrypted telegram. The parties agreed to joint action against Western imperialism according to the provisions. For this purpose, Soviet Russia undertook to provide Turkey with weapons, military materials, and material assistance. The representative of Turkey, in turn, promised to help the representative of Soviet Russia with armed detachments in the fight against Denikin, Kolchak, and other enemies of Soviet Russia. (Karabekir, 1960). Kara Vasif, who reported this fact to Kazim Karabekir, wrote that Ilyichov, a representative of the Bolsheviks, came to Istanbul to sign the agreement. (Karabekir, 1960). There is a difference of opinion regarding the identity of the signatory. Kiazim Karabekir indeed mentions Ilychev. Still, it is possible that it was Shalva Eliava because Ali Fuat Jebesoi writes in his memoirs that at the end of

1919, Shalva Eliava was conducting negotiations between the Bolsheviks. (Cebesoy, 1982). Researcher Richard Hovanesian also shares this opinion. Shalva Eliava was actively involved in talks with Karakhol overlords in Anatolia and Istanbul, specifically Baha Sait, and he was the official representative of the Bolsheviks who signed the indictment on January 11, 1920. (Hovaninisian, 1973). Atatürk had a substantial adverse reaction to Karakol's representative signing an agreement with the Bolsheviks without his permission. Kiazim Karabekir writes in his memoirs that after he sent Dr Fuat to negotiate with the Bolsheviks, the authority of the Baha'i Site was shaken, and he decided to intervene as a separatist. "Bolsheviks will soon realize that Baha'i Site is not a representative of Turkey," writes Karabekir. (Karabekir, 1960). Due to the situation, Karabekir considered it appropriate to send a group led by Major Ali Riza, commander of the Trabzon regiment, to Baku. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk gave special directives to Miamavl Jgguf in Baku. In particular, the leaders of the national liberation movement agreed to engage in a joint struggle against the imperialists. At the same time, they did not recognize the agreement signed by the representative of Karakhloi with the Bolsheviks. (Karabekir, 1960). "Bolsheviks will soon realize that Baha'i Site is not a representative of Turkey," writes Karabekir. (Karabekir, 1960). The mentioned agreement was not recognized by the Soviet side either.

Conclusion

The negotiations started in the summer of 1919 and became especially active at the end of the year and the beginning of 1920. Negotiations were mainly held in Baku, and two groups demanded help from the Soviet Union - officers sent by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and members of the Karakolio. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk made a profitable move and united these two groups into one organization for coordinated actions. These single meetings, which began in 1919, laid the foundation for a great union, which was determined by mutual interests and fully fit into the ideology of the world proletarian concept for the Bolsheviks. The joint struggle against imperialism was beneficial for both sides. This alliance was fatal for the independent republics of the South Caucasus. The South Caucasus was one of the foundations of a strategic deal between the Turkish Nationalist Government and Soviet Russia, united against the imperialists. This unity determined the fate of the states of Southern Kazakhstan. As a result of this alliance, the Sovietization of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia ended in 1921.

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CLIENTELISM IN GEORGIA (REVIEW OF THE THREE PREVIOUS ELECTIONS)

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Abstract

This paper aims to examine clientelism in Georgian politics. It is one of the most severe cases of corruption since it substantially assists in establishing an anti-democratic regime in the state. Clientelism has been seen as a corollary of democracy, especially in the early phases of democratization. After 30 years of attempting to bring Georgia closer to European principles and complete integration with the West, Georgian politics has been dominated by informal ties that cause significant damage to state institutions. This study investigates politically motivated corruption-related activities using various sources and documentary materials. Additional factors that influence the creation of clientelism are also taken into account.

Keywords: politics, democracy, democratization, corruption, principles, aims, integration, regime, corollary

Introduction

Georgia's early years of independence at the end of the twentieth century have been harsh. The high level of corruption in these years echoes the systemic ties formed during the Soviet period. (Robinson, 2007) According to some scholars, the former Soviet nomenclature significantly contributed to the "Christmas coup" (1991), which caused great chaos and ended with the election of Eduard Shevardnadze as head of government. (Kikabize & Losaberidze) He implemented reforms and established a political regime allowing civil and political freedom. Despite this, the actual power was in the hands of a narrow elite, for whom "The Citizens' Union of Georgia" served as a formal umbrella. Shevardnadze's political regime was built on a network of clientelistic ties encompassing him. Coopting members from various interest groups into the power elite and preserving the balance between them was vital to the new political system. Therefore, this made Shevardnadze a feeble but indispensable leader. (Nodia & Scholtbach, 2006) Power was distributed according to clan principles, and the government during this period was characterized by a high degree of corruption and neo-patrimonial practices. One of the salient features of a civil servant was loyalty rather than professionalism or experience. (Gherasimov, 2019)

With the prevailing social, economic, and political crises, discontent in Georgian society was growing. The Rose Revolution of 2003 was a logical response to the ongoing crisis. With newly appointed elections, the "United National Movement" came to power under the leadership of Mikhail Saakashvili. Personal loyalty remained one of the priorities of the system created by Saakashvili, along with the Western education of employees. (Gherasimov, 2019) In the first years of Saakashvili's rule, he implemented essential reforms that strengthened state institutions and reduced the corruption rate. However, the issue of informal relations at the highest levels of government remained a severe challenge. (Kupatadze, 2018)

As a result of the 2012 elections, the Georgian Dream coalition, whose leader was Bidzina Ivanishvili, formed the new government. Nevertheless, he centralized power within his inner circle, and this group was called the "Old Guard" because of their style of governance. (Gherasimov, 2019) Personal allegiance was still a prerequisite for promotion. (Aprasidze & Siroky, 2020) Under the Georgian Dream regime, issues related to the shadow government, fragile state institutions, informal political ties, and elite corruption became urgent. Informal practices, such as political clientelism, still occur during elections, especially in majoritarian districts. Using data from the country's most recent three elections, this paper looks for and analyzes patterns of political clientelism. The primary focus will be on the ruling party's election strategies due to the limited capabilities to monitor this phenomenon. Most of the data required for the research is from NGO reports that reflect information regarding the pre-election period and cover corruption and patrimonialism in the country. Attention was also devoted to indicators such as financial assets received or spent by political parties or further activities carried out during the previous elections. The first part of the paper lays out the theoretical and conceptual framework of the research subject. The following section contains information on the publications created around Georgian political clientelism. The third part presents the data required for the research and its analysis. The paper's conclusion highlights the key points and discusses the characteristics of modern Georgian clientelism as well as the causes of its existence.

What is clientelism?

Clientelism is an age-old phenomenon. Its establishment is based on an unequal trade with inequitable access to state resources as its foundation. (Sousa, 2008) Scholars describe clientelism as a trans-system phenomenon - instead of one particular social group, its emergence occurred in different periods of history, in entirely different states, regimes, or societies. While adapting to a democratic system, the main task of the clientele is to mobilize political support for benefits in return, and most citizens perceive its consequences as destructive to the basic principles underlying democracy. (Gherghina & Nemcok, 2021) Despite the various descriptions, three main features of this phenomenon are acknowledged:

The unequal connection between patron and client The exchange on the principle of "quid pro quo."

The capacity and durability of the relationships

Another feature that merits attention is the broker, who mediates between the clients and the patron. They serve as information collectors about target groups; a significant portion of the resources intended to attract voters are distributed through them. Clientelisstic connections may generate various systems. In one case, they could be formed around particular players who centralize power, so political decisions are made with minimal public engagement. In other instances, the focus is on the local authorities, which provides the efficacy of authoritarianism. (Gherghina

& Nemcok, 2021) Individual favor is of great importance to preserving power and thus providing the loyalty of adherents. Notably, the closer the ideological profiles of political parties are to each other, the higher the likelihood of forming clientelistic ties. (Stokes, 2011)

Empirical sources account for clientelism in several ways. In the first wave of research, scholars considered this phenomenon a feature of backward, agrarian societies bound to disappear with democratization and development. (Sousa, 2008) In the 1980s, an attempt was made to systematize the knowledge and explore historical materials related to clientelism. Because of this, the phenomenon transcended third-world countries – as a result, it was linked with modernism and even with antiquity. (Sousa, 2008) The publications created after the 1990s aimed to explore the adverse aspects of clientelism and the ramifications of informal institutions. (Stokes, 2011) It was deemed a threat to democratic values since it permits special interest groups to take a grip on power and weaken institutional performance, lowering the legitimacy and capacity of the government. This phenomenon is not intrinsic to democracies.

Despite various explanations of clientelism and its causes, empirical sources convey an overall stance. When institutions cannot provide citizens the service they are obliged to, society finds a way out by collecting these benefits through informal contacts. (Gherghina & Volintiru, 2020) Furthermore, the presence or absence of clientelistic practices also significantly impacts how political and administrative power are formed. This phenomenon is less common in relatively open, democratic, decentralized, and transparent systems than in closed, oligarchic, loyal, or inert to private interests and centralized ones. (Brinkerhoff & Goldsmith, 2002) Recent research has once again highlighted the complexity of this phenomenon, and two types—electoral and relational clientelistic practices—have been identified. The first focuses only on the elections and stipulates the mobilization of voters in exchange for one-off favors throughout this period. Relational clientelism encompasses a much more extended period and continues to offer benefits to clients as favors, even after the elections. (Nichter, 2011)

A literature review

The literature on Georgian political clientelism is meager. The cause of this lies, on the one hand, in the phenomenon's complexity and, on the other hand, in the absence of an effective tool to investigate high-level corruption. This phenomenon

was considered a concomitant process of forming Georgian state institutions and civil society in the sources created till 2000 and was examined alongside patrimonialism and corruption. Empirical sources emphasize the lack of diversity - the transfer of the parliamentarian majority and executive authority in all municipalities into the hands of one party, which has become one feature of the Georgian political landscape. (Kikabize & losaberidze.) The existing conditions made the mechanism of "punishment" powerless (typical for clientelistic relations without counterweight support). They gave rise to a new trend - some Georgian political players are ready to alter their allegiance in favor of the ultimate winner. In some cases, this applies to a wide range of society, a vivid example of which is the results of the elections held in the Marneuli municipality. (2012, GD – 16%; 2017, GD – 69%). (Lomtadze, 2018)

The research, which studies the examples of three Eastern Partnership countries (Georgia, Ukraine, and Moldova), provides valuable information and demonstrates Georgian political parties' predilection for clientelism. (Gherghina & Volintiru, 2020) In the case of Georgia, one distinctive aspect stands out - compared with other cases, the component of personalization and the leader's notoriety is substantial. The study's findings indicate that the ruling party and the opposition frequently employ clientelist tactics.

As usual, political clientelism is discussed with other forms of corruption, and its analysis is conducted along with an overview of broader political processes. The literature on clientelism in the Georgian context permits us to perceive only a limited depiction. This article differentiates between two dimensions of clientelism, electoral and relational, which enables us to collect far more extensive data about the subject of the study. In addition, other factors linked to clientelism are considered, which play a significant role in Georgian society and may have a particular impact on determining the probable causes of this phenomenon.

Modern Georgian Political Clientelism

Electoral dimension

Electoral clientelism is a common practice across the Georgian political spectrum, with various manifestations during an election. According to the reports of Transparency International - Georgia and the International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy, large-scale social and infrastructure projects funded from the state budget were observed for three years before and throughout the election campaign.

It is challenging to justify the necessity of implementing some of these projects at the pre-election stage, referring to a pandemic or difficult social conditions.

Several precedents for such expenses are provided below:

- · The legalization of apartments in 2018 for 900 families
- \cdot the increase in pensions and salaries for different social groups
- \cdot the issuing of one-time social allowances before the elections

In 2020, the debt of the Gori Military Hospital was canceled for about 1,000 people. (International Transparancy, 2020) The expenditures mentioned above include the abolition of fines of up to 76 million lari for persons and organizations who violate specific coronavirus-prevention laws enacted in 2021. (International Transparancy, 2021; Fair Elections, 2021) The program initiated by the ruling party jointly with the Kartu group during the 2018 presidential elections, which covered the debts of 600,000 citizens, also falls within the framework of the study of electoral clientelism (Fair Elections, 2018).

The suspected bribing of voters, most related to the ruling party, is also highlighted in the NGO reports assessing all three elections. Providing the population with various goods, as reported in NGO reports and by the media in the three pre-election periods, manifests electoral clientelism. For parties applying such strategies, it is crucial to verify/ensure the fulfillment of the obligations undertaken by clients, which is quite difficult due to secret ballot. To surmount this obstacle, it is common practice to shoot the ballot in the voting booth and/or publicly display the recorded option. It should be noted that on each of the three voting days, there was a large-scale mobilization/transportation of citizens and the process of their identification, which is considered an essential feature of electoral clientelism (International Transparancy, 2018; International Transparancy, 2020; International Transparancy, 2021; International Transparancy, 2020).

Relational dimension

Based on the available data, we can conclude that the target audience for relational clientelism in Georgia is mainly the high social class. This form of clientelism continues to benefit the clients after the elections. Politicians use this strategy to reward faithful supporters with different privileges, including state contracts. The return service from the "awarded" accompanied this type of relationship as donations for the election campaign. (Grzymala-Buse, 2008) The link between large donations received by the party over the elections and the donors' access to state funds will be used for surveillance.

The reports of the NGO Transparency International-Georgia provide tangible information. According to data for 2020, organizations and individuals who won state tenders for 68 million GEL funded the ruling party's election campaign for 1.6 million GEL. (International Transparancy, 2020) Simplified procurement contractors or related persons who received a profit of 4.2 million GEL donated 2.2 million GEL in favor of the "Georgian Dream." (International Transparancy, 2020) A similar trend continued in 2021 - organizations and individuals who, from January to August 2021, won state tenders of GEL 122 million also invested 2 million to finance the pre-election campaign.

NGO reports also mention several business groups affiliated with people or organizations that received contracts for different tenders or gained simplified procurement from the state while simultaneously being one of the major supporters of the ruling party. (International Transparancy, 2018;International Transparancy, 2021) We also should pay attention to the fact that citizens employed in state-funded organizations intensively attended pre-election rallies organized by the ruling party. (International Transparancy, 2021) The case is notable due to the elements specific to relational clientelism that may be used in dealing with employees from these organizations, such as the threat of job loss as a "punishment" for failure to provide support.

Ideology

In modern democratic states, political parties seek to mobilize the electorate primarily for ideological considerations. Though less opportunistic, there are other methods of electorate mobilization than an ideologically focused program approach. (Barkaia & Kvashilava, 2020) While researching clientelism, Stokes (Susan Stokes) proposed that the closer ideologically political parties are to each other, the higher the likelihood of vote-buying. (Stokes, 2011) The parties will target people who remain indifferent or slightly opposed to them on ideological grounds. Regarding this segment, they employ additional incentives to obtain votes, which may comprise access to public services and particular material benefits. In Stokes' opinion, the risk that arises during the formation of such connections is the critical factor for both parties. They do not wish to waste resources on die-hard opposition voters since the chances of getting reciprocal support are relatively slim, even if

they provide extra benefits. On the other hand, the most vulnerable citizens, who have to choose between today's "gift" and a future social package, prefer the first. (Stokes, 2011)

In general, political parties in Georgia do not declare distinct ideological viewpoints. Their promises are broad and mainly populist. They employ fewer programmatic strategies, while leadership charisma, rather than ideological preferences, plays a crucial role in success. (Lebanidze, & Kakachia, 2016) The main factor determining the activity of Georgian political parties is not ideology, which could be related to the fact that they do not represent large segments of society. (Barkaia & Kvashilava, 2020; Lebanidze, & Kakachia, 2016) Nevertheless, their ideological stances seem interesting to evaluate, and experts occasionally highlight some standard features.

The United National Movement adheres to a centrist ideological line. Nevertheless, the party's pre-election agenda contains some leftist policies. (Lavrelashvili, 2020) Its election program is committed to liberal values. It supports an open market, low taxes, and incentives for the private sector while at the very same time offering pricey social packages to the people. Instead of mechanisms for solving particular problems, general slogans are used. (Barkaia & Kvashilava, 2020)

Georgian Dream was founded in 2012, and its rhetoric was mainly antagonistic then. Its program was populist, which was especially noticeable in several unrealistic promises of solving particular problems. Over the next four years, the program was significantly changed, and specific stances on the institutional allocation of authority were examined more systematically. (Barkaia & Kvashilava, 2020) The government is essential to the economic dimension, but GD still mainly follows centrist views with leftist components. (Kakhishvili, 2018)

The two political parties, one of which is now referred to as the significant oppositional power and the other of which has been in power for the tenth year, offer voters ideological content that is roughly comparable. In the context of similar programmatic profiles and a policy of fragile adherence to any of the ideologies, the Stokes theory comprehensively answers what additional mechanisms will be used to mobilize votes efficiently. In Georgia, a sizable portion of society belongs to the lower social strata, which she believes is most vulnerable to clientelism. According to 2020 data, over 20% of the population is below the edge of absolute poverty. (GEOSTAT, 2020.) People who live in such conditions, in the case of similar programs by political forces, are ready to vote for a candidate who will immediately provide at least a small amount of economic support.

Leaders and populism

Clientelistic chain growth is significantly influenced by populism as well. Once in power, populists also exploit clientelism in addition to plebiscitarian connections. (Gidron and Bonikowski, "Varieties of Populism," 13.) Over the past three decades, populism has been critical in Georgian politics. (Abramishvili, "Populist politics") Political parties' unification around a single person rather than an ideology contributes to this.

Mobilization of the public around the leader resulted in developing a messianic attitude towards them. The current situation resembles Latin American movements that have led populist politicians to counter the existing system. Citizens perceived them as heroes who could overcome the "evil" government. (Ostigguy, "Populism," 115.) Similarly, Saakashvili was regarded as a "God-sent Savior" who was supposed to liberate the country from corruption and restore its economy. He was anticipated to raise citizen living standards and hasten infrastructure development considerably, but the egregious human rights violations undermined the effort's success. Ivanishvili, whose antagonistic pre-election campaign promised society large-scale economic and social benefits, was perceived similarly. Despite this, neither GD could fulfill a part of the promises. (Abramishvili, "Populist politics.") Assessing the actions of the GD, Aprasidze, and Siroky (David et al.) focus on the distribution of key posts in the government based on clientelism. They distinguish between the "inner" and "outer" circles formed around Ivanishvili. High-ranking incumbent officeholders are appointed from the "inner circle," which is incredibly loyal. (Aprasidze and Siroky, "Technocratic Populism," p. 583.)

We also encounter clientelism in relatively lower layers. The elections held in 2003 - 2012 demonstrated that local political actors tend to declare loyalty to the ultimate winner. This course of action is motivated by the desire to blend in with the majority, which, on the one hand, will enable one to avoid a contest with a powerful opponent and, on the other hand, promises to gain further rewards. (Lomtadze, "Evidence of political clientelism," 27.) A similar trend persisted in further elections, especially in majoritarian districts. Local majoritarian candidates attempted to win the hearts of voters by offering personal benefits (Barkaia & Kvashilava, Political Parties, p. 16.) that weakened the programmatic part of the campaign. The research conducted by Gherghina and Volintiru (Sergiu et al.) examined the cases of three Eastern Partnership countries (Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine). It provided valuable information regarding the features of Georgian political clientelism. The study revealed a correlation between the territorial coverage of the

parties' activities and their use of clientelistic practices. Parties with local branches throughout the country were more likely to resort to informal practices. (Gherghina and Volintiru, "Political Parties and Clientelism," p. 13.) Parties with high civic support and clientelistic linkages deliver messages to citizens through local leaders who seek to mobilize the electorate by offering a range of private services. The leader's notoriety has a significant impact on this strategy.

Additional factors

Clientelism is the most well-known example of incumbents extracting private gains from the state. (Grzymala-Buse, 2008) This strategy provides a significant advantage in political competition, which can play a decisive role in victory. In order to enhance the efficiency of clientelistic practices, officials seek to weaken the regulations and create a system where authority will be redistributed according to their discretion. One way to form this new system could be the fusion of state institutions and a political party. (Grzymala-Buse, 2008) In this regard, the NGO ISFED's report on the 2020 and 2021 elections should be taken into account, according to which the involvement of majoritarian candidates from GD in various events organized by administrative resources narrowed the line between the state and the ruling party. (Fair Elections, 2020; Fair Elections, 2021)

It also should be noted that clientelism perfectly aligns with systems where informal power redistribution occurs. Georgia has substantial experience in this direction. Over the past two decades, two informal systems have been employed for state administration. Unlike Saakashvili's "coercive," Ivanishvili's "cooperative informal governance" was relatively reasonable, mainly due to lower oppression. Hence, the new system implicated a weaker government, which could quickly come under the influence of a particular group of interests. However, compared with the authoritarian one, its advantage was a higher degree of pluralism (Lebanidze, & Kakachia, 2017).

Ivanishvili retained a substantial part of his influence after leaving the PM post. (Lebanidze, & Kakachia, 2017) Subsequently, a new component in the vertical chain of power has been formed (Kupatadze. 2018), which can carry out the functions of clientelistic brokers. According to numerous journalistic investigations, the new group was involved in various corruption dealings and had substantial authority. (Kupatadze. 2018) Those informal "power brokers," as usual, are part of Ivanishvili's inner circle and ensure that senior decision-makers in government remain loyal to private interests.

Conclusion

The paper indicates that clientelism has become rooted in Georgia's political environment. It emerged as a replacement for the Soviet era's informal contacts and, in parallel with the liberalization and building of the Georgian state, became an effective tool for seizing power. A lack of civic consciousness and a growing gap between the upper and lower classes fostered its appeal.

The current environment resulted from the chaos during the first years of sovereignty and the poor attempts to reform the state. Under weak democratic institutions, the most effective strategy for elites to seize power was to mobilize substantial political support in exchange for small favors. Desires to gain power, rather than reflecting the broad interests of residents, were the main drivers for the founding of political parties. The weak internal democracy in political parties supports this argument. Clientelism, as well as other informal practices, flourish in such an environment.

Over the last three decades, society has periodically unified around a single leader, giving rise to a Messiah complex. Such unprecedented support resulted in the development of autocratic power. At this point, a well-known phrase tells a lot about Georgian politics: "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." The need for informal practices and the desire to preserve authority promoted the development of a vertical chain of power rather than a horizontal one. Weak state institutions also contributed to the growth of demand for informal practices by failing to meet residents' needs adequately. Clientelism had been inherited with the change of governments, and it had become one of the cornerstones of power maintenance. When analyzing the last three elections, it became clear that electoral and relational clientelism had been required for resource redistribution to maintain power. Because of such ties, a vicious cycle has been created in which elections are treated as a formality. Citizens continue to back the elit, which offers them various informal services. Clientelism distorts the political rules by establishing an unequally competitive environment that favors clientelistic players. It seems almost impossible to transfer power to another political body based on democratic principles in such conditions.

Clientelism is considered a corollary of democratization, and the subject of its total abolition is debatable due to the phenomenon's adaptability. As a result, ongoing research is required to improve countermeasure effectiveness. The article analyzes this phenomenon as a vertically organized system of relations and, perhaps, needs

to reflect the Georgian reality fully. Due to the limited opportunities to study this phenomenon, I mainly focused on the ruling party's policies. However, recent studies suggest that clientelism is just as attractive among the opposition. At the same time, the benefits-seeking theory as an event that causes clientelistic relationships was not considered.

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DETERMINING ORAL HEALTH STATUS AND LIFESTYLE-RELATED BEHAVIORS ON THE EXAMPLE OF 149 CHILDREN AGED 7 TO 12 YEARS OLD LIVING IN TBILISI

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Abstract

The level of oral hygiene in school-aged children in different countries is primarily low. Behavioral factors are the most important contributors to this low level of hygiene. It is also important to note that identifying the specific behaviors that significantly reduce disease burden is critical. The research was provided in Tbilisi, in public schools, to evaluate Oral health indicators (OHI, DMF, def), mean value of intensity of caries in school-aged children (7 to 12 years old), the role of behavioral factors in relation to oral hygiene and carbohydrate nutrition, and the popularity and relevance of preventive measures were determined. A cross-sectional study was conducted, where 149 children aged 7 to 12 were selected by simple random sampling from Tbilisi public schools. Evaluation of DEF, def, and S-OHI indices was carried out. Based on the oral health questionnaire, children's oral care and carbohydrate nutrition behaviors were assessed, as well as attitudes toward preventive interventions. SPSS version 23 software for statistical data processing was used for statistical analysis. On the example of 149 children in the 7-12-year-old population of Tbilisi, the simplified hygiene index is evaluated by the criterion average (1.56). Urban distribution affects the hygiene index, which is statistically significant (P=0.009). Caries intensity and hygiene index in primary and permanent dentition do not depend on gender - statistical certainty is not fixed. Caries intensity is "medium" for both permanent (3.2) and primary dentition (3.9), and the mean value of caries intensity for the whole population is 6.31, which is rated as "high." The popularity and relevance of preventive measures are low. Lifestyle behaviors related to both oral hygiene and carbohydrate-rich diets are not consistent with the recommendations provided by the FDI to reduce caries burden.

Keywords: oral hygiene, school-aged children, behavioral factors, - population

Introduction

Oral health changes throughout life from early childhood to old age and is an important, integral part of a person's overall health, well-being, and integration into society. Every year, the World Health Organization publishes the Global Oral Health Status Report (GOHSR, 2022), which provides an overview of the global burden of oral diseases. The report highlights the prioritization of oral health in international, regional, and national contexts.

According to the World Health Organization, oral diseases are considered the most common non-communicable diseases, affecting almost half of the world's population, which is 3.5 billion people (45%), even though they are largely preventable. The estimated number of cases of oral diseases in the world is 1 billion more than the total number of all five non-communicable diseases combined; that is, the prevalence of oral diseases is higher than any other non-communicable disease worldwide. The estimated number of cases of oral diseases in the world is 1 billion more than the total number of all five non-communicable diseases combined; that is, the prevalence of oral diseases is higher than any other non-communicable disease worldwide. About 2.5 billion people suffer only from untreated caries. The incidence of oral diseases is increasing globally and is exceeding the population growth rate. Statistics from the International Health Organization have shown that 60-90% of children and almost 100% of adults worldwide have caries. International studies such as the Global Burden of Disease Project (GBD), the International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC), as well as the global WHO surveys, confirm that oral health has a global impact on the health and well-being of the population and the line Understands the existence of a higher burden of oral diseases on vulnerable groups in different societies. According to the World Health Organization (WHO. Global Status Report on Oral Health 2022), children are also among them.

Many studies have already proved that the level of oral hygiene among school-age children is primarily low in different countries of the world. Determining the state of oral health in school-aged children is a priority for public health in terms of proper planning of preventive measures for dental diseases. It is also crucial to promote oral health and improve lifestyle-related behaviors that affect the quality of life of people in adulthood. The most important factors that cause the low level of hygiene in school-aged children are behavioral factors. It is also essential to identify the specific behaviors that significantly reduce the disease burden (Mascarenhas, 2021; McGuire, 1996). Back in 2002, the FDI developed the MINIMAL INTERVENTION DENTISTY policy for the management of dental caries, which aims to promote preventive and less invasive measures for caries management (Frencken et al., 2012).

According to the definition of FDI, caries can be considered a "behavioral disease with a bacterial component." According to FDI evidence, reducing the intake of easily fermentable sugars and consuming carbohydrates no more than five times a day, removing plaque from the surface of the teeth with fluoride toothpaste for 3 minutes 2 times per day, and using dental floss are the most critical behaviors that lead to a reduction in the burden of dental caries in the world's diverse communities. Therefore, caries is a manageable disease, and its development and progression can be controlled. (FDI General Assembly September 2016).

A study examining oral care skills among children in 41 countries found significant differences in brushing frequency between North American and European countries. The American Dental Association (ADA) reported that 78% of American adults brush their teeth twice a day, compared to only 44% of children. Differences were also observed in European countries: 75% of adults brush their teeth twice a day in Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, and Norway, and 46% in Finland, Romania, Greece, Lithuania, Turkey, and Malta (Huget et al., 2012; Eaton et al., 2008),

Oral health in children is assessed by indicators such as the OHI-S simplified oral hygiene index, the DFM index for permanent teeth, and the def index for primary teeth (CM Marya 2011). Due to the urgency of the problem, an epidemiological study was conducted to study the oral health status of 7- to 12-year-old schoolchildren in Tbilisi city.

Methodology

The study was cross-sectional, where 149 children from 7 to 12 years old from Tbilisi public schools were selected by simple random sampling. DMF and def indices were evaluated by summing the number of carious, missing, and damaged teeth of the examined subjects. The mean value of the intensity of caries was determined by the ratio of the total scores to the number of examined subjects. The intensity of caries was evaluated according to the criteria provided by WHO. 0.0-1.1 points are considered very low, 1.2-2.6 - low, 2.7-4.4 medium, 4.5-6.5 - high, > 6.6 very high. Soft and hard plaque on the tooth was assessed by the Simplified Oral Hygiene Index (OHI-S), according to Green and Vermillion (1964). The vestibular or lingual surface of 6 teeth (1.1, 1.6, 2.6, 3.6, 3.1, 4.6) was evaluated using a 3-point system: 0 points - the absence of plaque, 1 point - the cervical part of the tooth or one-third of the tooth surface is covered with plaque, 2 points - half of the tooth surface is covered with plaque, 3 points - more than 2/3 or the whole tooth is covered with plaque.

Soft plaques (DI) and hard plaques (CI) were evaluated separately. By summing the scores and dividing them by 6, [A1] the soft plaque index (DI) and calculus index (CI) were obtained. The simplified oral hygiene index (OHI-S) was calculated by summing the obtained soft plaque and calculus indices.

Based on the oral health questionnaire, children's oral care and carbohydrate nutrition behaviors were assessed, as well as attitudes toward preventive interventions. The statistical data processing program SPSS version 23 was used for the statistical analysis of the research data. Frequency distribution was determined by univariate analysis and statistical tests; the chi-square test and t-test were used for bivariate analysis.

The research was conducted in 3 stages: In the first stage, informed consent was obtained by the interviewers from the guardian of the child. In the second stage, the guardians filled out an oral health questionnaire, which revealed their children's oral health behaviors and knowledge. In the third stage, children were observed (oral examination) in the school's medical room. Examination of the oral cavity took into account the determination of oral hygiene and caries intensity. During the oral cavity examination, the determination of oral hygiene and the intensity of caries were considered. A dental mirror was used in the research process (WHO recommendation for children's oral screening in schools and safety), the dental care of the patient was filled out (form N 4-220), dental plaques were stained with "Miradent" plaque identification solution (disclosing agent), which does not contain erythrosine, alcohol and is safe for screening studies in school conditions, and also it had been produced a photo protocol both before and after plaque staining (WHO, Irish Oral Health Services Guideline 2012).

Results

71 children (47.7%) out of 149 children aged 7 to 12 included in the study were female, and 78 children (52.3%) were male. Out of 149 examined children, 44 children (29.5%) were assessed as good (0.0 to 1.2) according to the simplified oral hygienist index criterion, 102 children (68.5%) were assessed as average (1.3-3.0), and 3 children (2%) were assessed as poor. The simplified hygiene index's average value in children aged 7 to 12 years is 1.56, which is evaluated by the criterion average.

Table №1.

N	S - OHI	N	Percentage (%)
1.	Good (0.0 – 1.2)	44	29.5
2.	Avarage (1.3- 3.0) Poor	102	68.5
3.	(3.1- 6.0)	3	2.0
	Total	149	100

The urban distribution of the excluded in Tbilisi schools was as follows: In the Vake district (Vera, Bagebi) - 29 children (19.5%). In Samgori district (Varketili and Lilo schools) – 50 children (33.6%). In Isani district - 28 children (18.8%). 32 children (21.5%) in Mtatsminda district. Others - 10 children (6.7%). The chi-square test was used to compare simplified oral hygiene indices in different districts of Tbilisi. A statistically significant difference was observed. The value of P is 0.009 (p<0.05), which means that urban distribution affects the hygiene index in the population. The best oral hygiene index was recorded in the Mtatsminda district, and the worst in the Samgori district. see Table 2.

The influence of gender on the hygiene index was studied. The mean hygiene index for females (71 children) was 1.55, and for males (78 children) it was 1.57. The value of P is 0.831 (P> 0.05), which means that the influence of gender on the hygiene index in the mentioned population of children is not statistically reliable. (Fig. 1)

The examined teeth of 149 children totaled 3507, of which 2659 were permanent, and 848 were primary teeth. 118 children had mixed dentition, and 31 children had permanent dentition.

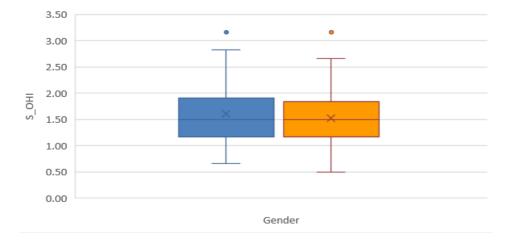
Caries were detected in 399 permanent teeth, 78 teeth were restored, and 3 permanent teeth were extracted. Thus, the mean value of caries intensity is 3.2 (480/149 = 3.22), which is evaluated as average intensity (from 2.7 to 4.4).

Among the primary dentition teeth, 363 carious teeth, 78 decayed teeth, and 20 prematurely extracted teeth due to carious lesions were observed. Thus, the mean value of caries Intensity for primary teeth is 3.9 (461/118=3.9), which is rated as average intensity.

Table 2

					S-OF	II			
District	G	ood	Ave	erage	P	oor	r	value	
	N	%	N	%		%	N	%	
Vake	12	41.4	16	55.2	1	3.4.	29	100	
Isani	7	25.0	21	75.0	0	0.0	28	100	
Samgori	5	10.0	43	86.0	2	4.0	50	100	
Mtatsmin- da	16	50.0	16	50.0	0	0.0	32	100	
Other	4	40.0	6	60.0	0	0.0	10	100	
Total	44	29,5	102	68.5	3	2.0	149	100	0.009

Figure 1. Dependence of Hygiene Index on Gender



For the entire investigated population (149 children), the mean value of the intensity of caries is 6.31, which is considered high by the criterion (up to 4.5-6.5).

Our study also revealed variations in caries intensity across different districts of Tbilisi, as shown in Tab. 3. The district with the highest average intensity of caries, at a rate of 7.18, was Samgori - a figure that exceeds the very high threshold (>6.6) set by the criterion. This highlights the need for targeted interventions in Samgori, which is characterized by unsatisfactory indicators of both the hygiene index and the average intensity of caries.

Table №3

													FM+
District	Age	N	N D.	N F.	N M.	N c	N f	N e	DFM	def	DFM avar.	def avar,	def
													avar.
Vake	7-12	29	61	19	0	68	21	5	80	94	2.7	3.2	6
Samgori	7-12	50	150	21	1	156	19	12	172	187	3.44	3.74	7.18
Isani	7-12	28	62	10	0	64	18	3	72	85	2.57	3.0	5.6
Mtats- minda	7-12	32	107	18	2	55	7	0	127	62	3.9	1.9	5.9
other	7-12	10	19	10	0	20	13	0	29	33	2.9	3.3	6.2

The dependence of caries intensity on gender was studied by t-test. The mean value of caries intensity for permanent teeth was 3.55 in female patients and 2.88 in male children. The value of P is 0.095 (p>0.05), which means that the intensity of caries for permanent teeth does not depend on gender; it is not statistically reliable.

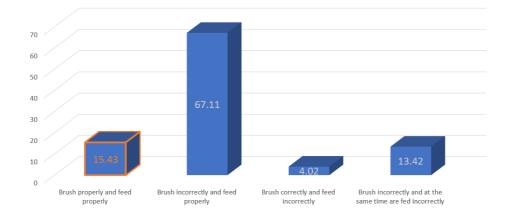
For primary teeth, the mean value of caries intensity for female patients (55 children) was 3.84; for male patients (63 children), it was 3.97. In this case, the value of P is 0.8 (p>0.05), which means that the dependence of caries intensity on gender is not statistically reliable. Thus, in the small population mentioned, the association between caries intensity and gender in primary and permanent teeth is not confirmed.

The results of the questionnaire were divided into three parts. In the first part of the questions, the eating habits of 149 children aged 7-12 years were studied. It was found that according to FDI recommendations, 36.2% of children brush their teeth twice a day. 58.4% spend 3 minutes or more for brushing the teeth, and 64.4% of respondents use fluoridated toothpaste. However, only 19% of the children enrolled in

the study fulfilled all three of these rules recommended by the FDI at the same time. The remaining 120 children (81%) do not fully perform any component of correct brushing. Only 3% of parents always help the child during the tooth brushing routine, 33% - sometimes, and 64% - never.

The second part of the survey studied which foods children choose (use) for daily consumption from the easily fermentable carbohydrate diet. For this purpose, 9 questions were asked. It was found that every day, 62% use fruits, 44% cakes, 27% Co-ca-Cola, 19% jams, 17% sugary chewing gum, 36% candies, 7% sugary milk, 54% sugary tea, and 0.7% sugary coffee. Summarizing the data determined that 19% of respondents eat different types of carbohydrate food 5 times a day or even more often.

After that, it was calculated how many percent fulfilled the recommendations of FDI in both hygiene and nutrition entirely, and it was found that only 15.43% of respondents brush and eat properly, which is 23 children out of 149 children. Moreover, 13.42%, or 20 children out of 149, brush incorrectly and, at the same time, are fed incorrectly. 67.11% (100 children) brush incorrectly and feed properly, 4.02% (6 children) brush correctly and feed incorrectly. (See fig. 2)Figure 2. Comparison of Oral Care Behaviors and Carbohydrate Diet Consumption Habits



Comparison of Oral Care Behavios and Carbonhydrate Diet Consumption Habits

It was also interesting to find out whether children follow a 3-4 hour interval between meals. It was found that 51% of the respondents do not follow this rule. In this direction as well, we believe that parents need to be more aware and motivated. To the question whether they use any type of tobacco, an unambiguously negative answer was received. In the third part of the questionnaires, the popularity of preventive interventions was investigated: 28% responded positively to whether the fissures were sealed, while 70% indicated that they had not. However, as a result of the observation of the oral cavity, it was determined that the sealing of the fissures was provided in only 10 children out of 149 examined children (6.7%). Among them, only 5 children (3.35%) had sealing all four 6th teeth. Out of 3507 teeth examined, 28 teeth were sealed. Thus, a 20% difference (error) was observed in subjective and objective research results.

8% of respondents (22 children) underwent remineralization therapy and received fluoride tablets or drops.

Thus, we conclude that the popularity of preventive measures in our studied population is very low, and it is necessary to motivate more involvement in this direction.

What was mentioned above is confirmed once again by the fact that when asked what was the reason for the last visit to the dentist, 51% of the respondents mentioned pain. Only 13% consult a dentist for prevention, which we consider to be very low. During the last six months, 56% of respondents visited the dentist once or twice, and 44%—never.

As for whether the population needs more informational support to maintain oral health, 82% of respondents answered positively. Increasing the level of awareness among the population and carrying out an information campaign among children was an accompanying component of our research.

Analysis of primary results

Through observation (physical examination), it was determined that the mean value of oral hygiene index (OHI-S) in girls (71 children - 47.7%) was 1.55 and in boys (78 children - 52.3%) was 1.57, the significance level of P is 0.831 (p > 0.05), which means that the influence of gender on the hygiene index in the mentioned population of children is not statistically reliable. Out of 149 examined children, 44 children (29.5%) were assessed as good (0.0-1.2), 102 children (68.5%) were assessed as average (1.3-3.0), and 3 children (2%) were assessed as poor. Among 149 beneficiaries examined between 7 and 12 years of age, the simplified hygiene index's mean value was 1.56, which is evaluated by the criterion average. (WHO. Oral health surveys basic methods. 2013, CM Marya 2011, Rachmawati et al 2019).

The examined teeth of 149 children amounted to a total of 3507 teeth, including

2659 permanent teeth and 848 milk teeth. 118 children had variable dentition, and 31 children had permanent dentition. Caries were observed in 399 permanent teeth, 78 teeth, and 3 permanent teeth were removed. Thus, the average intensity of caries is 3.2 (480/149=3.22), which is evaluated as average intensity (Jafaridze et al., 2019; Rachmawati et al., 2019).

Among primary teeth, 363 carious teeth, 78 decayed teeth, and 20 prematurely extracted teeth due to carious lesions were observed. Thus, the mean value of caries Intensity for primary teeth is (461/118=3.9) 3.9 which is rated as average intensity (Jafaridze et al 2019; Rachmawati et al 2019). For the entire population (149 children), the average mean value of intensity is 6.31, which is considered high by the criterion.

In the example of 149 examined for the mentioned population, the mean value of caries intensity for permanent teeth for female patients (55 children - 48%) was 3.55, and for male patients (63 children - 52%), 2.88. The significance level of P is 0.095 (p>0.05), which means that the intensity of caries for permanent teeth does not depend on gender; that is, the influence of gender on the intensity of caries is not statistically reliable.

For milk teeth, the mean value of caries intensity for female patients (55 children - 48%) was 3.84, and for male patients (63 children - 52%) was 3.97. In this case, the P value is 0.8 (p>0.05), which means that the dependence of the intensity of caries on the gender of primary teeth is not statistically reliable.

Based on the questionnaires, the following data were determined: out of 149 examined patients, only 15.43% of respondents brush correctly and, at the same time, eat properly. In contrast, 13.42% brush incorrectly and eat incorrectly. 8% of respondents are familiar with preventive measures, and 13% of respondents go to preventive visits. Lifestyle behaviors, both regarding oral hygiene and carbohydrate-rich diets, are inconsistent with recommendations made by the FDI to reduce caries burden (Frencken et al., 2012).

56% of the surveyed population visits the dentist. Thus, the frequency of referral also revealed the low activity of the population we studied. Behaviors and knowledge regarding oral care and proper nutrition are unsatisfactory compared to those of developed countries, and the relevance of preventive measures is low, which may affect the caries burden in Tbilisi.

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Moral Hazard in Government Health Programs - New Evidence from Georgia⁴

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Abstract

In this paper, we studied the moral hazard in healthcare. As part of the analysis, we looked at 126.3 thousand hospitalization cases in the Georgian healthcare system in 2018-2019. According to the group of diagnoses, we compared the length of stay of inpatients funded under government programs with the cases covered by a pocket of patients or private insurance companies. As a result of the study, we found that the length of stay under the universal health care program is, on average, 0.26 days (CI 95%; [0.22-0.30]) longer than in other circumstances. The difference is statistically significant (t = -12.58; P<.05). Thus, our result is the empirical evidence of theoretical reasoning that predicts an increase in the moral hazard under the government healthcare program.

Keywords: Healthcare Moral hazard, Cost sharing, Copayment hospitalization

⁴ We thank the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Labour, Health, and Social Affairs of Georgia for providing the data set. Also, we would like to thank the researchers at Gnomon Wise and other colleagues for their valuable comments.

Introduction

Medicine is an outstanding example of a market with high information asymmetry (Arrow, 1963; Rochaix, 1989; Blomqvist, 1991). In particular, the patient needs to be more informed about what kind of treatment, intensity, and extent they need. The patient can hide information about past illnesses and health history. Consequently, there may be opportunistic conduct by medics or patients. Arrow's (1963; 1968) and Pauly's (1968) debate made this problem prominent among scholars and others in the 1960s. Despite the different stances, the theoretical consequence of this debate is the recognition that the complete elimination of moral hazards in healthcare is impossible. Thus, the following discussion revolves around how moral hazard will manifest under different motivations and what methods can reduce its adverse effects (Dave & Kaestner, 2009; Grignon et al., 2018).

Naturally, this issue came under the attention of politicians and bureaucrats because they directly faced such problems in decision-making. After many years of experimentation, two main ways of mitigating moral hazards in healthcare have been identified - cost-sharing and the DRG. In the 1980s, the US introduced the DRG, which gradually became the primary hospital payment approach in developed countries (Schreyögg et al., 2006; Street et al., 2011; Quentin et al., 2013). In the DRG system, prices are fixed. Not on a separate treatment element but the whole medical service, according to a specific disease. Despite its prevalence, this approach does not solve all problems. Even in this system, there is space for moral hazards. For example, these include lowering the quality of medical services (Jegers et al., 2002; Paddock et al., 2007), discrimination (Aas, 1995; Ellis, 1998), manipulation of diagnoses (Eichenwald, 2003; Dafny, 2005), focusing on relatively profitable illnesses (Ellis & McGuire, 1996; Gilman, 2000; Liang, 2015; Parkinson et al., 2019) and manipulating short-term hospitalizations (Norton et al., 2002).

The second widespread method is cost-sharing (Hossein & Gerard, 2013). This approach implies that an insured copays a specific part of the medical service costs. However, this may be less effective because consumers may need to cut their use of needed medical care (Haviland et al., 2012; Baicker et al., 2015). Also, the insured may need help understanding the price incentives embedded in the contract (Atanasov & Baker, 2014; Handel &Kolstad, 2015). It should also be taken into account that the effect of the copayment mechanism varies according to the socio-economic characteristics of the consumers and the type of medical service (Lundberg et al., 1998; Cockx et al., 2003; Kim et al., 2005). Based on the review of 47 empirical studies, Kiil and Houlberg (2013) found no significant effects of copayment on

the prevalence of hospitalizations. The authors concluded that copayment mainly shifts the burden of financing from the public coffers to the consumers rather than lowering inpatient service demand. Finally, the copayment method can control healthcare costs. However, it may be a blunt instrument to control health spending: higher cost-sharing reduces medical spending but does so across the spectrum of medical procedures, some of which are likely valuable and others not (Brot-Goldberg et al., 2017).

The copayment mechanism increases efficiency if there is excessive consumption of medical services, which can be caused by patients' opportunistic conduct (Einav & Finkelstein, 2018) or the doctor (Cutler et al., 2019; Chandra & Staiger, 2020). In addition, this approach does not prevent the increase in total costs. As a result of the opportunistic manners of the clinic managers, total costs can become a significant problem. Such a situation has appeared in China, where the government funds the treatment (Zhang et al., 2019). Also, in the US private, the insurance companies hold a significant share of healthcare expenditures (OECD, 2021).

In this regard, Georgia is a suitable object of study. The healthcare system is often in the process of reformation. 2013, the newly elected government introduced Universal Health Care (UHC). Since the second year, the program costs have soared. In 2014, the program allocation was 338.5 million GEL (USD 191.7 million); in 2017, it reached 709.7 million (USD 282.9 million). Therefore, the UHC has become targeted to reduce the growth of expenses and established a copayment mechanism.

Nevertheless, in the following years, the expenditures of the budgetary program were not reduced, more than 50% of which were costs for inpatient services. 2020, the UHC assignment reached 964.3 million GEL (USD 310.1 million). In this circumstance, the government plans to solve the problem by switching to the diagnosis-related group (DRG) system. Therefore, there is a need to study the extent of moral hazards in the UHC and identify problematic directions to avoid adverse consequences during the implementation of the DRG system. With the Implementation of DRGs, all the problems already identified in other countries may arise. For example, in the distribution of total healthcare expenditures in Georgia, the costs of inpatient services are, on average, 37.0%, but the share of this in the part of budgetary programs is, on average, 75.4%. In private costs, it is 21.2% on average. Thus, it is highly likely that such a disproportion is the consequence of moral hazard. Hospitalization itself gives ample space for opportunistic conduct. The government reimburses the costs of the "extra" services provided to the clinics, so increasing the length of stay is the easiest way to grow profits. Such opportunistic conduct of healthcare institutions was identified as early as the 1970s (Joseph, 1972; Freiberg & Scutchfield, 1976; Davidson, 1977) and remains one of the current issues (Cheng, 2012; Englum et al., 2016; Holzmacher et al., 2017; Meng et al., 2020; Boes & Napierala, 2021; Aragón, 2022).

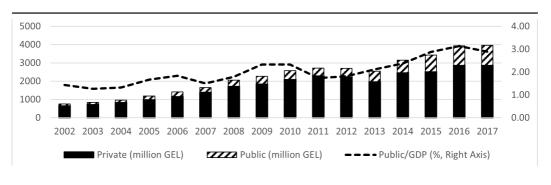
Thus, our study focuses on inpatient services. It aims to determine the general extent of moral hazard and identify areas where such conduct is widespread. We first describe the Georgian healthcare system to identify the extent of moral hazard in the UHC accurately. Then, we consider hospitalization data and methodology, and sections IV and V of the paper include the interpretation of the obtained results and concluding remarks.

Healthcare in Georgia

The Semashko system set the original context for the health system in Georgia from 1921 to 1991, a constituent part of the Soviet health care system. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the first healthcare reform related to the decentralization of the centralized system. Within this reform's framework, healthcare institutions' administration and expense assurance were delegated to the subnational governments. At the same time, created the State Health Fund with payroll contributions from employers (at 3.0%) and employees (at 1.0%). Later, it was replaced by social contributions. Also, municipal funds received funding from municipal budgets at a flat per capita rate (Chanturidze et al., 2009). The rest of the population (unemployed, children, and pensioners) enjoyed minimal healthcare funded by budgetary transfers (Gamkrelidze et al., 2002). Shortly after the reform, this fund was reorganized as the State Medical Insurance Company (SMIC). Healthcare costs were provided directly by the SMIC and the municipal funds (Shengelia et al., 2016).

In 2004, a new healthcare reform began when the social insurance system was replaced by targeted social assistance. These changes meant the re-centralization of the healthcare system. In particular, the central government re-took the authority to ensure healthcare. As a result, the government had full decision-making power in service delivery and procurement (Shengelia et al., 2016). In 2007-2010, the privatization of healthcare facilities began. Many state-owned clinics and hospitals were transferred to private ownership, and the system was deregulated (Chanturidze et al., 2009). The central government paid the insurance premium for people under the poverty line within the latter. At first, the beneficiaries could choose the insurance company themselves, which was later changed, and the government abolished the principle of free selection^a. Also, eligible criteria were expanded many times. As a result, in 2012, the total number of people insured by the budget amounted to 1,635.2 thousand (44.0% of the population)^b.

Figure 1 Expenditure on the Healthcare in Georgia



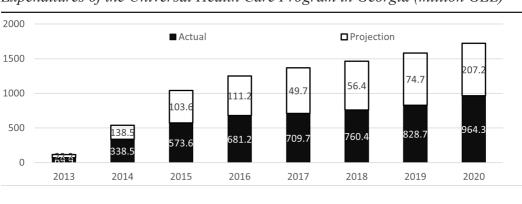
Source: National Health Report of Georgia; National Statistical office of Georgia; Author's calculations.

Another sharp change in the healthcare system was in 2013. The government established the UHC. As a result, the system changed from targeted to universal. Accordingly, not only the low-income population but also high-income persons became the beneficiaries of the budget program. Only those persons who previously owned private insurance policies remained outside the system^c. Therefore, it radically increased access to medical services and, at the same time, significantly reduced out-of-pocket costs^d. However, all this was achieved at the expense of an extreme increase in budgetary expenditures (see Figure 1). In addition, a drastic rise in public spending created fiscal concerns (see Figure 2). Thus, the increased costs doubted the system's sustainability in the second year.

Starting in 2017, the government shifted the healthcare approach from the principle of universality to targeting. These modifications aimed to mitigate the soaring costs of the UHC. After the change, high-income persons were excluded. Differentiated limits and a copayment mechanism were established in the case of the rest, depending on the beneficial status and type of medical services^e. Regardless, the cost growth dynamic in the UHC system could not be slowed down, and the problem could not be eliminated. Following the adopted decision, the growth rate of expenses decreased only in the same year, although the situation became more intense in the following years (see Figures 1-2).

Method and Data

We received an extensive data set from the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from Georgia's Occupied Territories, Labor, Health and Social Affairs. Thus,



Expenditures of the Universal Health Care Program in Georgia (million GEL)

Figure 2

Source: Public finance statistics of the Ministry of Finance of Georgia; Authors' calculations.

based on this data, we study the moral hazards in inpatient service. Our empirical analysis replicates Englum et al.'s (2016) study conducted in the US in 2016. In this paper, after analyzing the medical history of 884.5 thousand patients, the authors determined that, on average, patients insured by private companies stayed in the hospital for 0.3 days longer than patients without insurance. Furthermore, for the patients who benefited from social insurance, their stay in the hospital was 0.9 days longer.

We analyzed 537.9 thousand hospitalization cases registered in Georgia in 2018-2019, from which we selected 126.3 instances based on our study goals. First, the age group of 20-59 years was chosen for the study because the Universal Health Care program covers the medical costs of pensioners^f. The selection includes only urgent cases (excluding planned ones). Also, we excluded the patients following criteria: transfer, death, and discontinued treatment. In addition to those listed, the sampling criterion was the length of stay in the hospital. In particular, the sample includes cases where the hospitalization period is less than 60 days.

Finally, according to the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems 10th Revision (ICD-10), cases of hospitalization with the following chapters were excluded:

Certain infectious and parasitic diseases (A00-B99); External causes of morbidity and mortality (V01-Y98); Factors influencing health status and contact with health services (Z00-U85); Certain conditions originating in the perinatal period (P00 -P96);

Codes for particular purposes (U00-U85);

Mental and behavioural disorders (F00-F99).

There is no uncertainty regarding diseases classified in the first three chapters above, and the information asymmetry must be presented more. For example, it is less likely that a patient with HIV infection or tuberculosis will decide to receive extra diagnostic services. Pediatric cases refer to an age group we exclude. Also, we excluded cases requiring psychiatric services because they require long-term inpatient. In total, 10.56% of cases occurred in excluded groups.

The total sample size is 126.3 thousand cases, including 45.2 thousand (35.8%) financed by private insurance or out-of-pocket. The rest, 81.1 thousand (64.2%) patients' costs, were covered by the budget (the Universal Health Care and other budget programs). To get more accurate results, at the next stage, we divided the cases into separate classes according to ICD-10 (see Table 1).

Based on this sample, we formulated the following hypothesis:

Ha: μ private < μ public - the average length of stay hospitalization under public schemes (the Universal Health Care and other budgetary programs) is more than under private (out-of-pocket/insurance companies) funding conditions.

Hence, the null hypothesis will be the contrary:

Ho: μ private $\geq \mu$ public - the average length of stay hospitalization under Universal Health Care and other budgetary programs is less than or equal to that under private (out-of-pocket/insurance companies) funding conditions.

Our study aims to determine the difference in length of stay between the two samples and the statistical significance of this difference. Thus, we use the point and interval (a 95% confidence interval) estimation methods to increase the reliability of the estimates. For this, we use Student's t-distribution.

Results and Discussion

The data analysis revealed (for detailed data, see Table 2) that in both - private and public - groups, the average length of stay in the hospital was 3.67 days (CI 95%; [3.66-3.69]). However, in the case of public-funded, the average length of stay is 3.77 days (CI 95%; [3.74-3.79]), while in the rest of the cases, the average period is 3.51 days (CI 95%; [3.48-3.54]). The difference between both groups is 0.26 days (CI 95%; [0.22-0.30]), which is statistically significant (t = -12.58; P<.05). Thus,

Chapter (ICD- 10)	Definition	Quantity (Total)	Cases with public financed (%)	Cases with private financed (%)
II	Neoplasms	1417	52,93	47,07
III	Diseases of the blood and blood-forming organs and certain disorders involving the immune mechanism	1417	72,05	27,95
IV	Endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases	809	70,46	29,54
VI	Diseases of the nervous system	7003	71,01	28,99
VII	Diseases of the eye and adnexa	142	73,24	26,76
VIII	Diseases of the ear and mastoid process	15	13,33	86,67
IX	Diseases of the circulatory system	17798	65,22	34,78
Х	Diseases of the respiratory system	15421	69,76	30,24
XI	Diseases of the digestive system	14999	65,99	34,01
XII	Diseases of the skin and subcutaneous tissue	1856	57,11	42,89
XIII	Diseases of the musculoskeletal system and connective tissue	592	42,57	57,43
XIV	Diseases of the genitourinary system	6949	58,31	41,69
XV	Pregnancy, childbirth, and the puerperium	38416	61,03	38,97
XVII	Congenital malformations, deformations, and chromosomal abnormalities	35	42,86	57,14
XVIII	Symptoms, signs, and abnormal clinical and laboratory fin- dings, not elsewhere classified	4100	63,20	36,80
XIX	Injury, poisoning, and certain other consequences of external causes	15279	65,38	34,62

Table 1: Number of cases by chapter (ICD-10) and payment type, 2018-2019

the results demonstrate that the length of stay inpatient under public-funded is longer than in the case of private-funded. In other words, when government programs pay the costs of medical services, the length of stay is longer than when the costs are reimbursed out of pocket or by a private insurance company.

Also, we studied the ICD-10 chapters separately. The highest proportion has the Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Puerperium group (30.43%), where the difference in the length of stay inpatient is the largest, on average 0.41 days (CI 95%; [0.37 - 0.45]), with statistically significant (t = -20.83; P<.05). There are similar results in others four groups:

Diseases of the circulatory system (I00-I99)

Diseases of the genitourinary system (N00-N99)

Symptoms, signs, and abnormal clinical and laboratory findings not elsewhere

classified (R00-R99) Diseases of the skin and subcutaneous tissue (L00-L99) (See Table 2)

In total, these five groups amount to 54.5% of the cases. However, in the cases of the other groups, the difference is not statistically significant.

Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected in total and some key groups. This result means there is a simulated prolonged length of stay in the hospital under the UHC in Georgia, which has a systemic nature. Therefore, the UHC represents an essential source of increase in profits by healthcare institutions.

Conclusion

Pauly (1968) pointed out that when the government provides "free" treatment, it is not surprising that patients demand more services than before. The same can be said about physicians and clinic managers. As a result, they are also starting to offer more medical care. Our study confirmed this, which refers to the period after introducing the cost-sharing approach in the UHC and is based on 126.3 thousand hospitalization cases. In particular, the study compared the length of inpatient stay between two groups, which differed in funding sources - public-funded and other sources (private insurance and out-of-pocket). The study reveals that the length of stay is longer in the case of public-funded—the results of the analysis point to opportunistic conduct by healthcare institutions and medics. Hence, the study results prove that moral hazards occur in the UHC. Furthermore, our results are consistent with a 2016 US study (Englum et al., 2016), reflecting individuals' incentive to use a fruitful alternative. Such an outcome was predicted half a century ago by Mark V. Pauly when universal healthcare systems began to be implemented. (See Table 2).

Finally, our study reveals that despite copayments, opportunistic conduct remains higher under government healthcare programs than otherwise. In turn, cost-sharing may not have substantially reduced moral hazard and, as a result, increased out-ofpocket payments for low-income people. Hence, these circumstances should be a guide during the following reforms, to which our study has a modest contribution.

Also, the study could be extended by examining other approaches, such as the DRG system. All of this will help to implement a more effective health policy.

ICD-10	Private			Public			Private-	Public		
	N	М	CI 95%	N	М	CI 95%	Differ- ence	CI 95%	t	Р
Total	45161	3.51	3,48 : 3,54	81087	3.77	3,74 : 3,79	-0.26	-0,30 : -0,22	-12.58	.000**
Chapter XV	14971	2.97	2,93 : 3,00	23445	3.37	3,36 : 3,39	-0.41	-0,45 : -0,37	-20.83	.000**
Chapter IX	6191	3.44	3,34 : 3,54	11607	3.78	3,72 : 3,85	-0.35	-0,47 : -0,23	-5.59	.000**
Chapter X	4664	5.45	5,33 : 5,58	10757	5.32	5,25 : 5,39	0.14	-0,01 : 0,28	1.82	.966
Chapter XXI	5289	3.18	3,06 : 3,30	9990	3.00	2,93 : 3,07	0.18	0,04:0,32	2.50	.997
Chapter XI	5101	3.93	3,83 : 4,02	9898	3.93	3,87: 3,99	0.00	-0,12:0,11	-0.05	.482
Chapter VI	2030	3.95	3,76: 4,14	4973	3.72	3,64 : 3,80	0.23	0,03 : 0,44	2.24	.987
Chapter XIV	2897	2.97	2,84 : 3,10	4052	3.57	3,47 : 3,67	-0.60	-0,76 : -0,44	-7.21	.000**
Chapter XVIII	1509	2.71	2,52 : 2,91	2591	3.05	2,92 : 3,18	-0.34	-0,57 : - 0,10	-2.80	.003*
Chapter XII	796	3.17	2,92 : 3,41	1060	3.43	3,28 : 3,57	-0.26	-0,55 : 0,02	-1.76	.036*
Chapter II	667	4.91	4,51 : 5,31	750	5.27	4,95 : 5,59	-0.36	-0,88:0,15	-1.39	.083
Chapter III	396	4.26	3,85 : 4,66	1021	4.30	4,10 : 4,51	-0.05	-0,50 : 0,40	-0.22	.414
Chapter IV	239	3.95	3,56 : 4,33	570	3.98	3,71 : 4,24	-0.03	-0,50 : 0,44	-0.13	.451
Chapter XIII	340	3.55	3,20 : 3,91	252	3.90	3,63 : 4,17	-0.35	-0,79:0,10	-1.54	.062

Table 2: Results of statistical analysis of length of stay inpatient for 2018-2019

** P \leq .001 the null hypothesis is rejected. * P \leq .05 the null hypothesis is rejected. The other three chapters are not represented because the sample size is small, n < 50.

Notes

a) Resolution of the Government of Georgia #218 - "Medical insurance for the population under the poverty line," "Health insurance for people's artists and winners of the Rustaveli Prize," "Medical insurance for internally displaced persons in compact settlements," "Medical insurance for children deprived of care" within the state programs "On determining the conditions of the insurance voucher to be given to the population for health insurance in 2010"; Received: 09.12.2009; Retrieved from: https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/4372?publication=0

b) Since 2010, the program's beneficiaries have been as follows: persons under the poverty line, Internally displaced persons (living in a compact settlement), children deprived of care, people's artists, and Rustaveli Prize laureates. History of the insurance market. Association of Insurance Companies of Georgia. https://bit. ly/3dJ94td National Statistics Office of Georgia.

c) The program financed the following types of residents' healthcare services: planned outpatient, emergency outpatient, and inpatient, planned surgical services; chemotherapy, hormone, and radiation therapy; delivery and C-section services. Moreover, later, they provide medicines to the socially vulnerable, pensioners, veterans, and others.

d) According to the National Health Reports, out-of-pocket payments were 72.2% in 2002, 73.4% in 2012, and 54.7% in 2017.

e) After the change was implemented in May 2017, the following categories of beneficiaries of the UHC were included: socially vulnerable persons, pensioners, age group 0-6 years, teachers, students, internally displaced persons, and disabled persons. Also, citizens with a monthly income less than 1,000 GEL, self-employed, irregular income, and average-income citizens whose monthly income is more than 1,000 GEL but whose annual income is at most 40,000 GEL benefit from the program.

f) Georgia's retirement age is $60 \le$ years for females and $65 \le$ for males.

Appendix

Appendix 1. Descriptive statistics and results of statistical analysis *Table 1: According to the funding source, the aver-age length of stay hospitalisation and inpatient cases in 2018-2019*

Source	N	%	М	SD	min	max
Private	45162	35,77	3,51	3,65	1	60
Public	81087	64,23	3,77	3,08	1	60
Total	126249	100,00	3,67	3,30	1	60
			·			

Note: N - number of cases, M - the average length of stay, SD - standard deviation

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of the length of stay hospitalisation for 2018-2019 cases by the International Classification of Diseases 10th Revision

Chapter	Definition	N	М	S.E.	CI 95	%
					÷	$ $ \rightarrow
2	Neoplasms	1417	5,10	0,13	4,85	5,35
3	Diseases of the blood and blood-forming organs and certain disorders involving the immune mechanism	1417	4,29	0,09	4,11	4,47
4	Endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases	809	3,97	0,11	3,75	4,19
6	Diseases of the nervous System	7003	3,78	0,04	3,71	3,86
7	Diseases of the eye and adnexa	142	1,35	0,23	0,88	1,81
8	Diseases of the ear and mastoid process	15	4,13	0,83	2,35	5,92
9	Diseases of the circulatory system	17798	3,66	0,03	3,61	3,72
10	Diseases of the respiratory system	15421	5,36	0,03	5,30	5,42
11	Diseases of the digestive system	14999	3,93	0,03	3,88	3,98
12	Diseases of the skin and subcutaneous tissue	1856	3,32	0,07	3,18	3,45
13	Diseases of the musculoskeletal system and connective tissue	592	3,70	0,12	3,47	3,94
14	Diseases of the genitourinary system	6949	3,32	0,04	3,24	3,40
15	Pregnancy, childbirth and the puerperium	38416	3,22	0,01	3,20	3,23
17	Congenital malformations, deformations and chromosomal abnormalities	35	4,57	0,90	2,74	6,40
18	Symptoms, signs and abnormal clinical and laboratory findings, not elsewhere classified	4100	2,93	0,06	2,82	3,04
19	Injury, poisoning and certain other conse- quences of external causes	15279	3,06	0,03	3,00	3,12

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<i>Table 3: Distribution of the number of hospitalisation cases in 2018-2019 by</i>
the International Classification of Diseases 10th Revision and funding source

	ICD-10	Pri	vate	Pu	blic	Tc	otal
Chapter	Definition	N	%	N	%	N	%
2	Neoplasms	667	47,07	750	52,93	1417	1,12
3	Diseases of the blood and blood-forming organs and certain disorders	396	27,95	1021	72,05	1417	1,12
4	Endocrine, nutritional and meta- bolic diseases	239	29,54	570	70,46	809	0,64
6	Diseases of the nervous System	2030	28,99	4973	71,01	7003	5,55
7	Diseases of the eye and adnexa	38	26,76	104	73,24	142	0,11
8	Diseases of the ear and mastoid process	13	86,67	2	13,33	15	0,01
9	Diseases of the circulatory system	6191	34,78	11607	65,22	17798	14,10
10	Diseases of the respiratory system	4664	30,24	10757	69,76	15421	12,21
11	Diseases of the digestive system	5101	34,01	9898	65,99	14999	11,88
12	Diseases of the skin and subcuta- neous tissue	796	42,89	1060	57,11	1856	1,47
13	Diseases of the musculoskeletal system and connective tissue	340	57,43	252	42,57	592	0,47
14	Diseases of the genitourinary system	2897	41,69	4052	58,31	6949	5,50
15	Pregnancy, childbirth and the puerperium	14971	38,97	23445	61,03	38416	30,43
17	Congenital malformations, deformations and chromosomal abnormalities	20	57,14	15	42,86	35	0,03
18	Symptoms, signs and abnormal clinical and laboratory findings	1509	36,80	2591	63,20	4100	3,25
19	Injury, poisoning and certain other consequences of external causes		34,62	9990	65,38	15279	12,10
	Total	45161	35,77	81087	64,23	126248	100,00

Appendix 2. Length of stay hospitalization for 2018-2019 cases by the International Classification of Diseases 10th Revision in Georgia doi: 10.17632/bmxbgmxt84.1

Table 4: Results of the statistical analysis of the length of stay in 2018-2019,
according to the International Classification of Diseases 10th Revision

ICD-10	Obs private	Obs public	Mean _{private}	Mean _{public}	Std, Dev, pri- vate	Std, Dev, pub- lic	[95 Conf priv	· • •	[95% Int,] p		mean private-public	Std, Err, diff	t	[Ha: diff < 0] Pr(T < t)
2	667	750	4,91	5,27	5,26	4,51	4,51	5,31	4,95	5,59	-0,36	0,26	-1,39	0,083
3	396	1021	4,26	4,30	4,08	3,27	3,85	4,66	4,10	4,51	-0,05	0,23	-0,22	0,415
4	239	570	3,95	3,98	3,04	3,28	3,56	4,33	3,71	4,24	-0,03	0,24	-0,12	0,451
6	203	4973	3,95	3,72	4,31	2,82	3,76	4,14	3,64	3,80	0,23	0,10	2,24	0,987
7	38	104	1,97	1,12	5,35	0,47	0,22	3,73	1,02	1,21	0,86	0,87	0,99	0,835
8	13	2	4,38	2,50	3,40	0,71	2,33	6,44	-3,85	8,85	1,88	1,07	1,76	0,946
9	6191	11607	3,44	3,78	4,05	3,71	3,34	3,54	3,72	3,85	-0,35	0,06	-5,59	0,000
10	4664	10757	5,45	5,32	4,49	3,63	5,33	5,58	5,25	5,39	0,14	0,07	1,82	0,966
11	5101	9898	3,93	3,93	3,55	3,06	3,83	4,02	3,87	3,99	0,00	0,06	-0,05	0,482
12	796	106	3,17	3,43	3,53	2,42	2,92	3,41	3,28	3,57	-0,26	0,15	-1,80	0,036
13	340	252	3,55	3,90	3,34	2,15	3,20	3,91	3,63	4,17	-0,35	0,23	-1,54	0,062
14	2897	4052	2,97	3,57	3,56	3,23	2,84	3,10	3,47	3,67	-0,60	0,08	-7,21	0,000
15	14971	23445	2,97	3,37	2,09	1,49	2,93	3,00	3,36	3,39	-0,41	0,02	-20,83	0,000
17	20	15	4,65	4,47	6,43	3,62	1,64	7,66	2,46	6,47	0,18	1,71	0,11	0,542
18	1509	2591	2,71	3,05	3,85	3,44	2,52	2,91	2,92	3,18	-0,34	0,12	-2,80	0,003
19	5289	999	3,18	3,00	4,57	3,65	3,06	3,30	2,93	3,07	0,18	0,07	2,50	0,994
total (16)	45161	81087	3,51	3,77	3,65	3,08	3,48	3,54	3,74	3,79	-0,26	0,02	-12,58	0,000

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PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE DETERMINATION OF RISKS IN THE FINANCIAL MARKETS

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Abstract

The article is devoted to the problem of measuring risks in financial markets. From various complex scientific definitions, it synthesizes an intelligent definition of entropy. Furthermore, risk is considered a probabilistic criterion, described in connection with the normal probability distribution. The next step suggests a method for calculating the risk index for practitioners not burdened with deep mathematical knowledge, using the covariance index and the determination of the Sharpe ratio. Recommendations are provided at the end of the article.

Keywords: risks, covariance, correlation coefficient, probability distribution

Introduction

Globalization associated with the complication of economic relations leads to higher ambiguity in the analysis of the financial activity of economic entities.

The concepts of volatility, entropy, and instability have become inseparable in meaning and methodological content. The volatility as a measure of temporal series characterizes the instability of the financial market behavior. Entropy is treated as a measure of the stability of the financial market. Entropy characterizes the amount of the system order. At the same time, entropy can show the amount of the system disorder. Thus, chaos and order are not antipodes.

In modern scientific literature, authors compete in complex definitions of entropy. According to the author of this paper, the most comprehensible definition of entropy is the logarithm of the number of states. If we remove the mathematical formulas, it becomes clear that the greater the number of states, the greater the possible outcomes. If the two states are heads or tails, then the degree of certainty is maximum, and the degree of uncertainty is minimal, respectively. As the number of states increases, the system shifts from order to chaos. Order and chaos represent risk categories in financial markets. As a result, issues related to determining risk indicators of the financial markets become a top priority.

Risks associated with financial markets

Hypothetically accepting that the change in risk indicators obeys the normal probability distribution, then the total risk of the portfolio depends on the number of shares according to the law of opposites. Moreover, the less dependent the fluctuations in the prices of portfolio shares on one another, the lower the risk of the portfolio is. Similar thought in econometric terms means that the lower the correlation coefficient between the individual stocks, the lower the risk of the portfolio. In other words, the problem pops up when determining a measure for the joint variability of prices of several assets, which is an indicator of their covariance. Therefore, if we have, for ease of calculating, two shares (A and B), then the measure of their joint variability will be the following:

$$cov(A,B) = \sum_{i=1}^{n} (X_A - \overline{x_A})(X_B - \overline{x_B}) \cdot p_i$$

The research carried out within the framework of this paper has confirmed that the covariance indicator, as opposite to the average values (mathematical expectations), is an informative indicator for the study of the financial markets. If the value of the modular covariance is large, then depending on the sign, the asset's profitability indices change according to the direct or inverse law. If this indicator changes around zero, then this marks a random nature of profitability fluctuations.

This paper is replete with statistical terminology, so we will focus on some classic concepts that have transferred from mathematical statistics to economics.

A probability distribution is the set of different possible outcomes with the probability of their occurrence. We are interested in discrete probability distributions since, in our problems, the number of outcomes is finite, and each outcome has its probability of occurrence. Therefore, by multiplying each outcome by the probability of its occurrence and then adding them up, we get a weighted average of outcomes.

The quantitative risk analysis is carried out in two stages. In the first place, it is necessary to determine the expected return:

$$\overline{x} = \sum_{i=1}^{n} x_i \cdot P_i$$

where xi - i - stands for the possible outcome, and Pi - represents the probability of i- an outcome with n - possible outcomes.

The measure of the distribution from the expected average return is the variance indicator:

$$\sigma^2 = \sum_{i=1}^n \left(x_i - \overline{x}\right)^2 p_i$$

Thus, the dispersion is the mean square of the deviations. To begin with, the average value is taken. The difference between the initial indicators of the profitability of a particular asset and their average values are also taken, and all these values are squared. The resulting values for each security are added and divided by the number of values. The dispersion indicator is rarely used in the behavior analysis of financial instruments due to the inconvenience of the calculated units of measure. They are obtained as second-degree equations. For this reason, the square root of the variance is to be extracted to get a very convenient indicator of the standard deviation. For example, the mean-square deviation, or as it is also called, standard deviation, is used to create an indifference curves graph of the dependence of risk indicators and expected profitability.

The aim of all investors is the same – to maximize profit with minimal expenditure. At the same time, strategies applied to solve this problem may be different. Differences can be of both objective and subjective nature. The differences can be eva-

luated based on the individual approach of the particular investor. So, investment preferences are formed depending on the investor's approach. Hence, investment preferences are a set of characteristics a particular investor employs to choose a financial instrument and the platform where this instrument is traded. The author regards these preferences as the handwriting of the investor.

The level of an investor's income is an important characteristic that forms an investment preference. The income level determines the upper threshold of risks an investor can take for high profits. According to the author of this paper, the following characteristic forming investment preferences is the level of investor awareness. Furthermore, the initial awareness should be about the issuing company's financial condition. The next level of awareness includes information about a particular financial market and the macroeconomic situation. Awareness in this respect refers to the volume of and quick access to the information. The author of this paper identifies six criteria for establishing investment preferences. The three include direct criteria, and the other three are derivatives. The author refers to the level of return on assets (excess of income over expenditure), risk level, and financial instrument liquidity as direct criteria. Derivative criteria include the frequency of transactions in a particular financial market, the ratio of profitable transactions to total transactions, and the number of market participants. Derived criteria can be indirectly defined through the indicators of direct criteria.

If it is possible to determine the level of risk, the investor attempts to maximize the expected profit within a predetermined risk range. Otherwise, the investor must diversify investments within an expected rate of return, thereby reducing risk indicators. For clarity, this can be shown on a graph of indifference curves. Suppose we postpone the risk indicators in the form of standard deviations of the σ along the abscissa axis and the indicators of profitability (expected) γ along the ordinate axis. We can get many graphs on the same coordinate plane in that case. The investor will choose from the maximum return at maximum risk to the minimum return and minimum risk. The investor will be able to choose an alternative depending on the situation. This problem can be solved analytically by minimizing the continuous function with undetermined Lagrange multipliers.

If the financial market can be described within the hypothesis of the efficient market, where the price of each financial instrument is close to its investment value, and the market is anti-persistent where today's trading does not mirror or reflect yesterday's trading (3) volatility in such markets can be analyzed using such parameters as the opening price of the research period, the price at the close of the research period, the maximum price for the research period and the minimum price for the research period and statistical methods.

Hedging as a method of reducing risks

Contract hedging is considered one of the most common and effective strategies for managing market risks. Hedging can insure the hedger against losses, but unlike contract insurance, it also deprives the insured of the opportunity to take advantage of favorable market conditions. Insurance by hedging a contract implies the opening of an opposite position in the financial market (1). The hedging mechanism implies a decrease in the variance of the profit of a financial market participant, and, as a result, the total cash flow becomes more predictable. Hedging can be complete or incomplete. Under full hedging, the required number of futures from contracts is defined as the ratio of the number of futures from contracts to the number of units of an asset in one future contract.

$$N_F = \frac{N_h}{N_{h/F}}$$
 where N_f – required number of future contracts.

In real life, it is hardly possible to hedge all contracts in an investment portfolio. For the assessment of the total risks, it is necessary to define a ratio between the hedged assets and the futures contracts. This ratio is determined by a dimensionless variable, which is called the hedging ratio. Considering this, the assets' portfolio is defined as

$$V_P = V_S - h \times V_F$$

where V_{p} – represents the value of the portfolio

 $F_{\rm s}$ – represents the value of the hedged asset

 $V_{\rm F}$ – represents the value of the future contract

h – represents the hedging ratio

To eliminate the risk of losses with a small price change, the following equation must be satisfied:

$$\Delta V_P = \Delta V_S - h \times \Delta V_F = 0$$

From this formula, the hedging ratio is derived as:

$$h = \frac{\Delta V_s}{\Delta v_F}$$

The hedging ratio represents the strength of the statistical relationship between the standard deviation of the price of the hedged asset and the futures price:

$$N_F = \frac{N_h}{N_{h/F}} h$$

 ρ – stands for the correlation coefficient between the price of the hedged asset and the futures price.

Considering the hedging ratio, the formula for determining the required number of futures contracts can take the following form:

$$N_F = \frac{N_h}{N_{h/F}} h$$

At the same time, it is necessary to consider the high correlation both between the price of a financial instrument and its underlying asset, and between the market price of a financial asset and the interest rate. In this case, the risk analysis of a financial instrument needs to include such indicators as the delta indicator, which is equal to the ratio of the value of the financial instrument to the change in the value of the underlying asset; $D = \Delta V / \Delta S$ and the elasticity index between the price of a financial asset and the interest rate.

$$D = \frac{\Delta V}{\frac{V}{\frac{\Delta I}{I}}}$$
 WHERE V represents the market value of the financial asset, I is the rate of return of the security.

(Thus, the hedging ratio is determined by econometric modeling. The first step is to determine the regression coefficient between spot yield and futures yield.)

Sharpe ratio as an indicator of profitability per unit of risk

According to the author, one of the most important and convenient indicators in the theory of risk of financial portfolios is the Sharpe ratio. It is calculated as the ratio of the difference between the return on the portfolio and the risk-free benchmark to the volatility of the portfolio. The standard (or, as it is also called, linear) deviation of profitability is taken to measure the portfolio volatility.

 $Sh = \frac{P_p - P_b}{\sigma_p}$, where P_p is the return of portfolio, P_b is the return of rik-free stan- σ_p dard, σ_p - is the standard deviation of the portfolio's excess return.

The bank's deposit rate is usually taken as a risk-free standard.

It can be seen from the formula that the higher the Sharpe ratio, the greater the income the investor will receive per unit of risk, and the higher the volatility of the portfolio, the lower the expected return of the investor. Furthermore, the dynamics of the Sharpe ratio allow us to conclude whether the increased return on investment is an outcome of "luck" or a well-developed investment project. According to the author, one of the main disadvantages of the Sharpe ratio is a constraint imposed by the linear laws of the relationship between income and volatility. In addition, the indicators of asymmetry and excess are also to be considered.

They may not be equal either to each other or in relation to the mathematical expectation. In other words, the graph of the normal (Gaussian) distribution may not be symmetrical. We can talk about the normal distribution law of a random variable if there are many independent random variables, each having a minor effect on the indicator of the effective parameter. If there is a small number of random variables, and they have a major total effect on the effective parameter, then we must be careful by accepting the unsubstantiated normality of the distribution. Otherwise, we may encounter an infinite variance, which in turn means that there is no optimal point between risk and return. The risks can be endless, and the correlation score may not be adequate.

Conclusions and recommendations

Even without conducting a computer study (a computer study has not been carried out due to the lack of statistical data), the pure analysis of the formulas leads to the conclusion that the instruments of the financial market should not be used without considering the macroeconomic situation in the country. Given the close correlation between the money supply, interest rates, and the activity of financial markets, it can be concluded that if there is a frequent change in the exchange rate of the national currency in the country's economy, there is a need for complete hedging of the currency risk. Also, the presence of a high correlation between the market price of a financial instrument and the interest rate should be considered in the analysis at any level. High interest rates inherent mainly in developing economies are attractive for foreign investors and speculators. This factor should be accounted for by regulators. Another point to consider is that in developing countries, the number of traded financial instruments, both in terms of nomenclature and quantity,

is usually less than in the well-known world markets. The smaller is the number of instruments sold, the greater is the correlation coefficient and, as a result, the higher are the risk indicators of the portfolio.

As a recommendation, I would like to draw attention to the need for further involvement of the general population in the activities of the financial markets. It

is necessary to improve the availability of financial instruments to the population. The experience of large foreign companies, especially whose income and wellbeing directly depend on the experience of its employees, where the leakage of personnel brings direct damage to production, employees are encouraged by shares and options to buy them. In this case, each employee is interested in the high financial performance of the organization and also tied to the place of occupation on a long-term basis.

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THE FIRST WORK ON OLIVER CROMWELL IN GEORGIA "OLIVER CROMWELL. PURITAN, CAPTAIN, STATESMEN" BY IVANE MENTESHASHVILI

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In 2022, the publishing house "Logos" published the book "Oliver Cromwell. Puritan, Captain, Statesmen" (441 pages) by Ivane Menteshashvili, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Fellow International Napoleonic Society. Ivane Manteshashvili is a Georgian historian, senior scientist at the Georgian National Museum, associate professor at the University of Georgia, and simultaneous interpreter and poetry translator in Georgian historiography, Iv. Menteshashvili is well-known through his research and works on the history of England and France, mainly: "History of England, "Love and Power. Elizabeth I Tudor", "Napoleon," Cardinal Richelieu"- in Georgian, "The Falkland Islands. History of the Conflict," "Power and Hero. Napoleon Bonapart," "Transcaucasia in British Russian Competition in 1880-1914," "The Contiguity of Civilization of the Western and the Eastern Civilizations During the Activity of the British East India Company in India" -in Russian, etc. By the way, Professor Ivane Menteshashvili partly dealt with Oliver Cromwell in his book "Power and the Heroes Born of Revolution" (in Russian), where he gives portraits of three historical persons: Cromwell, Napoleon, and Stalin.

Oliver Cromwell is one of the most controversial figures in British and world history. In the introduction of the book, Iv. Menteshashvili notes that many research papers and articles have been written on the man who "without the title of king, came to the throne of three kingdoms (England, Scotland, Ireland)." Yes, more than 1,000 separate researches and 160 monographs, each presenting a different view of the controversial person of Cromwell.

Some historians, such as David Sharp, consider Cromwell a regicide and dictator; he is a military dictator for Sir Winston Churchill and a hero of liberty for John Milton.

Who is Oliver Cromwell by Iv. Menteshashvili? What kind of historian person does he try to show us in his work: A dictator, a brutal tyrant? A hero? A founder of a future liberal state or champion of Nonconformity? A great revolutionary ruler? The finest type of middle-class Englishman? A "man of action"? Was it democracy, the supremacy of parliamentary principles, or autocracy?

Oliver Cromwell has been viewed in different ways in various historical periods, depending on the regime and epoch characteristics. For example, historians of the 1930s portrayed Cromwell in the mould of then-European dictators.

In 1973, Lady Antonia Margaret Caroline Fraser "Cromwell " published the book. Our Chief of Men." Lady Antonia is a British author of history, novels, biographies, and detective fiction. She is the widow of the 2005 Nobel Laureate in Literature, Harold Pinter. She took the title from a poem praising Cromwell by John Milton. Lady Antonia's work is a revisionist biography with a fresh sense and challenge in Cromwellian studies. She tries to rehabilitate Oliver Cromwell and his reputation. She presents events and activities as the result of "providence"; his religious motivation determines Cromwell's actions and views. For example, the decision to execute Charles I happened because it was the will of God.

Iv. Menteshashvili shows us the various sides of a very complex and enigmatic person in history, but I think he is closer to Lady Antonia's vision: "providence," Puritanism, and based on Puritan teaching and Puritan implacability; he tries to explain Oliver Cromwell's personality, his actions, and decisions, even in the book title, Iv. Menteshashvili underlines it: first - Puritan, and then Captain and Statesmen.

Again, the main question is: Who is Oliver Cromwell by Iv. Menteshashvili? Oliver Cromwell lived in Puritan England. The Puritans believed the Church of England should eliminate ceremonies and practices not given in the Bible, especially in the Old Testament. Puritans felt they had a direct covenant with God for such demands and actions.

Oliver Cromwell, as a radical Puritan, believed he had been charged by God for all his actions and also for depriving people of a wicked king. Iv. Menteshashvili explains the influence of Dr. Thomas Beard on Oliver Cromwell, his tutor. Dr. Thomas Beard was a Puritan minister and a famous schoolmaster of Oliver Cromwell at Huntingdon, from whom Oliver Cromwell got the first lessons on Puritanism.

Iv. Menteshashvili, throughout the book, repeatedly focuses on Cromwell's Puritanism. For example: "the idea of unequivocal supremacy of God and his (Cromwell's) own existence, based on this religious provision, is completely manifested in the self-awareness of matured Cromwell" (p. 34).

Or, when Iv. Menteshashvili tries to analyze Cromwell's actions:

"What is this? The ruthlessness that characterizes man, or the freedom of the soul, for which there is no limit, especially when he is convinced that he is a deadly weapon given to him by God? Moreover, it was the merciless God of the Puritans, the God of the Old Testament, who mercilessly annihilated the unbelievers and pagans. It seems that being aware of this Cromwell had that unprecedented powerful charge, thanks to which he had the strength to overcome all visible or invisible barriers that were on his way" (p. 90);

The same thought is carried when Iv. Menteshashvili speaks on King Charles's execution: "Cromwell was a deep believer who unwaveringly followed the ideals of the Old Testament... Cromwell, possessed by the Puritan idea of selection by God, without hesitation, signed the death sentence of the king and insisted others to do the same" (p. 229);

Also, at the very end of the book, it is declared by Iv. Menteshashvili: "The Puritan Cromwell was adamant in his belief that Providence created him to fulfill the great task assigned to him" (p. 436).

Who else is Cromwell by Iv. Menteshashvili? He is a pragmatic, rational person, characterized by a firmness of spirit based on faith; "Cromwell won at Bolton, Marston Moor, Naseby, Preston, Worcester, and Dunbar because he combined in his person courage, iron discipline, and rigor up to the point of cruelty, as befits a true Puritan" (p. 241).

The book consists of 17 chapters: the narrative begins in 1485 with the War of the Roses and with Cromwell's ancestors, who came from Wales. It is interesting how the author introduces Cromwell into the narrative; when does Cromwell first appear in the book? This is when King James I, traveling down from Scotland to take possession of his new kingdom, was entertained by Sir Oliver Cromwell (the uncle of Oliver Cromwell) at Hinchingbrooke (lies between Edinburgh and London) in April 1603. Oliver Cromwell was four years old at that time.

In the work, Iv. Menteshashvili introduces us to the opinions of various historians of different centuries: Edward Hyde, J. Morley, W. Harris, Samuel R. Gardiner, D. Wilson, Soviet-Russian authors M.A. Barg, S. Volsky, and many others. Iv. Menteshashvili agrees with some of them and disagrees with others—for example, Iv. Menteshashvili disagrees with Lady Antonia when she considers Cromwell's conversation with the king's children, 8-year-old Henry and 13-year-old Elizabeth, after the execution of Charles I, as "harmless banter" (p. 251). Iv. Menteshashvili presents various historical figures: Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex; Edward

Montagu, 2nd Earl of Manchester; Sir William Waller, Charles I. He often refers to and examines Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and John Milton.

The language of the book should be especially noted. It is very dynamic and artistic. This is not typical historical research: a combination of historical novel and scientific research; in his work, Iv. Menteshashvili asks many questions, allowing the reader to think with him, analyze, and come to his/her conclusions independently without jumping to conclusions.

"Oliver Cromwell. Puritan, Captain, Statesmen" by Ivane Menteshashvili is the view of a Georgian historian on a historical person who was always treated controversially and was full of contradictions. The book is intended for students and people interested in world and British history. This work is an essential acquisition of Georgian historiography.