Democratic Value Orientations & Political Culture in Georgia
Nana Sumbadze & George Tarkhan-Mouravi[§]

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The work is devoted to the study of the hierarchical organisation of values in the process of their change, as part of the broader context of changing political culture recognised as important factor in political behaviour of the population or the political élites, and interpreted as complex variable including in addition to the value system also the set of societal traditions, skills and attitudes. An attempt is made to link the adherence to social values to political preferences, and to describe, based on sociological approach, some elements of existing political culture and political attitudes as factors and preconditions of democratic change in Georgia. In particular, voting behaviour is studied as area where public participation in political process takes place and where political élites compete among one another for influence and domination.

Communication messages by political leaders and parties during pre-election campaigns, as well as their assumed effect on people's attitudes, interpretations, and behaviours, have been analysed. A week before the presidential elections in April 2000 a survey was carried out in order to identify the most conspicuous problems as perceived by respondents, as well as their attitudes towards various qualities of the national leader and different external orientations of the international politics. Earlier, surveys were conducted during the Parliamentary elections of October 31, 1999, and of November 5, 1995, in order to assess political preferences of the electorate. Electoral programmes of the leading parties in 1999 elections have been compared with the similar results for 1995 elections in order to obtain indications on the dynamics of political thinking.

The study has mainly concentrated on the capital of Georgia and its population, as the process of state-building and democratic reform is most visible in the city of Tbilisi, while in many provinces the pace of change is still very slow. The research goal of the study was to develop a set of value items that reflected the way in which the adult population saw their world in political perspective. Again, elections were at the focus of the study, as they have special features making them especially important in studying political preferences, particularly the notion that voting is a form of action with high social desirability.

Despite the demands posed by the change of political and economic structure and environment, cultural and political legacies hinder both élite and ordinary citizens in reorienting toward values of personal or corporate responsibility, transparency and accountability. The study has demonstrated decisive effect of current conditions and needs on value orientations: people do not largely adhere to post-materialist, libertarian, democratic values until more basic, materialist values of safety, stability and livelihood are not satisfied. So, respondents were most unanimous in choosing order in the country over personal freedom. Another alarming tendency is the great gap between political élites actively involved in governance or directing opposition politics, and the population at large, emotionally concerned but lacking skills and levers for more political participation. Results of the study pointed to the democratic immaturity of the electorate, to high reliance on the personal features of the leader and indifference to party ideologies and agenda.

However, there are certain positive trends observed as well. Such was the reinforcement of the opposition to ruling coalition in recent vote that points to the strengthening of the democratic environment. Preferences revealed indicate to increased expectation of electorate for positive political goals instead of overall criticism, craving for stability and positive outcomes. The study also pointed to different standards used by different cohorts in their evaluations of political issues, with younger people showing stronger adherence to post-materialist values. While there are many obstacles to rapid positive change of political culture in the direction of more democratic one, the process is nevertheless on move, with younger generation showing more active and pro-democracy stance. Orientations toward the western models and values, support of market oriented reform and of civic values is good reason for moderate optimism with regards to immediate future, and for much brighter hopes in the long run.

INTRODUCTION

Following the disintegration of the USSR, disruption of the totalitarian communist system and subsequent independence brought dynamics of transition that turned out to be a complex and extremely painful process for Georgia. Independence and the new political reality got unexpectedly imposed over people that appeared unprepared to the new way of life. Democracy, an ideology, which together with market economy was cherished by the new political leadership proved difficult to exercise in reality. Both those who ruled and those to be ruled are equally burdened with the same experience of living in totalitarian regime, ideology of which was found to be more deeply rooted than presumed to be. Even now, the real need for reform has not yet matured sufficiently to enable a social discourse to take place that could help to structure public opinion and interest groups. Nor does there exist any social group or stratum that has clear understanding of the preferred model of development of the country. Even the most sensitive issues are dealt by both the governments and the common people on the basis of irrational emotions and myths, rather than pragmatic approach, conceptual thinking and verifiable facts. This situation was particularly evident during recent pre-election campaigns, when it appeared that practically no political leader or party have any clear ideology, programme or models, other than rather embryonic schemes based mostly on intuitive social-democratic or nationalist patterns. The same can be said concerning political élites in general, which makes the process of reform so dependent on the personality of the leaders, external pressures, popular attitudes and other random factors, rather than on solid social basis and explicit group interests. Indeed, post-communist countries like Georgia provide opportunity to examine patterns of and attitudes toward representation in a society in which the electoral institutions and preferences are newly emerging, and this makes the study of these processes to acquire general scientific and practical significance.

For many years the Georgian society held resistance against deliberate and also spontaneous pressures from Russia, substantiated by absolute political dominance of the 'big brother'. Under such conditions Western culture, hardly differentiated into European and American, was considered by national élites as a potential, and favourable, counterbalance to the policies of Russification. With the independence brought by the disintegration of the USSR, this process gained strength, and the Western way of life, as well as the globalisation process equally are considered as purely positive phenomenon, while few alarmist voices that are talking of the threats of homogenisation that may wipe out national distinctiveness and, ultimately, endanger the national culture, are paid little attention. Western political value system, together with the traditional culture are another set considered to be alternative to the

legacy of Soviet despotism, totalitarian ideologisation of life, and cynical doubletalk. Now, ruling political élites never get tired to stress their devotion to Western, democratic values and goals, however practices might differ greatly from stated values. At the same time there are some specific features such as extreme political pragmatism and opportunism that makes it impossible to judge about political ideology of an actor on the basis of his party affiliation or statements, as demonstrated during the last series of parliamentary elections. Still, one of the signs of political immaturity of the Georgian state and the society is the permanent referring to Russia as the main cause of problems and at the same time the clue to the solution of most of problems. Even among those who reveal hostile attitude towards former metropolis, the Russian factor serves the same role of diminishing their own responsibility for the political processes, as it is only too natural to blame the omnipresent Moscow hand in all the failures and inadequacies. Political conditions under Soviet rule were specific, characteristic for pseudo-sovereign status of Soviet republics. No important decision was made without control from Moscow, though local government had to play its special subordinate role in pan-Soviet doublethink, doubletalk and double-economy. Defensive and theatrical cynicism and moral relativism, which has served so well in resisting to the dominance of Communist ideology, ruins today the capacity of Georgians to build their own state.

One more powerful obstacle to designing Georgia's future is the deficiency of the ability of political élites of formulating political strategies, explicit and clear concept of development. Hardly is observed any explicitly formulated vision of the future, any concepts of solutions, but mere battle of words, slogans and symbols. Also, Georgia's political establishment has no explicitly conceptualised and formulated hierarchy of political values, just the commonly stressed importance of territorial integrity issue and vague leaning towards the west understood as something different from Soviet and developing worlds, associated with wealth and high quality of life. Anti-meritocratic principles of personnel appointment policies, technocratic, or egocentric system of preferences are all characteristics of the present day political élite in Georgia. The widespread culture of clientelism and a mentality of dependence are not easy to shake off. Inherent is a lack of concern for institutional success; management by directives rather than by negotiation; lack of co-operation, both direct and indirect corruption. The new bureaucrats combine their official and private business activities, thus creating permanent conflicts of interest. Another legacy of the old system is above-mentioned unwillingness of state bureaucracy to take responsibility and initiatives. Due to this, there is a lack of independent and creative thinking; as well as no established system of professional ethics. All these factors contribute to inertia and low levels of progress in terms of managing and implementing the transition.

Nevertheless, Georgia is slowly but steadily progressing towards a more democratic civic society. Still, the concept and the structures of civil society are weakly rooted in people's lives. Now, most of the political institutions, including the government and leading political parties, explicitly acknowledge and support democratic values and rights, need of pluralism and respect to minorities, demonstrating their best to advance an open and democratic society. However, the process of setting up democratic freedom is still in its beginning. Not that most of the political parties or the political élite lack the will to establish a genuine democratic society. It is rather that required changes in the mentality of the population are slow to come about, while democratisation is impeded also by inertia, outdated ideological stereotypes and the vague status of democratic values in current modes of thought. The present political system in Georgia has indeed many of the formal attributes of democracy. Nevertheless, most of its structures and institutions are underdeveloped or anyway not quite

what is expected of them in the western democratic perspective, which is the declared predominant model. So, e.g., there are next to no organisational structures uniting the labour force, or defending its rights, as traditional soviet trade-unions have lost whatever public respect they had and simply became property-holders for their leadership, while no new trade-unions have yet emerged that have any influence or organisational capacity. This fact has direct political connotation as well, as in those countries, "where workers have been able to form strong unions and obtain representation in politics the disintegrative forms of political cleavage are least likely to be found" (Lipset, 1960, p. 2). Development of legal guarantees of democratic freedoms and especially their implementation; of democratic institutions and self-governance structures, of labour movement/trade unions, and especially development of civic education - disseminating of knowledge and awareness by wide public of democratic rights of a person or a group, are necessary prerequisites for both pluralism and civic society. However, there are certain dangers in the democratisation process itself. It involves the removal of state constraints on individual behaviour, a loosening of social inhibitions, and uncertainty and confusion about standards of morality, by bringing the state authority itself under question. So, a corrupt judge may be much better protected by democratic procedures, and can nevertheless continue socially undesirable behaviour at increased extent, as demonstrated by recent difficulties with judiciary reform. Political leaders in new circumstances tend to resort to populism and appeal to indigenous ethnic and confessional loyalties, interpreting democracy in the most anachronistic way as tyranny of majority. Democratic elections may under certain condition lead easily to the victory a political force apparently committed to an essentially anti-democratic ideology. Only a robust civil society, with the capacity to generate political alternatives and to monitor government and state, can resist democratic reversal and is a remedy against such tendencies. Even much desired economic development will enhance the viability of democracy only insofar as it brings appropriate changes in social structure and political culture.

Our study is mainly concentrated on the capital of Georgia and its population, and there are certain reasons for that. The process of state-building and democratic reform takes place in most visible way in the city of Tbilisi, while in many provinces the pace of change is still very slow. Today Tbilisi is the capital of Georgia in all senses, economic, cultural, and political, although it may be not fully so for some parts of the population of Georgia, in particular for those living in secessionist quasi-states of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and partly for ethnic Armenians and Azeris, these latter culturally attracted by respectively Yerevan and Baku. This reflects specific transitional situation in Georgia, in which the state and its symbolic realisation – the capital - are not projecting their influence and attraction over all parts of the country. The role of Tbilisi today is thus rooted in and influenced by many aspects and factors. It is definitely the political centre, where most of decisions are made, where function the headquarters of all state agencies, banks and financial agencies, scientific, educational and information sources and institutions. At the same time Tbilisi is a big marketplace, where people come from all regions in order to buy and sell. While most of rural areas and smaller towns experience deprivation from services, information, and finance, and are actually isolated and impoverished, Tbilisi continues to attract population from other places due to incomparably bigger opportunities for business, career, communication, or leisure. Informational isolation of the rest of the country, over-concentration of finance and trade adds to the importance of the capital, but also adds pressure to its infrastructure. During the last century the population structure in Tbilisi has been totally reshuffled. Most of traditional urbanites in Tbilisi at the beginning of the last century were Armenians, Persians and Russians, as Georgians traditionally were mostly involved in agriculture and lived in rural areas. As a result of emigration (deportation) of ethnic minorities, and the rapid growth

of the city (reaching today more than 1.5 million inhabitants) with rural migrants, current inhabitants of Tbilisi are significantly urbanites in first or second generation, which fact expresses itself in many aspects of behavioural culture. So, for many foreigners an unexpected surprise is the shocking difference between clean, cosy apartments and dirty, totally uncared "secondary" territory – entrances, staircases, neighbouring space, a specific cultural behavioural stereotype for newcomers with different sense of responsibility and territory (Newman, 1972). Often new migrants, as are the IDPs from the conflict zone of Abkhazi, in addition to different urban or environmental culture often speaking different – Megrelian – language, cause significant irritation of those, who consider themselves "old" urbanites, and the newcomers as invaders. Considering oneself to be an old "Tbiliseli" – Tbilisian – is a matter of prestige and sometimes a political slogan, and even during the anti-Gamsakhurdia coup d'état of 1991 the confrontation line often followed the distinction between 'Tbiliseli's and provincials, supporters of the ousted president. At the same time, process of state building and recovering from political economic crisis, continues to strengthen the central authorities in Tbilisi, while the process of democratic decentralisation of power and the much discussed federalisation of territorial arrangement of the country are at their early stage. It is sufficient to say, that great majority of Georgian territorial units, apart from three (former) autonomies, are actually administered by governors appointed from Tbilisi. At the same time the symbolic meaning of Tbilisi as the capital of Georgia is only increasing, with increased concentration of the population, the power and the finance there. Equally, Tbilisi continues to be the centre of education and cultural life, and even the civic society is much more developed here than in any other part of Georgia.

An important characteristic of current political disposition is the mutual suspicion of political élites and masses, the centre and the periphery. Those in power demand social responsibility from citizens and are mute to their own or the state's responsibility towards citizens (e.g. as a rule, service contracts reflect only obligations of customers and actions in case of their violations, saying nothing of service provider's obligations). Citizens demand responsibility from the state, largely ignoring their own responsibility or at times even expressing pride in their irresponsible behaviour. Ordinary citizens suspect material or 'mafia' interest behind every action of a political actor, expecting the same cynical attitude toward political statements or promises as in old Soviet times. Élites have no confidence in masses, trying to avoid where possible democratic structures and procedures of decision making under the pretext of democratic immaturity of population and its lack of political knowledge and skills. Similar attitude can be observed in relation to regional authorities, and especially to ethnic or religious minorities, perceived as instruments for manipulation by external actors rather than independent political actors on their own. This leads to the popularity of conspiracy theories, and lack of flexibility, inability to understand opponents' viewpoint and, paradoxically enough, also lack of consistency in negotiations or relations in general. Within the varied set of conditions and amid the impatience, mistrust and fear, which seem to accompany leadership whose authority is relatively new and unsupported by tradition, a system of state controls has become tighter during last few years, while democratic reform, as in particular illustrated by last parliamentary and presidential elections, is not moving forward. The need for rigid control and continuous watchfulness enjoined upon the leadership, makes them, while officially relying upon strength, enthusiasm, and energy provided by the masses, fearful that unless the most rigid, minute, continuous, protective, and directive control is maintained, chaos will result.

Ruling political élites never get tired to stress their devotion to democratic values and goals, however practices might differ greatly from stated values. More attentive analysis can also reveal certain stratification among them, depending upon their political roots and legacy, significantly defining behavioural or ideological stereotypes and patterns. At the same time there are some unifying features, such as extreme political pragmatism and opportunism, making it impossible to judge about political ideology of an actor on the basis of his party affiliation, as demonstrated during the last parliamentary elections. Indeed, instead of parties and electoral blocks united around certain political programmes, goals and strategies, we observed the only dominant motif for membership – maximisation of chances to be elected. In order to understand better political processes taking place in Georgia and their cultural antecedents, it is necessary to analyse both political élites, competing for power and influence over the population, and the population itself, both the object and the subject of political process. Interaction of these two main actors of political scene are best visible during and before elections, when élites demonstrate their election strategies, approaches and proposed policy concepts and agenda in competition for votes, while the population unequivocally shows its preferences to various complexes of features characterising each party through its voting choices.

Georgia, during last several years, experienced a number of major elections – parliamentary and presidential elections of 1995, local elections of 1998, relatively recent parliamentary elections of October 1999 and presidential elections of April 2000. Although the political environment has significantly changed during these few years, and country has made certain steps towards more democracy, it is difficult to say that the last elections have been a step forward in this respect, at least from the viewpoint of violations of electoral law and rigging of vote. In fact, the elections of 1999got marred by allegations of vote fraud. "These elections can be called multi-party, but they weren't democratic," was the assessment of Nugzar Ivanidze, the director of the independent Fair Elections Society, while the OSCE chief monitor Nikolai Vuchanov in his turn stated that election standards were "unsatisfactory" in Ajara and at least in two other regions of Georgia. (Antadze 1999) At many polling stations, observers were barred from seeing ballot boxes, and at one polling station in Tbilisi, 15,000 ballots went missing a few hours before the vote. Observers have also criticised the election law passed in this summer as giving too much advantage to pro-government parties and allowing them to field more candidates, due to the seven percent threshold that was raised from the five percent set for the 1995 elections. The result was to concentrate support for the two main party blocks – the Citizens' Union of Georgia and the Georgian Union of Revival, identified by the voters as Shevardnadze's and Abashidze's parties. The presidential elections of April 2000 were in their turn hardly any democratic breakthrough, as, although there was no strong alternative to the acting president Eduard Shevardnadze, both the pre-election campaigns and the voting were too marred by violations and demonstrated certain slowdown of the democratic transition.

Nevertheless, elections were the major political events that gave a chance to citizens to express their preferences and make choice. For many Georgians the voted in last two elections was indeed a choice between the two perceptions of country's future and foreign policy orientations as presented by two major rivalling blocks. To the supporters of the Georgian Revival, its leader Aslan Abashidze and the 2000 presidential candidate Jumber Patiashvili, Shevardnadze and his Citizens' Union of Georgia (CUG) were 'cosmopolitans',* out to destroy the country and the cause of separatist conflicts in Abkhazia and Ossetia, and 'slaves to Euro-Americanism'. In contrast, the Georgian Revival claimed to care about its homeland and promised timely payment of pensions and salaries. The Citizens'

Union pointed that the Revival was chaotic conglomerated united solely by electoral pragmatism and will break up once in Parliament, pro-Russian, corrupt and Mafia-dominated at its core. Its leader Abashidze was commonly accused by Citizens' spokesmen of fraud and corruption. On the other hand, Citizens' Union claimed to be taking Georgia closer to Europe and further away from Russia. Defining the two's ideology is hard, as there is not much of conceptual nature behind these general lines and overall orientations. The economic reforms brought in by the CUG were politically centre-right, while the party retains its membership of the Socialist International and spends a high proportion of the state budget on the social sectors. The Revival in its turn combined an eclectic grouping of traditional left and reformist right. Ajara, where election observers were driven out of polling stations by force, is the home base of Aslan Abashidze, Shevardnadze's main opposition, who was undeterred by allegations of vote rigging in the October 1999 poll, and vowed to challenge Shevardnadze for the presidency in 2000 (when the April 2000 came, he withdrew his candidacy just before the actual elections). The undisputed facts working against the ruling CUG were the continuing worsening of the economic situation in Georgia, the widespread corruption, unpaid state sector salaries and pensions, and the gradual degradation of standards of living after initial improvement. Yet, while only 23 percent voted for the Citizens' Union in 1995, as much as 42 percent expressed support for them year 1999.

All in all, 20 political parties and 13 coalitions have been registered ahead of the 1999 parliamentary elections, but only three - Shevardnadze's Citizens' Union of Georgia and Aslan Abashidze's Georgian Revival Union, and the Industry Will Save Georgia bloc garnered the minimum seven percent of the vote required to get into the 235-seat parliament. With all but a few disputed results in, the majority of 42 percent have voted for Shevardnadze's bloc and 26 percent for Abashidze's Revival, with slightly more than 7% obtained by Industrialists. The Labour Party, the surprise favourite of the local elections of the previous year, and the National Democratic Alliance, the second best in 1995 elections, came close to 7% barrier, introduction of which they have ardently supported but appeared unable to cross. Overall, almost 80 percent voted for the three parties that crossed the seven-percent line. The other c. 20 percent wasted their votes on the parties that failed to cross the threshold. About two thirds of this group voted for Labour and two other parties and the rest of the votes were scattered between the minor parties. In contrast, in 1995 only 38 percent voted for the three parties that scored the minimum; a staggering 62 percent voted for parties that failed to beat the threshold and were thus left out of the parliament. At the very least at the last elections of 1999 the number of people whose votes were effectively wasted by their use on parties that failed the threshold has been substantially cut.

POLITICAL CULTURE AND VALUES

Overwhelming dominance in mass consciousness of beliefs, myths and symbols in transitional periods of history is nothing new. Symbols, metaphors and myths played equally great role in traditional Soviet double-think and double-talk. However, the post-Soviet reality gave new life to symbolic ways of thinking, created new fertile environment for irrationality and symbolisation of political attitudes and values. This is especially true in former Soviet periphery, Georgia, where Communist ideologems were never deeply rooted, but were rather considered as a set of the rules of the game imposed by external power, like it was only too often in her history. In Soviet times, individual rights were considered as having next to no importance as compared to the interests of the state. Nor was there any participation by ordinary citizens in government and the decision-making process. This resulted in the lack of

a civil society infrastructure in the form of community self-organising or NGOs, as well as a lack of understanding of the values relating to democracy and community and civic responsibility and, even more importantly, a lack of expectation that these should be present. Political conditions were hardly conducive to civic society also immediately after independence. Civil wars, ethnic strife, economic crises interacted in a mutually reinforcing cycle. The absence of efficient government and legislation, as well as disintegrating law and order further led to decline of civic morale, devaluation of respect for the individual, for the rights of groups and for democratic liberties in general. Back in 1980s, the wind of perestroyka and the decomposition of traditional double-think environment created specific ideological vacuum and confusion causing what could be called, using the psychoanalytical term, national regression, massive resigning to the magic and chimerical world of symbols, myths, and slogans.

Unique political disposition of early 1990s brought to life unprecedented crisis and turmoil. As Luc Reychler wrote some time ago: "Political surprises normally contain a double stimulus, namely to study the origins of the changes and the origins of our unawareness of them. There have been many post-facto explanations of the revolutionary transformations in Eastern Europe, but few explanations of the lack of foresight." (Bawens & Reychler, 1994) This deep observation is well fit to the recent history of post-soviet Georgia as well. One of the reasons for the failure to understand why the science was and is unable to predict, ergo understand, dramatic processes taken place here, is the underestimation of psychological and axiological factors dominating the transitional societies. These factors find their overt expression in what political philosophers call political culture, understood as "socially transmitted ideas, attitudes, traditions, and habits of mind" (Gray, 1999, p.51), or "broadly shared set of ways of thinking about politics and government, a pattern of orientations to political objects" (Ranney 1990, p. 65). Indeed, democracy defined as "a government of the people, by the people and for the people" is probably nowhere fully realised, but its shape and extent is largely determined by nation's political culture. However, even if political culture is recognised as important factor in political behaviour of the population or the political élites, there is much disagreement on what exactly is defined by this term on operational level, and how, methodologically, political culture could be observed and measured. At the same time, special caution is needed to avoid fashionable tendency to explain everything, deficiencies of democratic transition in the first place, solely by the notion of vaguely defined value system and political culture.

Among scholars of democratisation, as Samuel Huntington puts it down, a major debate goes on concerning the issue of crafting versus preconditions, whether democratisation is primarily the product of political leaders who have the will and skill to bring it about, or the movement towards democracy depends on particular social, economic or cultural preconditions existing in the society. Having no ambition to find any final and general solution to this debate, we hope to describe based on social-psychological approach some elements of existing political culture and political attitudes as factors and preconditions of democratic change in Georgia. One should also keep in mind that some of the trends explicitly present in the development of other countries but not yet observable here may reveal themselves later, and thus in this sense one can indeed speak of different stages of development, when discussing such factors as democratic governance or the internationalisation of the labour market.

Value is conceptualised as a belief concerning the desired mode of behaviour, which transcends the situation and is ordered by importance to other values; it serves as a guiding principle for selection and evaluation of behaviour, people or events (Schwartz, 1994). Values constitute high hierarchical order and in a considerable extent form the bases for attitudes, which in their turn are in many cases responsible for behaviour (Kristiansen & Zanna, 1994). Values, represented both on individual and situation levels, serve as a bridge between the personality and the society (e.g. Rokeach, 1973; Grube, Mayton & Ball-Rokeach, 1994). As cognitive representations of biological and societal needs, they shape individual needs into socially acceptable form, and as such they are sensitive to both, individual needs and societal demands. Values can be personal - centred on the self and guiding the achievement of individual goals, and social - centred on the society, forming the belief about what society should be striving for. Values form constellations or value orientations, one of such orientations of social values is difference between materialistic ('maintain order in the nation' and 'fight rising prices') and non-materialistic ('give people more say in the decisions of the government' and 'protect freedom of speech') goals (Inglehart, 1977). Another constellation formed by social values is 'national strength and order' and 'international harmony and security' (Braithwaite, 1994).

Values are universal, but their relative importance varies across cultures, persons and the time. Being relatively stable culturally based values are still prone to changes, which can be stimulated by the changes in inner demands, by the changes in the environment and by their interaction. Change of value orientations is a slow and a gradual process. It is assumed that changes are more likely to occur quickly in changing environments and due to strong contacts with other societies (Nolan & Lenski, 1995). Transition to new political and economical system is a normative, history graded event (Baltes, 1983), i.e. an event, which stimulates change in the whole cohorts and demand from persons the change of value preferences. Surveys made in Europe point toward much more importance of cohort than of a lifecycle on changing value orientations (Scarbrough, 1995). Most often old values do not disappear at once but rather some parts of them disappear while others become incorporated in new values (Van Deth & Scarbrough, 1995).

Culture influences the way in which humans select, interpret, process and use information, at a great extent it determines pace at which the change of a value system may occur. In broad sense Georgia can be regarded as a country of traditional orthodox culture with strong collectivist component, that is culture, in which the self is defined in terms of belonging to a group or a community rather than of individual characteristics. It is a tight culture in many respects such as family rituals or public behaviour. Although families in urban areas are much smaller than in rural areas, kinship networks and mutual support continue to play significant role, both in assisting in the periods of hardship (it is interesting to observe sharply reduced divorce during economic crisis or among internally displaced persons/refugees), but also in developing clientelism and corruption. In general, communication in the community is much more emotional and personal, person is less alienated, which is probably characteristic for the whole Mediterranean world, to which Georgia certainly belongs from the viewpoint of its kinship structure and extravert behavioural (pride and honour) culture. It is interesting to note that extended kinship system partly cushions not only implications of economic crisis, but somehow softens the confrontation between the capital and the outer and poorer parts of the country, as every Georgian family in Tbilisi has well-rooted and well-functioning extended family relations in the countryside and other regions, operating often as barter or insurance system. These general cultural factors influence wide range of social and political behaviours. Values suggest whether individuals will actively seek out or avoid new ways of

doing things. Indeed, current social changes bring more individualism and loose social control but more discipline in economic activities, with disruption of old collectivist values, ideology and patterns of economic organisation, but inertia and cultural lag slow the tempo of change. For many people, the need to behave the same way as they have always behaved is central to their values. Traditionalism, respect of the authority, are still highly valued in such a culture, and along with other cultural characteristics, define the direction and the pace of the transition process. Tradition-directed groups value security and sustenance - by nature, they are static communities that change with difficulty. Economic change stressed the importance of value characteristic to individualistic cultures.

Qualities linked to different value orientations find their explicit expression also in the political institutions and behaviour, such as for instance are political parties and partisanship. Prevailing principles of party building take place not around the ideology or interest groups, which are not yet structured in Georgia, but around the personal networks and trust to the leaders, which at certain degree hinders establishment of traditional democratic values. Culturally highly valued respect to the authority coupled with the long totalitarian tradition of obedience as well as long exposure to double standards, difference between what was pronounced and what was is in fact exercised, low accountability of authorities to their words continue to dominate political reality. Such practices put more emphasis on personal trust to a leader and not his or her expressed ideology or commitments. This accentuation of the personality of a leader instead of conceptualised values is recycled and perpetuated by political elite, thus knowingly or unknowingly hindering further the development of democracy.

As Ronald Ingelhart has stated, "different societies are characterised to very different degrees by a specific syndromes of political cultural attitudes; ... these cultural differences are relatively enduring but not immutable; and they have major political consequences, being closely linked to the viability of democratic institutions. ... The study of political culture is based on the assumption that autonomous and reasonably enduring cross-cultural differences exist and that they can have important political consequences." (Ingelhart, 1988, pp. 1203-1205). Values form an integral part of political culture, the latter in its turn is in fact an essential part of the general culture. Political cultural attitudes are superimposed on the system of traditional values shared by given society, and though slow in change this is the system through which a society adapts to its environment. Changes in the conditions, in which human beings find themselves, especially radical shifts in institutions and policies, eventually will cause corresponding changes in their outlook, attitudes, preferences and behaviour. During transition, parts of values, which are more deeply rooted, probably take longer to change despite the new needs created in the society or/and in the individual.

Values are critically re-appraised in a period of transition, and indeed, a large number of people in Georgia are currently in the midst of profound change in basic values. Long-held beliefs about the meaning of state in one's life, relations between the former member-states of the same giant empire, expectations for the future – indeed, about many aspects of daily living and important relationships among people – are undergoing a re-examination and reappraisal. The majority is hovering between older faiths in expanding horizons, and a new sense of lowered expectations, apprehension about the future, mistrust of institutions, and a growing sense of limits. People are in search of new rules, because the old rules don't work any more, they are in the midst of fundamental reordering of the way they see the world around them.

Today analytic primacy of values in explanations of political change (Van Deth, Scarbrough 1995) is widely recognised. At the simplest, most direct level, shifts in value orientations induce change in modes and levels of political involvement. However, study of values is associated with certain difficulties as values are not directly observable. They often operate as high order norms and stay beyond the scope of rationality (Moscovici & Doise, 1994). Values are often presumed as underling declared goals. Smooth functioning of a society is considerably determined by the extent to which its members share values (Seliktar, 1986). To obtain popular support parties and their leaders should appeal to the prevalent in the society values or foster new values based on the needs of society. That kind of appeal is crystallised during the elections. Electorate programs reflect the parties' goals and hence provide possibility to discern their values. This way electoral programmes provide good possibility for the study of values.

As a new democracy, which emerged from a long period of totalitarian regime, Georgia provides a good opportunity to study the process of transformation, to trace the changes in value orientations and in perception of political and economic environment of the population. Besides purely cognitive function knowledge of the process could contribute to the building an effective policy for increase of democracy, acknowledgement of supremacy of democratic values. There are many contradictory perceptions among Georgians regarding their political preferences, orientations and identity, their country and its role in the world. This makes it difficult to determine which values are the more influential, but a number of dichotomies can be revealed. So, recently S. F. Jones questioned some Georgian self-perceptions and external orientations. "Is it Georgia as modern and Western or Georgia as traditional and Eastern? Both views are often expressed by Georgians. Similarly, is it Georgia as imperial victim or as former great imperial power; Georgia as innately democratic, or Georgia in need of a strong hand; Georgia as a tolerant multiethnic state, or Georgia for ethnic Georgians; Georgia as an independent state or Georgia as a state in need of protection. Which one is authentic and "operational" is hard to decide." (Jones, 1999) While Georgia is slowly progressing on its way to development and democracy, following the hardship of civil unrest and economic catastrophe of early 1990s, various groups of population show different level of political involvement and activity. There is a great gap between the populations of three bigger cities, such as Tbilisi, Batumi and Kutaisi, on one hand, and the population of remote rural and mountainous areas and inhabitants of smaller provincial towns on the other. Equally, ethnic minorities living in quasi-state formations of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, but also in southern provinces of Georgia, either deliberately or unwillingly are isolated from mainstream political processes taking place in the capital. However, there is also a gap between political élites, actively involved in governance or directing opposition politics, and the population at large, emotionally concerned but lacking skills and levers for more political participation.

As mentioned above, voting is the scene where both public participation in political process takes place and where political élites compete among one another for influence and domination. "Voting is the key mechanism of consensus in democratic society. Students of elections are concerned with the relationships between one type of cleavage – political parties – and such other types as class, occupation, religion, ethnic group, and region, and the role these factors play as the social basis of political strife. … It is important for the stability of political system, that all major political parties include supporters from many segments of the population, as if their public support corresponds too closely to basic social, ethnic or regional divisions, as this happened in the past, this may undermine the democratic basis of the society due to intensification of conflict that rules out compromise. It may even happen,

that too high political participation, commonly welcomed by students of democratic transition, may indicate towards increased cleavage, decline of social cohesion and hence the breakdown of normal democratic process" (Lipset, 1960, p. 12).

Successful and enduring democratic practice depends on the high estimation of democratic values both by people in power and general public. Below we will discuss the findings regarding value orientations of political elite and citizens based on existing sociological data and our five studies, i.e. surveys of 1995 and 1999 parliamentary elections, content analyses of electorate programs of parties in 1995 and 1999, and survey of 2000 presidential elections.

POLITICAL ÉLITES AND PARTIES IN ELECTIONS

There is a multitude of viewpoints with regards to the role of élites and/or masses in political processes that will never bring any final solution, but there is nevertheless no doubt that political élites do play an important role. As Converse and Pierce note, comparing the structure of elite and mass preferences is "absolutely central to the study of political representation, since this process obliges a representative to perceive and understand the policy sentiments of his constituents and somehow to take them into account, along with his own judgements of policy options" (1986, p.226). Accordingly, content analysis of the electorate programs of leading political parties is analysed in order to reveal value orientations: towards security, building a strong state integrated in the world, enhancing democratic values through striving towards personal freedom and equality, broadening relationships with Caucasian countries, etc. It is assumed that finding an ideological and conceptual alternative to communism still continues to be an organising principle for most political parties, supplemented by attitudes towards external orientations and individualities of personal leadership. On the issue of collective decision-making procedures and participation, these often put little faith in pluralism and democratic approach in their internal policies, revealing strong authoritarian inclinations. Whatever their deficiencies, these political movements will play a continued role in the evolution of public attitudes, shifting political spectrum in one or another direction, and influencing the makeup of the ruling coalitions. To get the popular support political parties should allude to the values that citizens hold and this should be reflected in their electorate programs. The main thesis is that the political orientations can be mapped onto types of value orientations, through a values content analysis of the writings of advocates of different political orientations (Rokeach, 1973). Social values have been successfully used to predict support for different political parties, political leaders and social policies.

Communication messages and their assumed effect on people's attitudes, interpretations, beliefs and behaviours, stimulate emotions and present moral standards. However, the effects – powerful or limited - of representation of this or that political ideology or thesis through mass media are contingent on a variety of factors and conditions (Braithwaite, 1994). We compare the results of 1995 with the similar analysis of electorate programs of the leading parties in 1999 elections in order to obtain indications on the dynamics of political thinking. Our data analysed in quantitative content analysis describe what are the typical patterns or characteristics of self-presentation by leading political parties, and identify important relationships among the variables measured. Analysis is restricted to value orientations as expressed in programme documents of political blocks before elections, and hence reflect not only the value orientation of respective party leadership, but also their electoral strategy and idea of mass expectations in an attempt to maximise supportive vote.

PARLIAMENTARY ELLECTIONS OF 1995: PARTY PROGRAMMES

According to the results of the parliamentary elections of November 5, 1995 by party lists, three parties got seats in the 235 seat parliament: The Citizens' Union of Georgia (CUG)-91 seats, National Democratic Party (NDP) - 31 seats, the Georgian Union of Revival-25 seats. Thus, 62.5% of party seats went to three parties, i.e. 38.7% to the Citizens' Union of Georgia, 13.2% to the National Democratic Party and 10.6% to the Georgian Union of Revival (SWB, 1995).

The electoral programmes of the Citizens' Union of Georgia (Shevardnadze, 1995) and the National Democratic Party (National Democratic Party, 1995) has been content analysed. The programme of the Georgian Union of Revival has not been studied at that time as the public support base for the party was restricted to only one region – the party got almost all of its votes in the Autonomous Republic of Ajara. Content analyses of the electoral programmes demonstrated the differences between the two parties in two major spheres, i.e. in social values and in orientation toward the outer world.

a). Social values

Different value orientations as reflected in the programs can be labelled as 'National security and order' versus 'Freedom and equality'. The programme of the Citizens' Union of Georgia is conveying the image of a strong state, underlying the importance of order and such instruments of state as constitution and ruling. Emphasis is put on economic strength, reforms, investments, and support for business and creation of a middle class. Persons are mainly referred to as the collective entities and the words 'people', 'population', and 'electorate' are mostly used.

The program of National Democrats stressed the party's orientation to the person, by mostly using the words: 'person', 'individual' and 'citizen'. In the program there are frequent references to freedom, rights and responsibilities of individuals, equality and solidarity. The importance of social secu-rity is emphasised. While referring to Georgia, the word 'republic' rather than the 'state' is used. Words reflecting the main value orientations of the parties are presented in Figures 1 and 2.

a). Social values

Different value orientations as reflected in the programs can be labelled as 'National security and order' versus 'Freedom and equality'. The programme of the Citizens' Union of Georgia is conveying the image of a strong state, underlying the importance of order and such instruments of state as constitution and ruling. Emphasis is put on economic strength, reforms, investments, and support for business and creation of a middle class. Persons are mainly referred to as the collective entities and the words 'people', 'population', and 'electorate' are mostly used.

The program of National Democrats stressed the party's orientation to the person, by mostly using the words: 'person', 'individual' and 'citizen'. In the program there are frequent references to freedom, rights and responsibilities of individuals, equality and solidarity. The importance of social secu-rity is emphasised. While referring to Georgia, the word 'republic' rather than the 'state' is used. Words reflecting the main value orientations of the parties are presented in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1

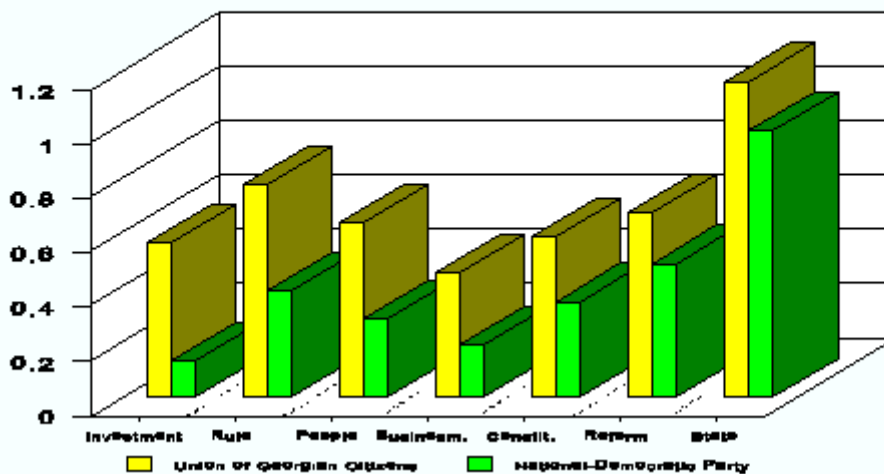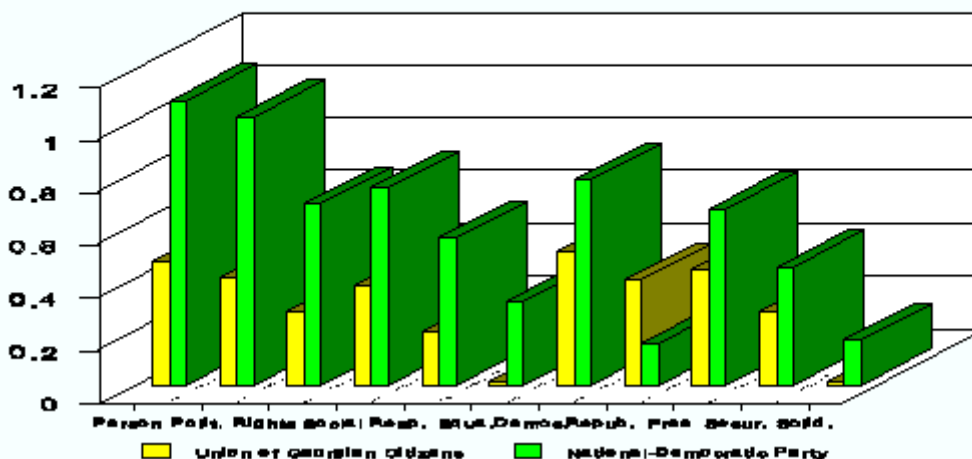Predominant value orientation of the Citizens' Union of Georgia

Figure 2

Predominant value orientation of the National Democratic Party

b). Orientation toward the outer world

The two parties differed greatly in their orientation toward other countries, country alliances and international organisations. The Citizen's Union stressed the ties with international organisations, with the world in general and the developed countries, CIS countries, especially Russia, while the National Democrats focused more on the Caucasus.

Figure 3

Orientation toward the outer world
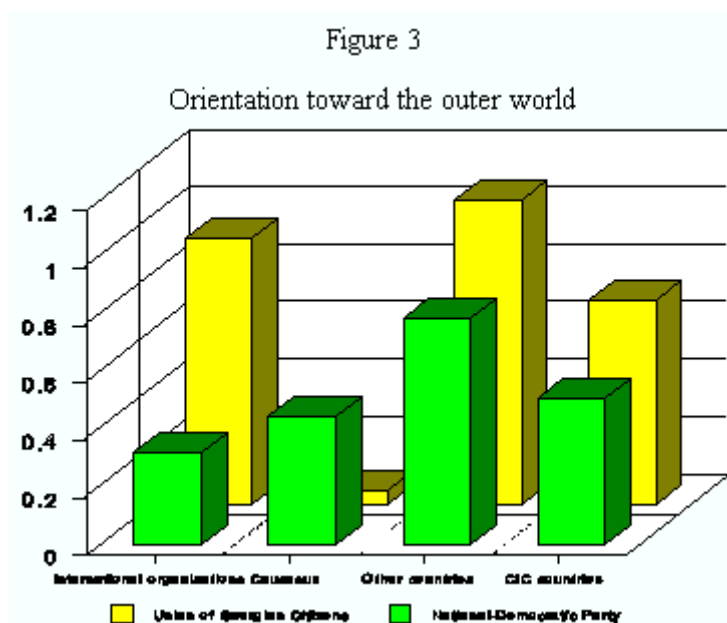
It can be concluded that that back in 1995 the two of the three (as Georgian Union of Revival was at that time actually a party with only regional – in Ajara – support) parliamentary parties reflect two views: Citizens' Union of Georgia, the majority party, adhered to the idea of a strong state integrated in the world and the National Democrats promoted the idea of personal freedom, equality and consolidation with the immediate neighbouring to Georgia countries. Programme of the Citizens' Union of Georgia seemed to find answers to the problems of an existing situation and meet the needs of two different segments of the population: a) Persons, probably mostly representing the older generation, who encountered difficulties in finding a place in a new economic system with nostalgic feelings for the minimal security provided by the communist rule; and b) Younger generation, which sees more possibilities in the future for self-realisation and achievement. Thus frequent allusions to order on the one hand and entrepreneurship, abandonment of equality principles and integration in the world economy

on the other should have served the purpose of establishment of the feeling of security for both groups. The programme of the National Democrats seems to be more abstract, less bound to the situation. It put more emphasis on ideology, fitting in the framework of basic values of socialism with the emphasis on individual freedom, patriotism and equality.


PARLIAMENTAR ELECTIONS OF 1999: PARTY PROGRAMMES

On October 31, 1999, three parties got the seats in the Parliament as a result of elections by party lists. The Citizens' Union of Georgia – 42% of vote, electoral block Union of Georgian Revival – 26 % of vote and electorate block Industry Will Save Georgia (ISG) – 7% of vote. None of them published an electoral programme as such. The Citizens' Union of Georgia published a manifesto and Industry Will Save Georgia issued a document where it discussed the main objectives of the block. To our knowledge, the member parties of the Revival block have not published any joint document reflecting the programmatic aims of the block. The founding party of the block - Georgian Union of Revival – has issued a booklet describing achievements of the party and its aspirations. The manifesto of Citizens' Union of Georgia and the party document of Industry Will Save Georgia were content analysed. Although National Democratic Alliance (NDA) failed to get any seats in the parliament their electorate brochure was also analysed mainly for the comparison with the 1995 programme of the founders of the block, i.e. National Democratic Party.

The list of key words consisting of 78 units was complied. The frequencies of key words were counted in all the documents. The frequencies then were normalised according to the length of the texts. The differences in the usage of words by different parties and the 1995 and 1999 programmes of the same parties were calculated.

In the Manifesto of the Citizens' Union of Georgia the close association of the President of Georgia with the party is continuously stressed. Manifesto consists of four parts: General, description of the current situation, achievements of the party during the four-year period, and the vision of the future. Self-criticism, acknowledgement of the problems that Georgia is facing occupies 3.3% of the document.

Figure 4
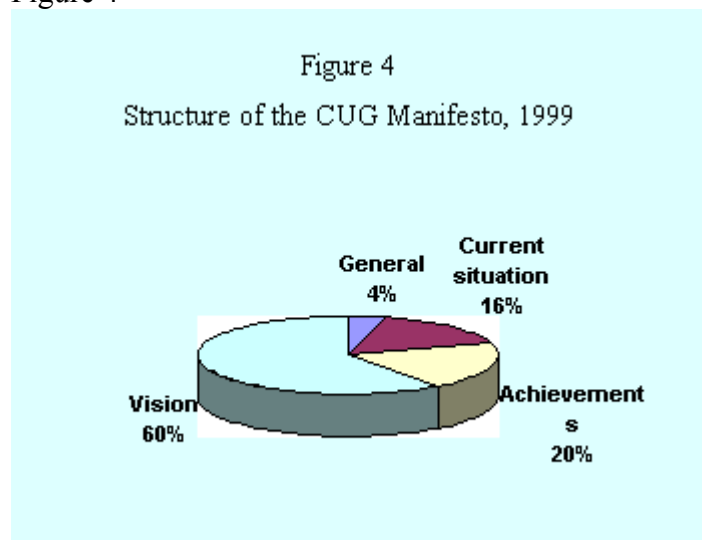
Structure of the CUG Manifesto, 1999

Among the most acute problems are named territorial disintegration, problems of the displaced population, taxation, unemployment and small salaries, provision of healthcare services. The Manifesto points to the achievement of the party in building the state, Georgia's becoming the member of the European Council, introduction and stability of the national currency, establishing of control over the borders, adoption of a significant number of good laws, effective land privatisation, revival of industry and agriculture, achievements in technology, formation of civic society, and judicial reform. Document stresses the continuity of democratic governance under its rule and the capability of CUG to bring Georgia to prosperity through economic development. The link is drawn between progress in economic prospects and orientation toward Europe as the main issue of foreign policy. The Manifesto contains 2,229 words. The most frequently used words are presented on Figure 5:

Figure 5
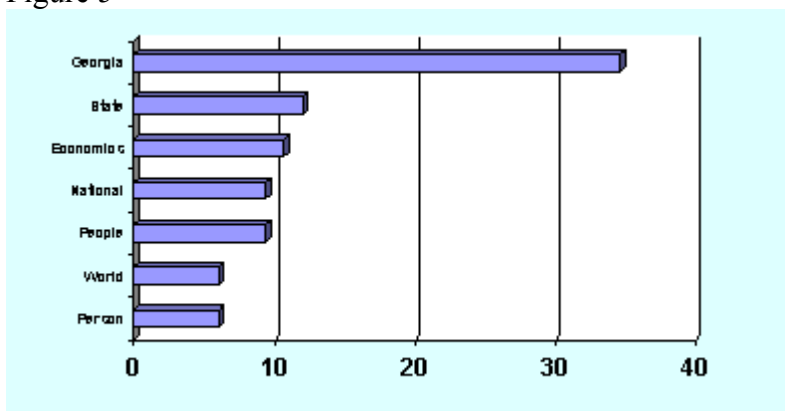
Most frequently used words in the document of CUG, 1999
*Georgia in the name of the party was not counted

Compared to 1995 electorate programme there is an evident shift of accent from international politics to internal affairs. The frequency of words demonstrate that the party is mostly concerned with economic issues and the world at large rather than specific countries or international organisations, which were mentioned in abundance in the 1995 programme.
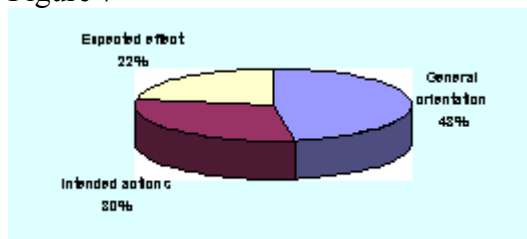
Figure 6
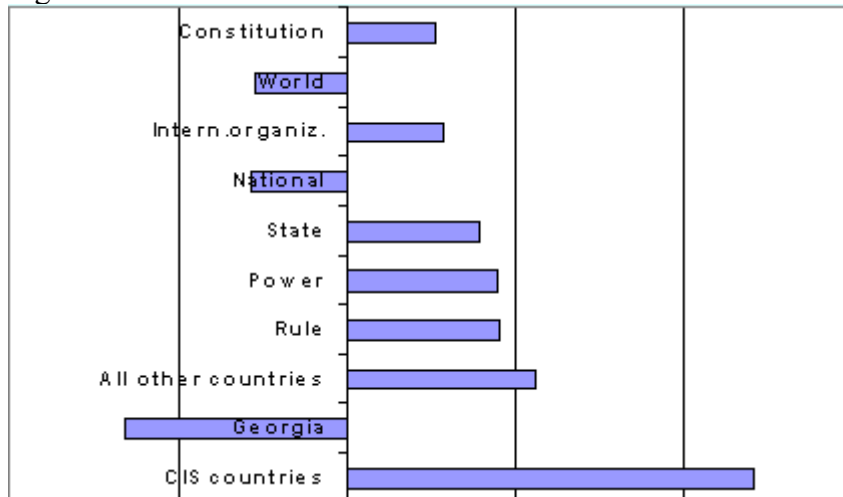
Difference in frequencies of word usage in CUG programmes of 1995 and 1999
The right part of the diagram shows the increase in usage from 1995 to 1999, while the left - its decrease

The programme document of the Industry will Save Georgia block names the parties united in the block, i.e. Industry will Save Georgia, The Movement for Georgian State, The Union of Reformers and Agrarians, Georgia First of All, Sporting Georgia, New Georgia. The document contains three parts. In the first part the general orientation of the block and the critics of the politics of ruling party are presented. It is stressed that in the block there are united people with experience of working in production sphere, who are able even in difficult situation to achieve success. Success and the ability to achieve the goals are underlined throughout the document. Revival of economy, reduction of unemployment, overcoming corruption and carrying out effective politics that could ensure the reestablishment of territorial integrity are named as the major goals of the block. Criticism toward the ruling party is not lengthily and occupies only 4.5% of the document. It mostly refers to the latter's inability to combat poverty and corruption, and to the loss of territories due to deficient policies. In the second part of the document the actions are listed that the block intended to carry out if in power. They mostly concern economy, social security and regaining the territories. The last part contains a list of expected positive outcomes, and it emphasises the capability of the block's members to achieve the stated goals, to bring prosperity to people.
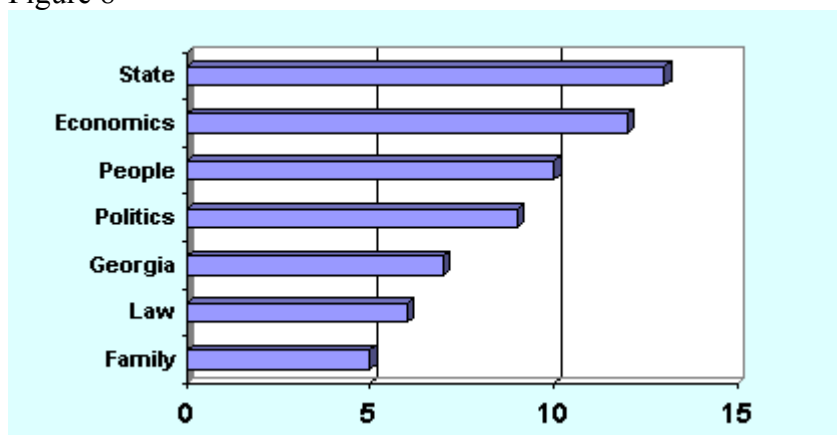
Figure 7

Structure of the ISG document, 1999
The ISG document contains 1470 words.

The most frequently used words are presented in Figure 8:
Figure 8

Most frequently used words in the document of ISG, 1999

Difference between the frequency of words used by Citizens' Union of Georgia and Industry will Save Georgia was most obvious in the use of words "Georgia", "world" and "national', CUG using them more often and "economics", "politics" and "social", which were used by ISG more frequently.

Figure 9
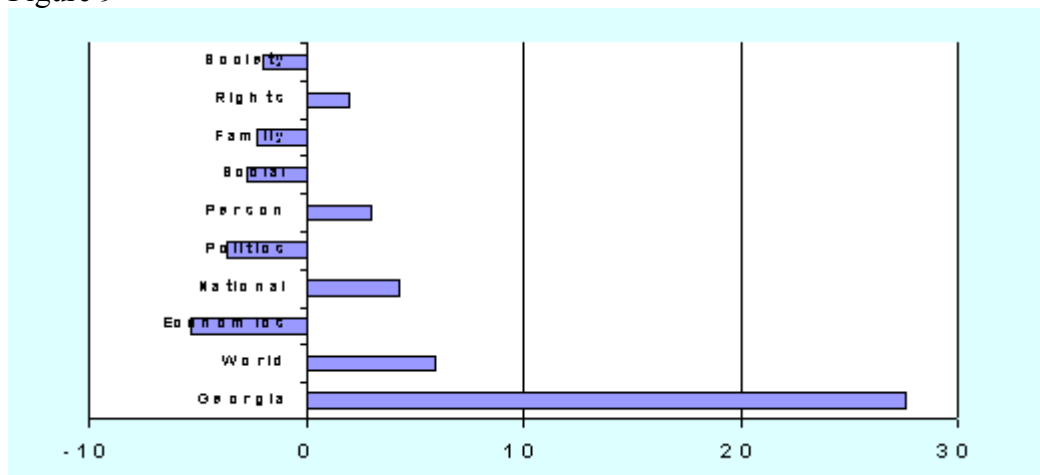
Differences in the frequency of words used by CUG and ISG
The right part of the diagram shows more frequent usage by CUG, while the left - by ISG

Electoral programme of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) lists the parties which are united in it, i.e. the National-Democratic Party, the Republican Party and the Union of Industrialists. The document points that the block offers the society the third way, different from those proposed by their two powerful rivals - the CUG and the Georgian Revival, the way that will bring better life to the nation. The block sees itself as the only power that can cushion the clash between the CUG and the Revival supporters. Next to the general section, the document has separate sections describing proposed political arrangement, territorial arrangement, development in army building, economy, energy sector, land ownership, employment, pensions, health and culture.

Figure 10
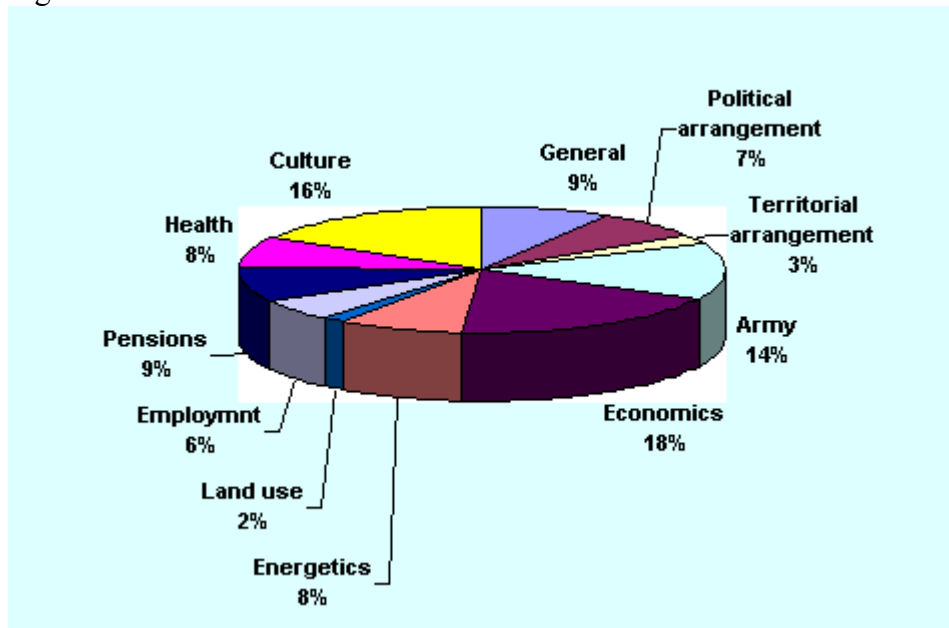
Structure of the NDA document

Each part begins with the criticism of politics of CUG and ends with the NDA view of the sphere, so that the critical part occupies almost one third of the whole text. The document contains 1546 words. On Fig. 10 the most frequently words are presented:

Figure 11
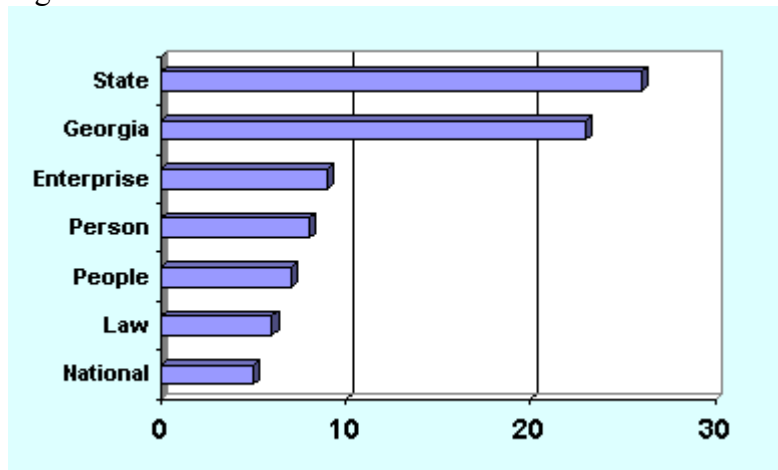
Most frequently used words in the NDA document, 1999

Difference between the frequency of words used by Citizens' Union of Georgia and National Democratic Alliance was revealed in the use of the words: "state", "enterprise" and "law", NDA using them more often, and the words "Georgia", "economics" and "world", which were used more frequently by the CUG.

Figure 12


Differences in the frequency of words used by CUG and NDA

The right part of the diagram shows more frequent usage by CUG, while the left - by NDA
NDA also differs in its orientation from ISG. NDA, as is evident from Table 1, refers more
often than ISG to 'Georgia' and 'state', while ISG puts more emphasis on 'economy'

Table 1: Difference in the frequency of words used by NDA and ISG
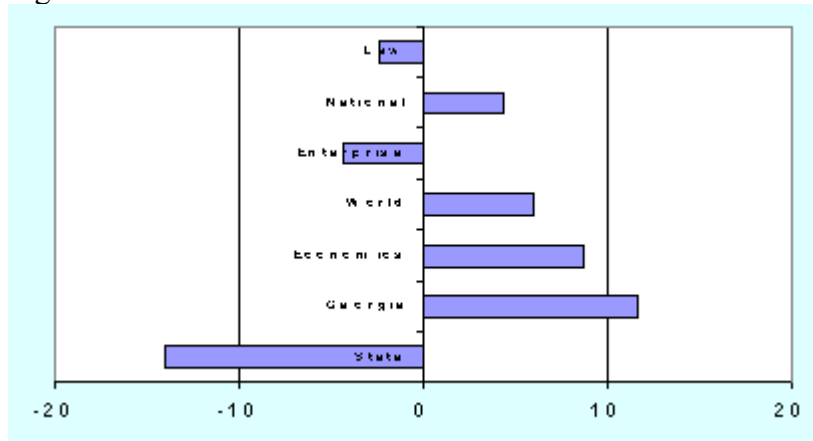
Rank	Word	Difference in frequency
1	Georgia	16
2	Economics	14 *
3	State	13
4	Entrepreneurship	5
5.5	Person	5
5.5	Politics	5*
8.5	People	3*
8.5	Social	3
8.5	Foreign	3
8.5	historical	3

*ISG using the word more often

The comparison of the election documents of the NDP in 1995 and the 1999 NDA
programme reveals the change in accents. If earlier the National Democratic Party, urged a
quasi-theocracy in which the church would "play a leading role in moral questions
concerning the nation's life", its current rules declare the party simply "loyal to the Orthodox
values of the Mother Church." (National Democratic Party Rules, 1996) Similar to the CUG
programme the difference first of all is evident in the shift from outer to inner problems. In
1999 program other countries and international organisations in fact are not mentioned.
Besides NDA in 1999 put much more emphasis on economic issues and on state building.

Table 2
Differences in frequency in programs of NDP, 1995 and NDA, 1999

Rank	Word	Difference in frequency
1	CIS countries	15.75
2	Economics	15
3	State	12*
4	Politics	11
5.5	Person	9
5.5	All countries except CIS countries	9
7	Democracy	8.75
9	Entrepreneurship	8.50*
10	Power	7.50

*NDA in 1999 using the word more often

In general, the program of CUG was the most optimistic and detailed, and the least offensive against political opponents, it stressed the ideas of continuity, building prosperity, responsibility of its members and its positive experience of governance. It declared the priority of economic issues. There were no references in the programme to Russia or any other CIS country, while the references to outer world were restricted mainly to less-differentiated allusions to the world and Europe, also the World Trade Organisation and the European Council.

Like the CUG document, the ISG document also conveys optimism and determination of its members. It is more businesslike and precise than the CUG manifesto or the NDA document. NDA built its election campaign on the criticism, on the fact that the current situation was unbearable and that CUG was unable to solve the country's problems. It is a rather pessimistic document where no ways for implementation of any constructive, positive vision of Georgia are well articulated.

Figure 13
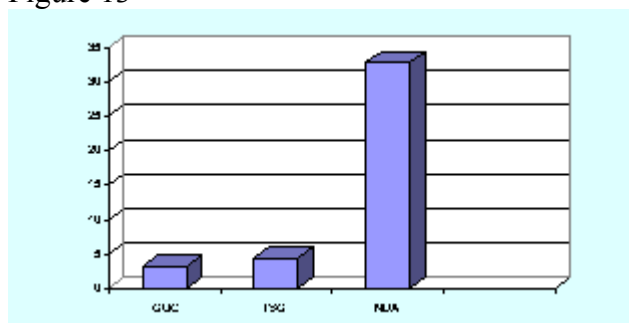
Proportion of criticism in party documents, 1999

Social and Political value orientations

Studying the hierarchy of the political values of the population is another important aspect of studying political culture, as values shared by the population are by no means of less importance than values of the political elite. The research goal of the study was to develop a set of value items that reflected the way in which the adult population saw their world in political perspective. Values represent only one component of a person's ideology and there is no reason to assume that values share the complexity of organisation found among more specific beliefs and attitudes, but nevertheless they dominate in defining political behaviour.

As we know in advance, social and political attitudes of the population in a transitional society may lack coherence and stability, and this was confirmed by the empirical data that we obtained. Social values tend to be based on the same highly valued goal, labelled commonly as "a world at peace". However, some see this goal as being achieved through international harmony and equality, some through national strength and order, and some through both value orientations. Independent and complex value orientations may map into a single left-right political dimension comprising social attitudes, voting behaviour, and political activism, due to distinction between the way in which individuals think about their world and the way dominant political institutions allow them to express their ideas in the world of action.

Again, elections were at the focus of our study, as they have special features making them especially important in studying political preferences. Institutional and legal settings within the time span between the two main parliamentary elections of 1995 and 1999 did significantly vary. However, relative political stability during this period, as well as the general ubiquity and the normative status of elections as a political event separates these voting experiences from other forms of political participation, especially in the aftermath of a temporary rise of unconventional types of political action that dominated the scene during the first years immediately after the declaration of independence. Indeed, participation, defined as an "activity that has an intent or effect of influencing government action-either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies" (Verba, Schlozman & Brady; 1995. p.38) can be considered as a part of political culture and a main mechanism of democracy. Even in case of the elementary, the least demanding procedure of participation as is voting, the degree of participation of citizens dramatically declines. The decline is observed rather than statistically supported, but the growing, from election to election, criticism by local and international observers mainly concerns rigging of vote and reporting much high than an actual turnout. On the background of official nearly 70% turnout at 2000 presidential elections, our 45% of sample having expressed readiness to vote looks characteristic.

At the same time, in attempting to describe that particular version of human behaviour considered as characteristic for contemporary Georgia, and showing how political behaviour such as voting may be referred to respective characteristics, there is understanding that the behavioural patterns of the Georgian (Tbilisi) population are not solely self-generated and but are responsive to and influenced by political events in the outside world. It may be useful to recall some general sociological data from other previous studies. So, in 1995 and 1996, population samples from 20 Central and Eastern European countries were interviewed in the

framework of the European Union's annual EUROBAROMETER public opinion survey, in order to assess public attitudes towards the EU, and the political and economic climate in the region. Six CIS states were involved in the survey: Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Georgian population demonstrated reasonable but comparatively higher optimism among other CIS countries, and the orientation towards democracy and free market development. There was a small decline in some of these indicators during year 1998 when the survey was carried out in Georgia. Among six CIS countries Georgia expressed all these years more positive view on the development of household finances. So, in 1996, 27% were believing that the situation has improved, 28% saying that it stayed the same and 44% stating that their household finances got worse, but the situation seemed to be much better last year (39% better, 23% worse). Market economy had greatest support in Georgia, while in other CIS countries there were more people opposed to market economy than there were in favour of it. This model seemed more acceptable to Georgian's mentality as an influence of Communist ideology here was traditionally lower.

Figure 14
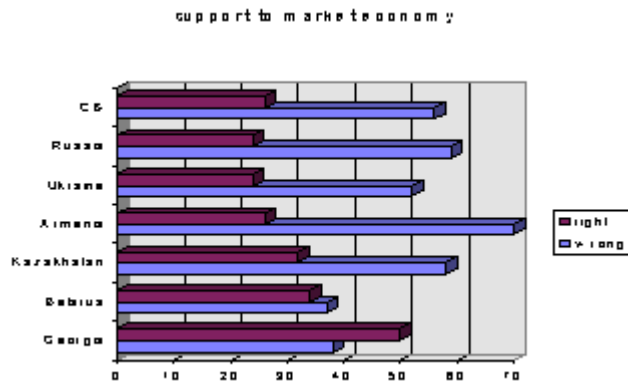
In 1996 Georgians expressed the highest level of satisfaction with democracy among CIS countries were the satisfaction was generally low, as there were 40% satisfied against 56% dissatisfied (compare to 8% against 80% in Russia). As mentioned above, there was a small fall in satisfaction from 43% in 1995, but the trend was not supported by later data. There was also greater optimism regarding respect for human rights in its country among Georgian people in comparison with other CIS countries. Although 59% thought in 1996 that human rights were not respected, there was a certain trend towards the improvement of the situation (62% against 34% respectively in 1995), while e.g. Russia expressed highest dissatisfaction in respect of human rights (82% - not respected). At the same time, opinions about the direction of how things were going in the country had changed in Georgia from 45% in 1995 to 39% in 1996 (right) and from 32% to 54% (wrong), this shift partly explained by failed high expectations after the 1995 elections and the invisibility of positive changes to common people.

Figure 15

satisfaction with development of democracy
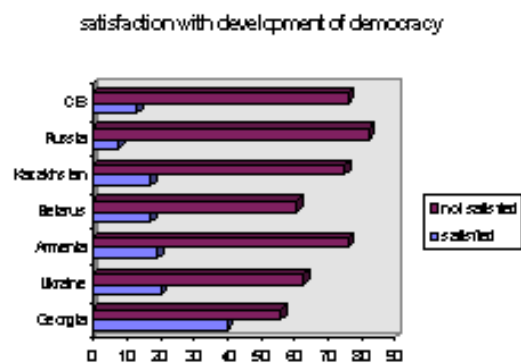
An important political event in the period between the two parliamentary elections of 1995 and 1999 was the local elections held on November 15th, 1998. One of the greatest surprises in these elections was the success of two - the Labour and the Socialist parties, both of which campaigned against Western economic models. This was accompanied by the growth of strong industrial lobbies opposed to IMF policies, the resistance of the orthodox church to Western faiths and its withdrawal from the World Council of Churches, and some parliamentarians' protests against Western cultural imperialism. There are many possible explanations for this success, followed by total failure in 1999 parliamentary elections of both parties, but one is clear, there is significant potential for anti-western and anti-democratic choice, reflecting as well a strand of "indigenism" that cannot be ignored. Still, success of populist rhetoric used by both Labourists and Socialists in promising social security, free education and state protection and patronage, shows the readiness of the population to provide credit of confidence to political forces that offer pseudo-constructive ideas close to deeply rooted political preferences brought as ideological legacy of Soviet past. Important material for comparison was provided by our surveys carried out close to the parliamentary elections of 1995 and 1999(data comparison presented below).

The surveys of 1995 and 1999

The 1995 survey was held a week before and 1999 one week after the respective parliamentary elections. They comprised several identical blocks and taped value orientation

of respondents, participation of respondents in the elections, respondents' political preferences, and the reasons for voting (or in the case of non-participation in elections - causes for abstention).

The 1995 survey was held on 335 respondents (210 male and 145 female) and 1999 on 416 respondents (208 male and 208 female) of four age groups in the age range of 15-75. Majority of respondents of both studies had University education, finished or unfinished.
Social values were studied by the Social Goals Inventory scale (Braithwaite, 1994), containing 14 items forming two 7-point sub-scales: 'International harmony and equality'; and 'National strength and order'. 'National strength and order' was evaluated by respondents much higher (M=6.67 in 1995 and M=6.77 in 1999) than 'International harmony and equality' (M=5.43 in 1995 and M=5.75 in 1999). Three of four items comprising 'National strength' scale occupy first three ranks according to the estimations given by respondents, these are: 'National greatness', 'National security' and the 'Rule of law'. Comparing the data with the results of 1995 survey reveals essentially similar ordering of different social goals in accordance to their importance.

Table 3
Evaluations of Social Goals Inventory in 1995 and in 1999

| Item	Rank 1995	Rank 1999	Mean 1995	SD 1995	Mean 1999	SD 1999
National strength and order						
National greatness	1.5	1	6.39	1.03	6.75	.61
The rule of law	1.5	3	6.39	.99	6.67	.71
National security	3	2	6.35	1.00	6.74	.64
National economic development	4.5	6	6.23	1.03	6.54	.81
International harmony and equality						
A world at peace	4.5	4	6.23	1.14	6.62	.87
Preserving natural environment	6	5	6.20	1.07	6.55	.80
Human dignity	7	7	5.97	1.36	6.22	1.21
A world of beauty	8	9	5.92	1.10	6.06	1.06
Social progress and social reform	9	8	5.68	1.19	6.15	1.11
A good life for others	10	10	5.58	1.30	6.01	1.15
Equal opportunity for all	11	13	5.17	1.63	5.11	1.83
International cooperation	12	11	5.12	1.35	5.72	1.26
Greater economic equality	13	12	4.83	1.57	5.36	1.54
Rule by the people	14	14	3.57	1.87	3.74	1.82

Figure 16
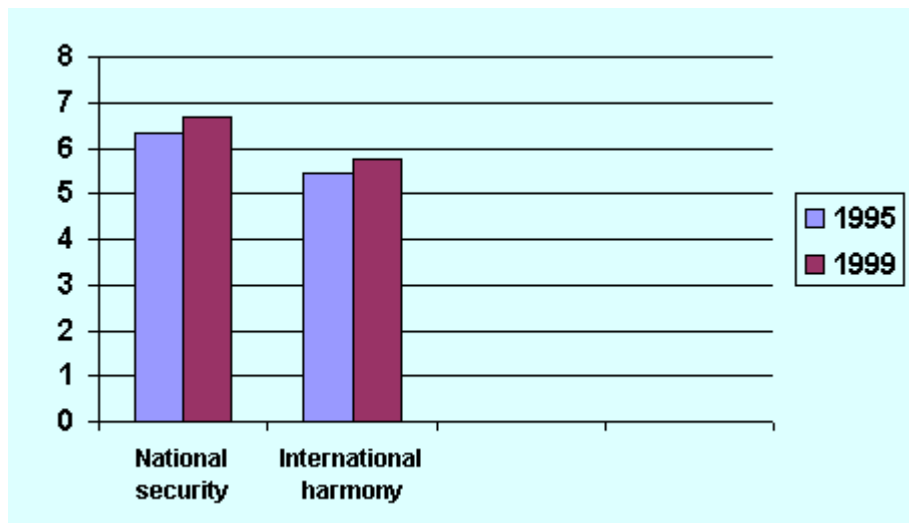
Evaluations of Social Goals Inventory in 1995 and in 1999

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed significant difference on both 'International Harmony' (F=25.6, p<.01) and 'National security' (F=33.4, p<.01) scales between 1995 and 1999 data. In 1995 ANOVA revealed the influence of the age on the estimation of the importance of National security and order (F=2.67; p< .05). Oldest (M=6.43) and than youngest (M=6.41) respondents estimated National strength and order the highest. 18-26 years old respondents valued National strength the least (M=6.19). New data do not differentiate age groups in regard to these value orientations and therefore points to the decrease of age-related polarisation as well as the increase of importance of social goals

Value orientation. Value orientations were measured by Materialist/Post-materialist values scale (Inglehart, 1977) – 4-item instrument of a forced choice format measuring adherence to materialist or post-materialist values. The scale was administered only in 1999 survey.

Respondents were requested to indicate their first and the second priorities from a scale comprising of four items of materialist/post-materialist values (Inglehart, 1977). Two items of the scale correspond to materialist ('maintain order in the nation' and 'fight rising prices'), and the other two to post-materialist orientation ('give people more say in government decisions' and 'protect freedom of speech'). Accordingly following their choices respondents can be grouped in having materialist, post-materialist or mixed orientation, i.e. having chosen one materialist and one post-materialist item. Figure 17 demonstrates high frequency of choices of the items comprising materialist orientation.

Figure 17
Frequencies of materialist / post-materialist orientations
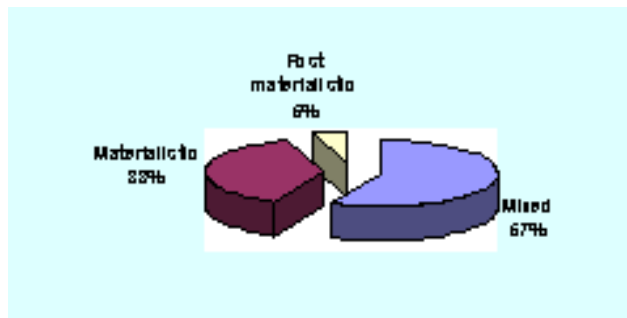
Thus, respondents of mixed value orientation form the biggest group, followed by persons with materialist orientation. The group of persons with post-materialist orientation is very small, comprising only 4.9% of the sample.

Persons with mixed type of value orientation are most numerous in all age groups. Age exerts influence on value orientation (chi-square = 19.2, p<01). There is a prevalence of persons in age-range 41-76 among materialist orientation type (30.6% of all materialists), prevalence of persons in age brake of 26-40 among post materialists (50% of all post-materialists) and prevalence of youngest respondents, i.e. of 15-17 years olds among persons with mixed orientation (29.8%).

Among the supporters of CUG and the Union of Georgian Revival materialists form the largest group comprising 50.8% and 55% of the party supporters correspondingly, while among those who did not cast their vote, supporters of Industry will save Georgia and all other parties (62.1%, 54.5% and 52.2% correspondingly) persons with mixed value orientation form the biggest group.

Attitude towards democracy and democratic values. Attitude towards democracy scale (Whitefield & Evans, 1966) measuring attitude towards main democratic principles has been developed originally for the study of attitudes toward main democratic principles in Russia. Instrument measures abstract values, in fact normative orientation of a person. In the survey five out of seven original Whitefield & Evans questions and a 7-point measuring scale were used. The authors of the scale do not make a composite measure of the scale by summing up the answers of its items. Instrument was used only in 1999 study. As is evident from Table 4, democratic values are not valued very high. Only the statement "It is not conceivable to have a viable democracy without political opposition" is estimated highly and stands out from other items with much lower estimations. Taken together attitude of the surveyed population is rather traditionalist, honoring authority and valuing solving the problems facing the country.

Table 4
Estimation on attitudes towards democracy

	Item	Mean	SD
	It is not conceivable to have a viable democracy without political opposition	5.21	1.42
	People should be allowed to organise public meetings to protest against government	3.74	1.79
	Political parties that wish to overthrow democracy should be allowed to stand in general elections	2.57	1.68
*	It would be worthwhile to support a leader who could solve the main problems facing country today even if he overthrew democracy	3.85	1.85
*	The political opposition should not only criticise the government, but support it as well	4.46	1.53

* Disagreement to the item is a measure of a democratic attitude.

ANOVA revealed that the age groups differ significantly only in regard of one item, namely "The political opposition should not only criticise the government, but support it as well" (F=2.8, p<05) youngest group of respondents showing the least compliance to the statement and this way expressing more democratic attitude (M=4.25, SD=1.52) while 40-75 years olds showed the most compliance (M=4.82, SD=1.56). ANOVA also revealed the difference among supporters of different parties in regard to democratic values. Significant difference was found in regard to two statements: Supporters of parties left outside the parliament estimating the item "People should be allowed to organise public meetings to protest against the government" the highest (F=4.4, p<.01; M=4.12, SD=1.76) while least democratic attitude was expressed by CUG electorate (M=2.93, SD=1.53). The second statement on which significant difference was found (F=3.5, p<.01) is "The political opposition should not only criticise the government, but support it as well". Here most democratic attitude was expressed by those who did not cast their vote (M=4.15, SD=1.55), while the least democratic by supporters of CUG (M=5.05, SD=1.38).

Population seems to be ready to sacrifice democratic achievements in exchange to security and minimum life-standards. The attitude is also defined by own representation in the parliament. Supporters of majority in the parliament do not want to give opposition possibilities of expression and action.

Democratic preferences

Democratic preferences were again studied only in 1999 on the basis of seven pairs of alternative items. Questions have been designed specially for the given survey in a forced choice format to tap democratic values, such as personal freedom, equality, and rule of law. Respondents were asked to choose one, more important value from each pair.

Table 5. Percentage of choices

No	Item	%, N=416
1	Order in the country	77.1
*	Personal freedom	22.9
	Total	100
2 *	Participation of population in decision making	52.3
	Trusting leadership in making decisions	47.7
	Total	100
3	Defence of territorial integrity at any price	69.7
*	Avoidance of bloodshed, even at the price territorial integrity	30.3
	Total	100
4 *	Support of private entrepreneurship	29.6
	Social security of population	70.4
	Total	100
5	Preferable conditions for Georgians in Georgia	65.2
*	Equality for the representatives of all nations in Georgia	34.8
	Total	100
6 *	Equality in regard to law	93.7
	Granting privileges for special services	6.3
	Total	100
7 *	Civic responsibilities	90.0
	Granting privileges to relatives and friends in business and civic life	10.0
	Total	100

* items expressing democratic preference

As is demonstrated in Table 5, out of seven pairs of items preference was expressed by the majority only to three democratic values, one regarding participation (item 2) and two (items 6 and 7) directed against corruption and nepotism. In these last two cases significant age difference were found (Chi-square = 8, p < .05).

In regard to both, equality before the law and civic responsibility among age groups more 41-70 years olds and less - 14-17 years olds showed democratic preference. 25.9% of choices were made by 41-70 years olds and 24.1% by 15-17 years olds for item 6 and 26.4% of choices were made by 41-70 years olds and 23.8% by 15-17 years olds for item 7.

After items 6 and 7 respondents were most unanimous in choosing order in the country (77.1%) over personal freedom (Item 1). Social security was preferred over the support of private entrepreneurship (70.4%, item 4). Here the age difference was significant (Chi-square = 15.4, p < .05). Social security was advocated by 15-17 years olds much more (29%) than by other age groups. Least preference was demonstrated by 41-75 years olds. Their choice constituted only 20% of all choices for this issue.

National sentiment was less pronounced (items 3 and 5). Significant difference among the age groups was found in choosing defence of territorial integrity at any price over avoidance of bloodshed even at the expense of territorial integrity. Territorial integrity was the most valued for 26-40 years olds (79.6%).

In general the scarcity of democratic preferences, high need for equality in regard to law and in occupational opportunities, low need for participation, and valuing of order were the demonstrated trends within the sample.

Motives for voting and not voting.

From the surveyed populations, persons under 18 years of age were excluded from the analyses as were not entitled to take part in elections due to their age. Regarding voting the biggest group was formed of those, who either: did not take part in elections, did not cast their vote to any party, or did not reveal their choice. We call this group no-preference group. They constitute 38.9% in 1995 and 33.8% in 1999 of eligible sample. In all age groups the biggest is the proportion of this, no preference group. Next to it the most widespread answer varies across the age groups. In 1999 22.4% of 18-25 years olds and 23.5% of respondents in the age range of 41-76 expressed preference to the Citizens' Union of Georgia (CUG), 29.4% of 26-40 year olds - to the parties, which were left outside the parliament.

From the perspective of the party preferences in 1999 the CUG supporters in our sample are mostly formed by 18-25 and 41-76 years olds (39.3% each); Georgian Union of Revival (GUR) - by persons in the age range of 18-25 (45%), most numerous supporters of the Industry will save Georgia (ISG) are 41-76 years old (41.1%). As is demonstrated in Figure 18 the three motives, i.e. 'trust to the party leader', fact that 'others were even worse' and 'ideas conveyed in the party programme' were named as leading reasons for voting.

Figure 18
Reasons for making voting choice
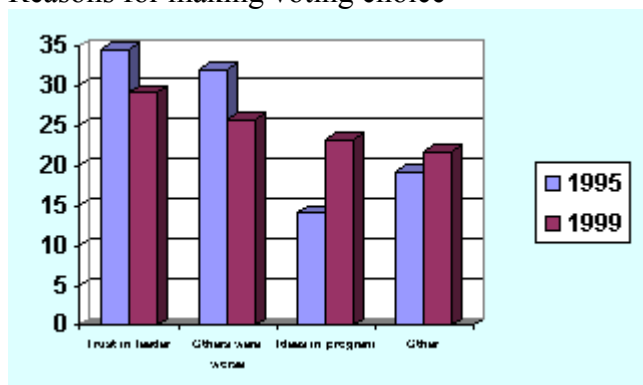
Both the supporters of CUG (45.9%) and GUR (40%) name trust to the leader as the main reason for making their choice, the second mostly wide spread motive for the supporters of both parties is the fact that other parties were even worse (26.2% of CUG supporters and 25% of GUR supporters). Different reason was prevalent for the supporters of ISG. The ideas conveyed in the program was the leading motive for 35.7% of ISG electorate. The second largest group here, similar to the cases of CUG and GUR, was formed by those whose voting was determined by the perception that the others were worse. These two motives, i.e. ideas expressed in the programme and the fact that others were worse were main reasons for

making the choice (26.1% for each motive) among the supporters of the parties that failed to enter the Parliament. All in all 68 respondents or 16.3% of the sample out of those eligible to take part in elections did not vote. The leading motives for not voting were either unspecified or labelled as mistrust to the parties, while more than a quarter were discouraged from voting by the feeling that they could not influence the events.

Figure 19
Reasons for not voting
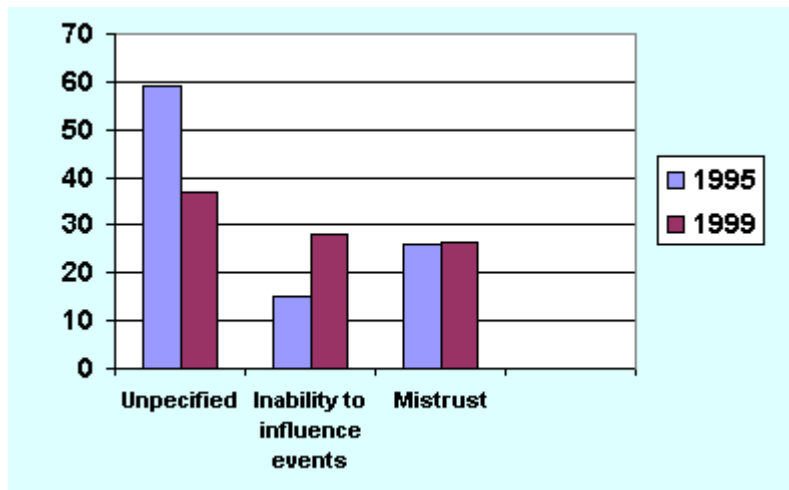
Trust seems to be the leading factor in making both voting and not-voting decision, similarly trust to the leader was named as the main reason for making voting choice and mistrust to parties as the main motive for not voting. The point that the second most widely accepted motive for voting choice being 'choosing the least evil', and the feeling of helplessness as a reason for not voting, indicate general, not very stimulating psychological background for elections.

General orientations

Three questions in the 1999 survey were aimed at the study of the general orientation. One of them referred to the influence that an ordinary citizen could exert on the government to change the policy. Respondents are rather pessimistic in regard to the influence that an ordinary citizens and hence themselves can have on the government. There was a significant age difference in the evaluation of possibilities of exerting influence (Chi-square =27.5, p<.001), the most optimistic being 15-17 years olds (31.8%) and the least (22.7%) 18-25 years olds.

Figure 20

Can an ordinary citizen influence government decisions?
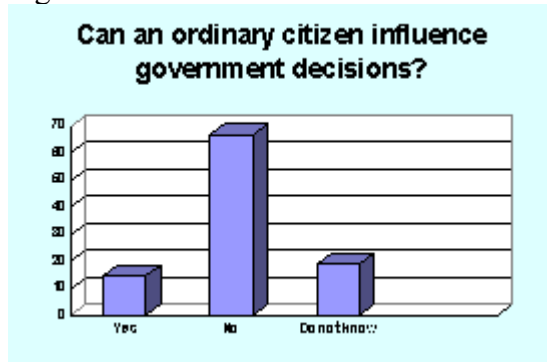
The second general orientation question concerned the issue of having trust in others. Respondents do not consider that most of other people could be trusted. (M= 3.35 on 7-step scale ranging from 1-absolutely disagree to 7-absolutely agree SD=1.57). ANOVA revealed the influence of age on trust (F=2.96, p<.05). 41-76 years olds (M=3.73, SD=1.53) show the most and the 18-25 years olds (M=3.13, SD=1.59) the least trust in people.

Respondents also do not express high satisfaction with their life. (M= 3.27, SD=1.75 on 7-step scale ranging from 1 - absolutely dissatisfied, to 7 - absolutely satisfied). Among those who were eligible to vote, diffe-rence in degree of satisfaction was found between the supporters of different parties (F=3.67, p = .006 < .05). The most satisfied were the supporters of CUG (M=3.82, SD=1.72) and the least satisfied – the supporters of those parties which were left outside the parliament (M=2.70, SD=1.38).

Perception of little control over decisions of government, little trust in others and low satisfaction with own life was the demonstrated trend.

Attitude towards economic equality and estimations of present and future possibilities

Other areas of interest include attitude towards economic equality and trust in reaching affluence through honest work. Attitude towards economic equality and estimation of possibilities of economic activities at present and in future were studied by questions with provided-answer options. Ideas of economic equality were not prevalent. Comparison with 1995 data shows the shift towards the attitude of economic inequality, as while in 1999 more than half of respondents think that there should be rich and poor (Chi-square = 103.1, p < .001), back in 1995 only 46.5% favored existence of rich and poor, 31.6% advocated equality and 21.9% could not give the definite answer.

Figure 21

Should there be rich and poor?
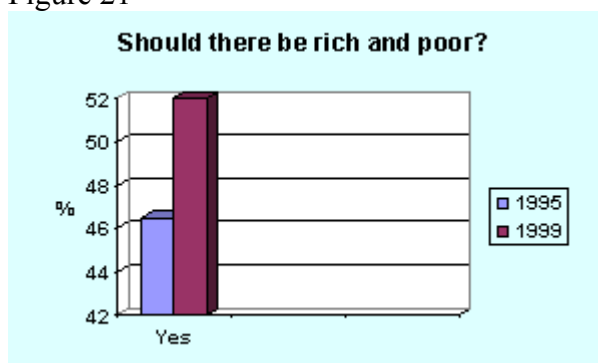
The majority of respondents label their families as neither effluent nor poor, while most of others considers themselves to be poor. There is a significant difference in labelling economic situation of the families (Chi-square = 75, p<001). Proportion of those who call their families poor increases with the age. Poor those who call their families poor 13.8% are 15-18 years old, 16.1% 18-25 years old, 29.3% 26-40 years old and 40.8% 41-75 years old.

Figure 22
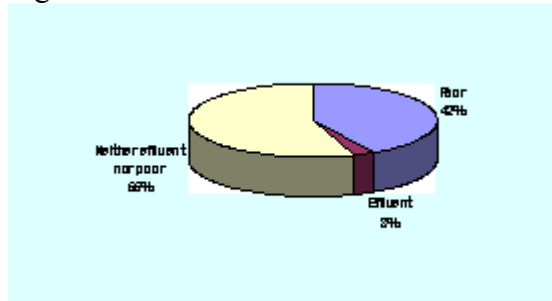
Perception of economic status in 1999

The situation was similar in 1995. At that time 53.8% considered their families as neither effluent nor poor, 42% called it poor and 4.2% called it rich.

According to 1999 data, in recent 5 years the economic position of 46.1% of families worsened, 29.8% has not changed and 24.1% improved, while back in 1995 according to as much as 69% of respondents, the economic condition deteriorated, according to 21.1% it has not changed, and according to 10.4% it improved. Here again respondents of different age groups differ in the evaluation of a change (Chi-square = 38.9, p < .001).

Proportion of those who state the improvement of the situation decreases with the age. From all those who point to the improvement 15-17 years olds constitute 37%, 18-25 years olds 31%, 26-40 years olds 18% and 41-76 years olds 14%. There is also significant differences in the evaluation of changes in 1995 and in 1999 (Chi-square = 53, p < .001). In 1995 10.4% of the sample pointed to the improvement, while in 1999 already 24% sees the positive changes.
Figure 23

It is worth mentioning of a relatively recent study of the World Bank Poverty and Income Distribution study (World Bank 1999), which indicates that notwithstanding the financial crisis of the last year there is a tendency of slight improvement of the perception of wellbeing. Compare this also to the results of a relatively recent study, which indicate to the similar figures for the perception of wellbeing as ours:

Table 6

Changes in economic conditions of a family, as compared to the last year	Number	%
00	4	1.3
Improved	56	18.7
The same	116	38.7
Grew worse	124	41.3
Total	300	100.0

(Investigation of Corruption Problems in Georgia, 1998)

In general, future outlook is rather optimistic. 67.5% of respondents expect the improvement of economic conditions of their families in coming 5 years, 26.6% thinks it would not change and according to 5.9% it will become worse. Age plays considerable part in the evaluation of future (Chi-square =57, p<.001). Again younger respondents look at the future with much more hope than older ones . Among those hoping for more affluent life 15-17 years olds constitute 30.1%, 18- 25 years olds 31.2%, 26-40 years olds 23% and 41-76 years olds 15.7%.

Majority of respondents (68.1%) considers it impossible to earn enough for decent life by honest work, only 10.9% think it possible and 21% cannot give definite answer. Age groups differ significantly in evaluation of present possibilities of achieving affluence through honest work (Chi-square =19.4, p<.01). Least convinced in such possibility are oldest respondents (29.1% of negative answers) and most convinced are 18-25 years olds (21.35% of negative answers). Evaluations of the present possibilities made in 1995 and in 1999 do not differ, while there is a considerable difference in evaluations of future prospects of earning enough by honest work (Chi-square =18.5, p<.05). As can be seen in Figure 21 a bigger proportion of 1999 sample sees such opportunity in 5 years perspective. 22.2% of respondents think that in 5 years it will be possible to earn by honest work enough for leading normal life, 21.2% do not consider this as a possibility and the biggest part of the respondents (56.6%) cannot give definite answer. Age does not make any difference in evaluation of future prospects. No difference was revealed while comparing evaluations of future, or of present possibilities to make livelihood through honest work, of 1995 and 1999 samples, but there is significant increase of optimism regarding future possibilities for honest life. There is certain improvement trend in perception of economic conditions of the families, and in the expectations of the future. There is also different labelling of economic conditions by different age groups, with more optimistic outlook in younger sample

Figure 24
Possibility of earning enough by honest work in 5 years

Compare to the results of a study of corruption, indicating that more than half of the population accepts bribe and corruption as part of everyday life:

Table 7

Respondent's opinion with regards to paying extra charges to the personnel of state institutions, in order to settle a problem	Number	%
00	5	1.7
It is necessary	30	10.0
It is our home regime	3	1.0
It is inadmissible	144	48.0
It is possible in present circumstances	63	21.0
When it is required	55	18.3
Total	300	100.0

(Investigation of Corruption Problems in Georgia, 1998)

The results of the 1995 and 1999 surveys were supplemented by our latest survey focused on the population of the capital city of Tbilisi, which was carried out a week before the 2000, 9th of April, presidential elections in Georgia,. The questionnaire contained several blocks. In addition to standard instruments described below, it tapped Georgia's priority problems as perceived by the population; Attitude toward different external orientations of Georgia; Attitude toward the presidential elections; characteristics of the elected president E. Shevardnadze as seen through public eye.

APRIL 2000 SURVEY

Sample characteristics

579 respondents (297 males and 282 females) took part in the survey. Respondents were attributed to one of the three age groups: 18-25 years olds –210 respondents (105 males and 105 females); 26-45 years olds- 190 respondents (97 males and 93 females); and 46-75 years olds – 179 respondents (95 males and 84 females).

Majority of respondents had University education (86.6%), 13.4% had high or special education. 54% were married and 46% unmarried. 36.9% were state employees, students constituted 27.5%, 12.8% were unemployed, 11.5% worked in private enterprise, 5.3% were homemakers, 2% were pensioners, 4% worked in other types of organisations. The overwhelming majority of respondents did not belong to any political party, while only 16.9% declared to be supporters of any such party.

The survey assessed degree of optimism of respondents by Life Orientation Scale (Shreier & Carver, 1987), which is a 10 item instrument with "Yes" and "No" answer options, with items like: "I always look on a bright side" and "I hardly expect things to go my way". In all respondents demonstrated rather high optimism (M = .83, SD = .14 with a maximum possible positive score of 1). No age or gender related difference was found in optimism among the respondents.

The survey has also assessed the locus of control of respondents. They were asked to choose one from the list of five statements, which most closely reflected their attitude. The statements ranged from "What can person achieve in life almost entirely depends on her/him"

to " [It] almost entirely depends on others and situation". Respondents displayed rather high internal locus control (M = 2.09, SD = .77, score 2 corresponding to the statement "Mostly depending on oneself"). Significant age related difference was found (F = 3.54, p < .05), young respondents subscribing to much greater internal locus of control than older ones.

About one third of respondents considered themselves to belong to poor families. Answering the question concerning the economic status of their families majority (59.8%) described it as of medium wealth, 25.8% called it poor and more 4.9% extremely poor, while 7.5% considered their families as well-to-do and 1.6% rich. Economical status was related to the locus of control (Pearson's r = .12 p < .01). The well-to-do tended to be more internals and the poor - externals. But respective causal association is not deducible, as both the perception of economic status and internality rate correlate with age. Although the most widely accepted definition is medium wealth, the proportion of persons describing their families this way decreases with the age (67%, 60.2% and 52.5% in 1st, 2nd and 3rd age groups correspondingly), as was the case according to our 1999 survey, with a tendency of shifting towards poor and extremely poor. One possible explanation is different cohorts using different frames of reference, the young comparing themselves to other families and older respondents to their past economic situation.

2. Country's problems and external orientations

Respondents were asked to choose three most urgent problems from the listed nine. Three problems that majority chose as needing the urgent resolution were economic development (78.5%), restoration of territorial integrity (57.5%), and combating corruption (52.6%).

Figure 25
Rank order of problems
Age groups did not differ in the perception of importance of the problems.

Choosing the answer to the question: by whom the future of Georgia was determined, 38.6% stated that it mostly depended on other countries, 32.4% on Georgia itself, 29.9% pointed that it equally depended on Georgia and other countries. On the background of the low level of perceived country's self-reliance, it becomes important as to what country Georgians consider their international politics should be oriented. It should also be noted that preferential orientation of Georgia either toward Russia or the West is one of the central issues on political parties' agendas. It remained an issue also with regard to international agendas of the presidential candidates. President Shevardnadze was stressing his orientation towards the West during his pre-election campaign, while the alternative candidate J. Patiashvili was assumed to be oriented rather towards Russia. Shevardnadze underlined the importance of oil and gas pipelines (from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea ports, as an alternative to the Russian route to the port of Novorossiisk) in his electorate campaign, making it the most salient feature where his achievements were the biggest. This was an important point, as the majority of the population considers this issue to be important for the future development of the country.

The majority of respondents (55.1%) considers that Georgia should predominantly look mainly to the West, 17.2% prefer orientation to Russia and 27.7% cannot choose. There is a significant difference (Chi-square = 16.6; p < .005) between the age groups in the preferring of orientation. Younger generation chooses the West, the older Russia. From those who prefer Russia only 23.2% are 18-25 years olds, 35.4% are 26-45 years olds, 41.4% are 46-71

years olds. At the same time, respondents revealed high level of scepticism with regards to the country's current development direction: only 18.2% of the surveyed consider Georgia to be on the right path of development, 45.5% think that it's on a wrong path and 36.9% cannot decide.

Figure 26
Orientation of Georgia among respondents of three age-groups

Foreign policy orientation is indeed an important variable, strongly favoured or disfavoured by the population and the élites. For the general population, foreign orientation may have important every-day connotation. So, among many changes that were brought by the new independence is the radical reorientation from Russian language to English. Most of new shops, offices or state institutions will have now Georgian and English labels, the latter replacing Russian ones characteristic for the Soviet period. It is also rare to hear Russian tongue in the street, although significant portion of the population still watches Russian TV broadcast and understands this language fairly well. There is also less of Armenian, commonly spoken previously in some districts of Tbilisi (Havlabar). Interesting trend was revealed by the 1996 Eurobarometer with regards to the role of mass media. On the question of the principal source of information on EU in Georgia, in comparison with other CIS countries, national television was named more frequently than Russian TV (72% and 48% respectively), while the latter was a more popular source for other CIS countries except Ukraine. The role of national television in Georgia rose significantly and the same happened to Russian television here since last year (compare to 39% national TV and 16% Russian TV in 1995). It seems that tolerance towards Russia in respect of informational source and future partnership had grown at that time among Georgian citizens as the political pressure of Russia has softened and Russia had weaker enemy image then it had in 1995 when Russia was considered to be involved in major political plots against Georgia's interests. According to the Eurobarometer, in 1996, as compared to 1995, Russia was more often seen as a partner for the future in Georgia (51%) with a rise on 17 points from 1995. EU was seen as a future partner by 11% of the people, USA by 13%, Germany by 8% and other countries by 21%. However, now the trend seems to change direction, with opening of Russian border with Abkhazia, the war in Chechnya, anti-Georgian campaign in Russian media and the last year unprecedented bombing of the Georgian villages of Omalo and Shatili by Russian planes, and most recently the unilateral introduction of the visa regime in December 2000.

Attitude of Georgians toward Russia has always been characterised by deeply rooted ambivalence. Russia was and still is seen as both the patron and the protector, on one hand, and as repressive imperial power, on the other. Policies toward Russia are at the heart of polemics among both the Georgian élites and the population at large, vacillating between naïve profiteering pragmatism and attitude marked with fear and aggressive hostility. While Georgians are deeply resentful of Russian imperial behaviour in the Caucasus and of Russian military presence in Georgia, a poll in 1997 suggested 24% of Georgians (it was 25% for Germany and 23% for US) considered Russia important to Georgia's future. (USIA Opinion Analysis 1997) In 1998, 43% of those polled believed Georgia should ally itself either with Russia and the CIS, or with Russia and Western countries jointly, despite as little as 29% having a favourable view of Russia. (USIA Opinion Analysis 1998) At the same time, Georgian views of Russia are not only characterised by fear and suspicion, but also by long-standing cultural connections and by recognition of Russia's future importance after recovery from current crisis.

Figure 27
Eurobarometer, 1996

In September 1998, when asked where Georgia's place should be in the world, 68% answered with Europe, only 19% with the CIS and 3% with the Near East. (USIA Opinion Analysis 1998) Germany and the United States were looked upon "favourably" by Georgians (87% and 85% of those polled respectively) compared to 32% and 29% for Turkey and Russia. (USIA Opinion Analysis 1998) In a 1998 USIA poll, 49% of Georgian respondents felt the main purpose of Western assistance to Georgia was to make it dependent on the West. In 1996, only 31% had believed this. (USIA Opinion Analysis 1998)

Since the elections of 1995, Georgia has steadily followed the free market precepts of the Bretton-Woods institutions, and its legislation incorporates Western values and achievements such as European and human rights conventions, the division of powers, and free market legislative norms and mechanisms. Still, Georgian foreign policy and its gradual re-orientation toward Europe cannot be explained without an understanding of the Georgian elite's perceptions of their cultural identity and its place in the world. It is these values or paradigms that might make up the framework of a Georgian 'national project', although Georgia's foreign policy is still in the process of being formulated (Jones, 1999). These paradigms are relevant to the role of national identity in foreign policy and will be the reference points for any foreign policy ideology that may emerge in the future.

Georgians are in general satisfied with their country's membership in international and European organisations such as the Council of Europe (Georgia was approved in February 1999), increased collaboration with the European Union and integration with the European market. There is widespread believe that Georgia's future lies in the development of the Eurasian transport corridor (TRACECA – Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia), transit of oil and exploiting its central position in serving as a strategic bridge between the West and the East, although the East is playing in such consideration somewhat secondary role. Georgia's connection with Europe, will draw Georgia firmly into the Western sphere, provide both security and prosperity, safeguard against waning Russian influence. Polls in 1996-1998 showed such policies were congruent with public opinion. At the same time, while countries of Central Europe have already gone far on their way of integration into European structures, Georgia, apart from recently achieved membership in the Council of Europe, and the OSCE, is weakly integrated into Europe. Regional organisations, of which Georgia is a member, either develops in the direction of further weakening ties – CIS, or had no vital energy from the very beginning, due to essential conflict of interest between its leading members - BSEC. Still, the Georgian government expresses openly, and this is approved by the majority of the population, its intention to integrate further in European and North-Atlantic structures.

There are also cultural and historical biases, defining popular attitudes and preferences. Despite Georgia's alliance with Azerbaijan and Turkey, in particular regarding the oil and gas pipelines issue, popular anti-Muslim sentiments are still observable. In 1997, Georgians protested the proposed establishment of a Turkish university in Georgia and publicly resisted the resettlement of Muslim Meskhetians in Southern Georgia, the border region from which they were expelled in 1944. (USIA Opinion Analysis 1998) Opinion polls suggest that most Georgians still have an unfavourable opinion of Turkey (56% in 1998). Turkey was second to Russia as a potential threat to Georgia (but only 16% compared to 50% for Russia). At the same time it is not the issue of confession alone, as e.g. Azerbaijan was given the second

highest rating after the US (61% compared to 62%) as a country capable of dealing responsibly with problems in the Caucasus, and while 66% looked favourably on Azerbaijan, only 42% did so for Armenia. (USIA Opinion Analysis 1998) The distrust toward Turkey does not extend to Azerbaijan, and popular protests against Turkish influence in Georgia have had little impact on Georgian foreign policy. Shevardnadze continues to forge an economic and strategic alliance with both Azerbaijan and Turkey. (Jones 99) At the same time, Azerbaijan was given the second highest rating after the US (61% compared to 62%) as a country capable of dealing responsibly with problems in the Caucasus, and while 66% looked favourably on Azerbaijan, only 42% did so for Christian Armenia. (USIA Opinion Analysis 1998)

It is worth considering briefly, following available sociological data, other related aspects of the value system not covered by our surveys. One of these is the confessional aspect of self-perception, closely linked to one of the dominant variable in Georgian identity – that of Orthodox Christianity, or Sunni Islam, for a minority of Ajarans, in addition to Shiya Azeris and Gregorian Armenians in Southern Georgia. How deep is this allegiance and how important is it in shaping people's political values? For most Georgians, including political élites who use religious symbols to gain legitimacy, the church is a national rather than religious emblem. It represents politics, not metaphysics. (Jones, 1999) A United States Information Agency poll taken in 1997 suggested that only 8% of the population went to church at least once a week (USIA Opinion Analysis 1997) and in general Georgians, despite their public testament of religious faith, remain ambivalent toward the church. The same USIA poll recorded that 73% of Georgians considered themselves religious, but many see the church as corrupt and the priesthood low in prestige and poorly educated. Alongside public loyalty to the Orthodox Church, Georgians cultivate a myth of religious tolerance, and proudly stress the absence of a tradition of religious persecution in Georgia. At the same time the church has lost its symbolic function of preserving the national identity and declined lately in status, respect and relevance. It is becoming more and more politically marginal and reactive to increased influence of rivalling confessions, campaigns against other religious groups or organisations such as the Jehovah Witnesses, or even more acceptable Catholics, as demonstrated during the recent visit to Georgia of the Pope John-Paul II in December 1999.

ELECTING THE PRESIDENT IN 2000

Although a number of candidates (finally 6 of them) for 2000 presidential elections were registered, acting president Shevardnadze unequivocally stood out among these, as practically having no alternative. Former Shevardnadze's successor as the First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party (1985-1989) and his long-term rival, Jumber Patiashvili was considered as the only candidate who could compete in some way with Shevardnadze, but even he appeared to be no real match to the latter.

Among the main issues of focus during the 2000 survey were the motivations behind taking part in elections, or the choice made, as well as the personality characteristics of the elected president as perceived by the population.

Age of the respondents had a significant effect on the readiness to participate (Chi-square = 17.39; p < .05). The older respondents expressed more willingness to vote. Among those who had decided to vote only 29.9% were 18-25 years olds, 33% were 26-45 and 37.1% were older than 45. The majority of the respondents (52.2%) considered that the wellbeing of the

population greatly depended as to who would be the president of Georgia. More than 36.8% thought it was important, 6% were not sure, for 5% it was not important. However, not all that considered the personality of the president to be important were going to take part in elections. In fact, nearly half of those who acknowledged the importance of the personality of a president were not going to vote. Only 45.3% of the surveyed expressed readiness of participation, 21.1% were undecided a week before elections, 25% were sure not to participate and 8.6% refused to answer the question. Among those who were going to vote 92.8% considered president's personality to be important, but the proportion of those thinking so among those who were not going to vote was also quite high (85.4%). This points to small choice available or to the inability to influence outcomes: respondents felt the decision was important but nevertheless did not consider it reasonable to go and vote. The reasons named by those who were going to vote were ranked the following way: 41.6% named the civic responsibility as the motive for participation, 35.3% was taking part for the reason that their vote should not be misused. 15.3% stated their support for the candidate. 7.8% had different motives: e.g. that among candidate's supporters there was their friends or some honourable persons. Mostly shared motive for not participating in elections (34%) among non-voters was their belief that Shevardnadze would win anyway. 27.8% was discouraged by the feeling that elections would not be fare. 12.1% named distrust to the candidates, 11.1% did not feel that their participation was important, 3.9% thought it was not important as to which candidate would win. 11.1% named other motivation.

Respondents were asked to evaluate their confidence in candidates' success with solving pertinent to Georgia problems (ranked previously on Fig. 25) on a scale ranging from strongly convinced that he will solve this or that problem (1) to absolutely non-confident in this (5). Overall on nine problematic for Georgia spheres Shevardnadze's ability was estimated lower (M = 3.03; SD = 1.11) than Patiashvili's (M = 2.79; SD = 1.18). Analysis of variance showed age (F = 4.06; p < .05) and gender (F = 8.12; p < .05) differences in the evaluation of Patiashvili's prospective performance. Men and respondents aged 26-45 were significantly more positive toward him than were women and older respondents. At the same time, in the case of Shevardnadze there was difference only among age groups (F = 5.18, p < 0.5), younger respondents assessing him more positively. The table below illustrates popular attitude towards Shevardnadze's capacity or will to solve the most pressing national problems.

Table 8
Evaluation of E. Shevardnadze's ability to solve problems
(1=strongly convinced that he will solve a problem; 5 = strongly convinced that he is unable to solve a problem)

No	Problem	Shevardnadze M (SD)
1	Effective foreign policy	2.06 (1.2)
2	Decrease of criminality	2.96 (1.2)* #
3	Improvement of relationships with regions of Georgia	2.97 (1.2)*
4	Support of democratic values	2.99 (1.2)
5	Economic development	3.20 (1.2)*
6	Electricity on 24 hour bases	3.20 (1.2)
7	Social security of population	3.31 (1.2)*
	Restoration of territorial integrity	3.54 (1.2)*
9	Combat of corruption	3.68 (1.2)*

* Significant difference among age groups. # Significant difference among gender groups.

As is evident from Table 8, foreign policy stands out as the most effective field of Shevardnadze's activities, followed by decrease of criminality and carrying out effective regional politics. Gender has a small influence in the evaluations of Shevardnadze's future performance, making difference only in one case, i.e. in combat of criminality where men express more trust in Shevardnadze than women do. Age exerts more decisive effect. It is evident in six spheres out of nine, mostly contrasting youngest and oldest groups. Respondents under 26 evaluate him much more favourably.

Paradoxically enough, respondents expressed more trust in Patiashvili than in Shevardnadze (M=3.35; SD=1.2 and M=3.57; SD=1.3, respectively on a 5-step scale ranging from 1 - complete trust to 5 - distrust). Patiashvili was also better evaluated in regard to the fervently debated issue of the 9th April, 1989, tragedy (when the Soviet army troops violently dissolved nationalist manifestation in Tbilisi, leaving 20 dead). Respondents are more inclined to believe that Shevardnadze (then Soviet Foreign Minister) was more able than Patiashvili (then First Secretary of the Georgia's Communist Party) to avoid the tragedy. Notably, there is significant gender difference in the case of Shevardnadze, as females are more convinced that he could avoid the tragedy. Similarly, Patiashvili's motivation of acting in case of him becoming the president was evaluated more favourably than Shevardnadze's. In case of both candidates the motive chosen by the most was interests of Georgia, but while 42.5% believed that Patiashvili would act according this motivation, only 25.5% thought so in regard to Shevardnadze. Party interests were named as the second leading motive for Shevardnadze's actions (24.5%). 21% thought that Shevardnadze will act in the interests of another country or international organisation. There are significant differences among age groups in regard of evaluation of Shevardnadze's motivation (Chi-square = 15.68; p < .05). The highest proportion of 18-25 years olds (27%) believe that Shevardnadze will serve mostly his party interests, in the range 25-46 the most widely spread is the belief that he would act in the interests of Georgia (31.5%), while the relative majority of the oldest respondents think that Shevardnadze would serve other country's interests (26.4%).

Figure 28
Actors whose interest Shevardnadze serves

Respondents were then asked to go through the list of personality characteristics to check if they applied to each candidate. The list comprised both positively and negatively worded characteristics needed for successful holding the office such as being principal, forceful, fair, future oriented, having good reasoning ability, etc. Taken together, Shevardnadze's personality was evaluated slightly more positively (M = .78, SD = .15) than Patiashvili's personality features (M = .76, SD = .16), although the difference is not statistically significant. Significant difference was found among the age groups in the evaluation of Shevardnadze

($F = 4.85$, $p < .01$), older respondents giving the most negative assessment of him.

Figure 39
Shevardnadze's characteristic features

Thus, the findings indicate, that the population makes their decision based on such specific facts as lack of alternatives, fatalism, personal affiliations, orientation in international politics, rather than the ability to solve the most pertinent problems, trust in the leader, his good intentions and sound judgement, belief in serving one's own nation as a main motivation for action, or past record of serving his nation. At the same time people have lost illusions concerning the quick resolution of such painful problems as restoration of territorial integrity, elimination of corruption, economic revival and better life conditions. Stability and centralisation of power are believed to be the most realistically desirable national objectives, notwithstanding little trust in the ability of a leader to cope with urgent tasks or his human qualities.

CONCLUSIONS

A large number of people in Georgia are in the midst of profound change in basic values. Long-held beliefs about the meaning of work in one's life, relations between men and women, expectations for the future – indeed, about many aspects of daily living and important relationships among people – are undergoing a re-examination and re-appraisal. The majority is hovering between older faiths in expanding horizons, and a new sense of lowered expectations, apprehension about the future, mistrust of institutions, and a growing sense of limits. People are in search of new rules, because the old rules don't work any more, they are in the midst of fundamental reordering of the way they see the world around them.

We have mentioned above the analytic primacy of values in explanations of political change. At the simplest, most direct level, shifts in value orientations induce change in modes and levels of political involvement. By examining these changing values, we try to understand how individuals react to changes, how people's values lead them to accept or reject proposed changes in their lives. Now we can return to questions put at the beginning of the study. How can the political culture of present day Georgia be characterised, what tendencies can be traced in regard to the development of democracy? What values guide the behaviour of electorate? What are orientations conveyed by the political elite?

When a culture undergoes a paradigm shift, the new paradigm does not immediately replace the old one as the dominant paradigm. Indeed, the processes of changing value orientations are not characterised by a rather straightforward replacement of existing value orientations by the new orientations. Rather, elements in traditional value orientation are gradually losing their authority or relevance, while other elements retain their force. The reconfiguration of values in new constellations is an intrinsic part of more general process of social change. Political interest, grass-roots activity, electoral turnout, and party choice are all influenced by changes in value orientations. The process of value changes will affect beliefs in government in two closely related ways. On the one hand, as rising cognitive mobilisation – in line with ongoing modernisation – goes along with emergence of new value orientations, the general consequence will be increasing levels of political self-confidence. Citizens will develop greater political efficacy and civic competence. On the other hand, new value orientations imply more critical attitudes towards traditional values and political authorities, this having direct consequences for levels of political trust and civicness.

One may expect the population to be increasingly intent on pursuing non-material and emancipatory goals, as this happens in societies with longer democratic tradition. In place of an emphasis on material well-being, respect for authority, one expects to find a flowering of orientations which might be classed as expressions of self-fulfilment, independence or emancipation, described by such terms as 'individualisation', 'post-conventional norms', 'de-traditionalisation', or the spread of 'postmaterialism', and arrival of 'postmodern society'. In general, secularised orientations, left materialism, postmaterialism, sexual permissiveness, ecologism, feminism, postmodernism, and libertarianism are more evident among young people and the highly educated, who are exposed most intensively to new social arrangements and show greatest willingness to accept new ideas. Postmodernist (based on the notions of self-expression, pluralism and humanism), and postmaterialist (based on ideas of self-realisation, authenticity, and freedom) value orientations are important antecedents of civic competence and efficacy, of more self-confidence among grass-root activists and political actors. Decline of religious orientations undermines deference and the habits of political obedience. Government tends to find support among electorates that are much more diverse in orientations, which make it more difficult to put together the kind of broad consensus necessary to mount major political initiatives, but makes democracy stable and viable.

Our study was an attempt to reveal some trends in the change of values as linked to the transformation of the society. Designing such a study raises questions about sample size and technique, about measurement and reliability, and about data analysis that needs resolving, but we consider our results as rather preliminary findings that need further elaboration and cross-checking.

Results of our study pointed to alarming inertia in the society at large: changes in the mentality of the population required by societal transformation are slow to come about, while democratisation is impeded also by outdated ideological stereotypes and the vague status of democratic values in current modes of thought. Even if democratic principles are supported in abstract form, often citizens are reluctant to apply these principles on practice. Also, as it was described for more general post-Soviet setting (Gibson and Duch, 1993), the mass public is committed much more strongly to "majoritarian" democratic principles, such as popular sovereignty and competitive elections, than to "minoritarian" principles, such as civil liberties and the right of dissent. Reshaping of political culture is a long and a slow process even in

case of conducive to the change environment. Hence in the environment governed by the mutual distrust of political elite and citizens, where elite in practice does not want and citizens do not feel the need to change, the process of reorientation is at its best very slow.

Despite the demands posed by the change of political and economic structure and environment, cultural and political legacies hinder both élite and ordinary citizens in reorienting toward values of personal or corporate responsibility, transparency and accountability. Deeply rooted clientelism and corruption do not stimulate people in power to encourage public participation, on the other hand disillusioned ordinary citizens show apathy and accept the authority of those in power. An important corollary of our main findings is that there is widespread perception of little control over decisions of government, little trust in others and low satisfaction with own life. The way out from this closed, self-reinforcing circle could be seen in the activation of politically conscious and active population and in the will of the ruling party to incorporate population in policy making. In the long run the political survival of today's élites depends on this will as further economic hardship, high rate of inequality and consequent popular discontent may swing the pendulum of public support to reform in opposite direction. Poor economic performance and continuous insecurity and humiliation may easily undermine the still embryonic democratic political culture.

Our results have demonstrated the decisive effect of current conditions and needs on value orientations. Comparison with the data from other countries allows us to predict the development in this regard. As conceptualised by A. Maslow, needs form a hierarchy with basic safety needs at the bottom and non-material needs, like self-actualisation, at the top. Likely the two value orientations which were studied, i.e. of materialist and post-materialist ones, are advocated in response to the situation. People do not largely adhere to post-materialist, libertarian, democratic values until more basic, materialist values of safety, stability and livelihood are not satisfied. This means that the process of democratisation cannot easily develop from scratch in the environment of economic hardship and threat to safety. Indeed, today the demonstrated trend is that the population seems to be ready to sacrifice democratic achievements to security, stability and minimum life-standards. So, e.g., our respondents were most unanimous in choosing order in the country over personal freedom. This is an alarming trend, as "Unless the bulk of the society is committed to a high valuation of these ideals [liberty and equality] it can hardly be expected that institutions predicated upon them will work successfully or long endure" (Pennock, 1956).

Another alarming tendency is the great gap between political élites, actively involved in governance or directing opposition politics, and the population at large, emotionally concerned but lacking skills and levers for more political participation. Unwillingness of élites to take responsibility and initiatives needed for successful democratic transformation, lack of independent and creative thinking; are further aggravated by mutual suspicion and mistrust of political élites and masses, the centre and the periphery. Élites have no confidence in masses, try to avoid where possible democratic structures and procedures of decision making under the pretext of democratic immaturity of population and its lack of political knowledge and skills, or putatively due to economic hardship or external security threats. Similar attitude can be observed in relation to regional authorities, and especially to ethnic or religious minorities. Only a robust civil society, with the capacity to generate political alternatives and to monitor government and state, can resist democratic reversal and is a remedy against such tendencies. New value orientations should lead to demand more institutional openness, for citizens to have more direct input to government decision-making, but no emerging value orientations are rejecting the power of the national state as such. There

is urgent need for development of participatory approach at all levels of governance, and to empowering individuals and communities to self-organise on the issues of protecting their interests, to create effective trade unions, consumer societies or other non-governmental structures. A clear understanding on the part of Georgian citizens of their rights and responsibilities cannot fully develop until there are strong and adequate instruments for protecting the rights, laws and norms on which a free society is built. On the other hand, increasing the identification of citizens with the state, especially by the representatives of ethnic or confessional minorities, is the path to securing effective participation, trust and the rule of law.

As mentioned above, voting is the major democratic scene both where public participation in political process takes place, and where political élites compete among one another for influence and domination. Results of our study pointed to the democratic immaturity of the electorate, to high reliance on the personal features of the leader and indifference to party ideologies and agenda. However, there are certain positive trends observed as well. Such was the reinforcement of the opposition to ruling coalition in recent vote that points to the strengthening of the democratic environment. Preferences revealed indicate to increased expectation of electorate for positive political goals instead of overall criticism, craving for stability and positive outcomes. Failure of populist political groupings that achieved success in the 1998 local elections also reflect growing experience and electoral maturity, the population became less susceptive to populist slogans and cheap promises. Our study also pointed to different standards used by different cohorts in their evaluations of political issues, with younger people showing stronger adherence to post-materialist values. All in all the outlook of the generation of eighties is much more optimistic than the older ones, representatives of the former not only see their and their families' state of affairs more positively but also have better general expectations for the future.

Summing up we may say that while there are many obstacles to rapid positive change of political culture in the direction of more democratic one, the process is nevertheless on move, with younger generation showing more active and pro-democracy stance. Orientations toward the western models and values, support of market oriented reform and of civic values is good reason for moderate optimism with regards to immediate future, and for much brighter hopes in the long run.

References

Allison, Lincoln et al. (1993). The Georgian Election of 1992, Electoral Studies, 12 (2).

Almond, Gabriel & Verba, Sidney (1963). The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, Little Brown and Co., Boston.

Antadze Ia (1999). Shevardnadze's Citizents Top Abashidze's Revivalists, Caucasus Reporting Service, # 5, November 4, Institute for War & Peace Reporting, London.

Baltes, P. B. (1983). Life-span developmental psychology: Observation on history and theory revisited. In R. M. Lerner (Ed.). Developmental Psychology: Historical and philosophical perspectives (pp.79-111). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bawens, W. & Reychler, L. (1994). The Art of Conflict Prevention, Brassey's Atlantic Commentaries No. 7, 1994, London - New York

Braithwaite, V. (1994). Beyond Rokeach's equality-freedom model: Two-dimensional values in a one-dimensional world. Journal of Social Issues, 50, 67-94.

Brown, Archie (ed.) (1985). Political culture and Communist studies, M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, NY.

Burton, M., Gunther, R. and Higley, J. (1992). Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe: an Overview, in: Higley, J. and Gunther, R. (eds.). Elites and democratic consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Central and Eastern Eurobarometer: Public Opinion and the European Union (20 Countries' Survey), March 1998, No. 8, European Commission

Colton, T. J. (1991), 'Politics', in: Colton, T.J. and Legvold, R. (ed.) After the Soviet Union: From Empire to Nations, New York and London, W.W. Norton & Company.

Colton, T.J. (1991) 'Politics'. In: Colton, T.J. and Legvold, R. (ed.) After the Soviet Union: From Empire to Nations. New York and London, W.W. Norton & Company.

Converse, P.E., & Pierce, R. (1986). Political Representation in France, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Davisha, Karen (1997). Democratization and political participation. In: Dawisha, Karen & Parrot, Bruce (eds.), Conflict, cleavage and change in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Cambridge. pp. 40-68.

Di Palma, Giuseppe (1990). To craft democracies: an essay on democratic transitions, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Elections in Georgia: 5 November 1995 (1995). The Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development, Tbilisi

Elections of Local Representative Councils – 'Sakrebulos' in Georgia, 15 November 1998 (1999). International Society for Fair Elections, Tbilisi

Etzioni-Halevy, E. (1993), The Elite Conception, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Finkel S., Sigelman L., and Humphries S. (1993). In: Robinson, J.P., Shaver Ph.R. & Wrightsman L.S. (eds.). Measures of Political Attitudes. San Diego: Academic Press. pp. 203-296.

Gibson and Duch, (1993), Emerging democratic values in Soviet political culture. In: A. Miller, W. Resinger, & V. Hesli (eds.), Public opinion and regime change: The new politics of post-Soviet societies. Boulder, Westview Press. pp. 69-94.

Goldstein, Judith & Keohane Robert (eds.) (1993). Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change, Cornell University Press, Ithaca.

Gray, Colin S. (1999). Strategic culture as context: the first generation of theory strikes back, Review of International Studies, Vol. 25, No. 1, January.

Grube, J. W., Mayton, D. M. II. & Ball-Rokeach, S. J. (1994). Inducing change in values, attitudes, and behaviors: Belief system theory and the method of value self-confrontation. Journal of Social Issues, 50, 153-173.

Higley, J. & Pakulski, A. (1992). Revolution and Elite Transformation in Eastern Europe, Australian Journal of Political Science, vol. 27, pp. 104-119.

Huntington, Samuel P. (1996). Democracy For The Long Haul. Journal of Democracy, vol. 7 (2), pp. 3-13.

Huntington, S. P. (1992). How Countries Democratize. Political Science Quarterly, vol. 104 (4), pp. 579-616.

Inglehart, R. (1988). The Renaissance of Political Culture, Am. Political Science Review, 82, No 4, December, pp.1203-1230.

Inglehart, Ronald (1977). The silent revolution: changing values and political styles among Western publics, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Inkeles, Alex & Bauer, Raymond A. (1959). The Soviet Citizen: Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Investigation of Corruption Problems in Georgia (1998), UNDP, Tbilisi.

James Millar (ed.) Politics, work and daily life in the USSR: a survey of former Soviet citizens, CUP, Cambridge, UK,1987.

Jones, S.F. (1999). Georgian Foreign Policy: Political Culture or Interests. Unpublished manuscript.

Koridze, Z. (1994) 'Sakartvelos moqalaqeta kavshiris dampudznebeli krilobidan (From the Establishing Congress of Citizens' Union of Georgia.), 7 Dghe, January 10-17.

Kristiansen, C. M. & Zanna, M. P. (1994). The rhetorical use of values to justify social and intergroup attitudes. Journal of Social Issues, 50, 47-65.

Linz, Juan J. & Stepan, Alfred (1996). Toward Consolidated Democracies. Journal of Democracy, vol. 7 (2), pp. 14-33.

Lipset, S. M. (ed.) (1960). The Sociology of Politics.

Mayton, D. M. II., Ball-Rokeach, S. J., & Loges, W. E. (1994). Human values and social issues: An introduction. Journal of Social Issues, 50, 1-8.

Mead, Margaret (1966). Soviet Attitudes Toward Authority. New York: Schocken Books.

Misztal, B.A. (1990). Must Eastern Europe Follow the Latin America, Eastern Europe and Latin America, pp. 151 - 179.

Moscovici, S. & Doise, W. (1994). Conflict and consensus: A general theory of collective decisions. Translated by W.D. Halls. Sage Publications.

Motyl, A.J. (1991). Russian Hegemony and Non-Russian Insecurity: Foreign Policy Dilemmas of the USSR's Successor States, The Huriman Institute Forum 5(4).

Nagel J. H. (1987). Participation, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hill.

National Democratic Party (1995). Electoral programme of National Democratic Party. Tbilisi. (In Georgian).

National Democratic Party Rules (1996). Erovnul-demok'ratiuli part'iis tsesdeba, Parnavazi, Tbilisi (In Georgian).

Nelson, Lynn & Amonashvili, Paata (1992). Voting and political attitudes in Soviet Georgia, Soviet Studies 44, 4, pp. 687-697.

Nodia, Ghia (1996). How Different Are Postcommunist Transitions? Journal of Democracy, vol. 7 (4), pp. 15-29.

Nodia, Ghia (1995). Georgia's Identity Crisis, Journal of Democracy, Vol. 6, No. 1, January.

Nolan, P. & Lenski, G. (1995). Human societies: An introduction to macrosociology. 8th edition. N. Y.: McGraw Hill.

O'Donnell G., Schmitter C. & Whitehead, L. (ed.) (1998). Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives. Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Parliamentary Elections in Georgia, 11 October 1992: Regulations and Political Parties. (1992). Tbilisi, The Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development.

Parliamentary and presidential elections in Georgia, November 1995 (1996). International Society for Fair Elections, Meridian Publishers, Tbilisi

Parrot, Bruce (1997). Perspectives on postcommunist democratization. In: Dawisha, Karen & Parrot, Bruce (eds.), Conflict, cleavage and change in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Cambridge. pp. 1-39

Pennock, J.R. (1956). In: Grifith, E. S., Plamenatz, J. And Pennock, J. R. Cultural prerequisites to a successfully functioning democracy: A symposium. American Political Science Review, 50, p. 131.

Pinheiro, P.S. (1992). Social Violence of Transformation: comparative perspectives - new democracies, LASA at Los Ageless, California, EUA, September 24-27.

Plummer, Joseph (1989). Changing Values, The Futurist, January-February

Putnam, Robert (1993). Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Ranney, A. (1990). Governing: An introduction to political science . Prentice Hall.

Riffe, D., Lacy S. & Fico G.F. (1999). Analyzing Media Messages. Mahwah, New Jersey & London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates,

Robinson, J.P., Shaver Ph.R. & Wrightsman L.S. (eds.). (1993). Measures of Political Attitudes. San Diego: Academic Press.

Rokeach, M. (1973). The nature of human values. New York: Free Press.

Scarbrough, E. (1995). Materialist-Postmaterialist value orientations. In: J. W. Van Deth, & E. Scarbrough. (Eds.). The impact of values. (pp. 123-159). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scheier, M. F. and Carver, C. S. (1987). Dispositional optimism and physical wellbeing: The influence of generalized outcome expectancies on health. Journal of Personality, 55,169-210.

Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Are there universal aspects in the structure and content of human values? Journal of Social Issues, 50, 19-45.

Seliktar, O. (1986). Identifying a Society's Belief Systems. In: Political psychology, pp.320-354.

Shevardnadze, E. (1995). Georgia will proceed into the XXI century with dignity. Speech held at the forum of the Citizens' Union of Georgia on November 2, 1995. Svobodnaya Gruzia, November, 4. (In Russian).

Slider, Darrell (1997). Democratization in Georgia. In: Dawisha, Karen & Parrot, Bruce (eds.), Conflict, cleavage and change in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Cambridge. pp. 156-200.

Sniderman, Paul M. & Tetlock, Philip E. (1986). Interrelationship of Political Ideology and Public Opinion. In: Political Psychology, pp. 62-73

SWB (Summary of World Broadcasts). (1995). Third series SU/2469

Szporluk, Roman (ed.) (1994). National Identity and Ethnicity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia, M.E.Sharpe, Armonk, New York.

Tismaneanu, Vladimir (ed.) (1995). Political Culture and Civil Society in Russia and the New States of Eurasia, M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, New York.

Triandis, Harry C. (1994). Culture and Social Behavior. New York: McGraw-Hill

Tucker, Robert (1987). Political culture and leadership in Soviet Russia: from Lenin to Gorbachev, Norton, New York.

USIA Opinion Analysis (1997). Georgians Trust U.S. More than Russia To Act Responsibly in the Caucasus. Office of Research and Media Reaction, USIA, January 28

USIA Opinion Analysis (1998). Alarmed by Russian Pressures, Georgians Seek the West's Support. Office of Research and Media Reaction, USIA, December 9

Van Deth, J. W., & Scarbrough, E. (1995). The concept of values. In J. W. Van Deth, & E. Scarbrough (Eds.). The impact of values. (pp.21-47). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vasil'eva, Olga (1996). The Foreign Policy Orientation of Georgia, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Forschungsinstitut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit, SWP - AP 2968, July, Ebenhausen.

Verba S., Schlozman K., & Brady H. E. (1995). Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Weigle, M. A. and Butterfield (1992). Civil Society in Reforming Communist Regimes: The Logic of Emergence. Comparative Politics 25 (1), pp.1-25.

White, S. (1979). Political culture and Soviet politics, St. Martin's Press, New York.

---

§ Empirical part of the research was funded by the NATO Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council; UN Development Programme; International Centre for Geopolitical and Regional Studies, Tbilisi; and the Foundation for the Development of Personality, Tbilisi.

[*] Dictionaries typically define cosmopolitanism as "being free of local/national interests or prejudices". However, in Soviet tradition it became a derogatory term, indicating to the readiness to betray national interests.