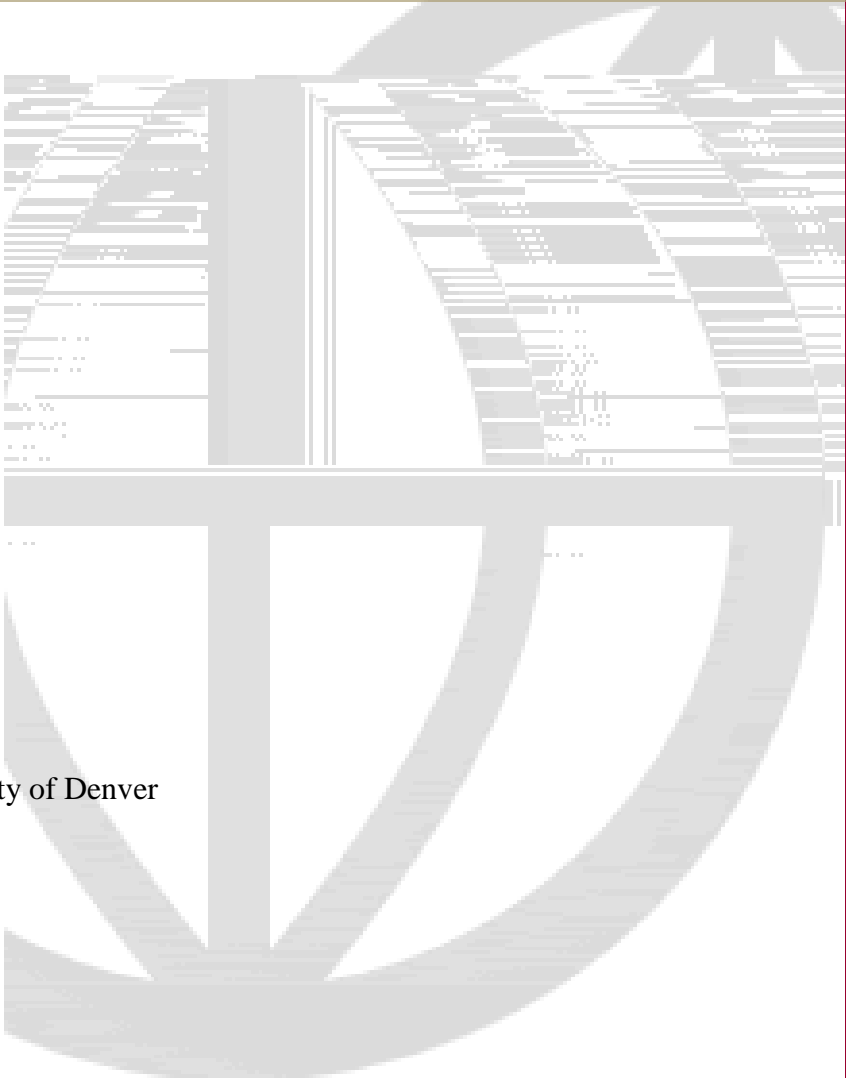


The Georgian Republic

A Briefing Notebook on the Education, Business,
and Political Sectors



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I. Introduction

In exploring the educational, business and political sectors in the Georgian Republic, I discovered many themes and problems that kept surfacing in each arena. It is obvious that the three areas are intertwined, and each informs the other two to some degree. I chose to begin this discussion with the educational section because it is a way of socializing young Georgians and this is where future businesspeople and politicians are shaped. I then moved on to the business sector, which is facing a future where in which Georgian education is not meeting employer needs, and finished with the political section to give a more overarching final view of the situation as it exists in Georgia. Although policy informs both the education and business systems, the problems

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skills and are not receiving training, and businesses which have no on-the-job training or skills-sharing programs between firms. Authoritarian systems in education, business and politics are still in place, and paternalism is still widespread.

Corruption is also a problem across the sectors, with inadequate resource tracking and lack of clarity in governance. Buying grades still occurs even at university levels, and taxes are arbitrary and unpredictable. The recent political crisis which triggered the 2008 presidential elections underlined the absence of accountability mechanisms, and this is felt across all sectors in Georgian society.

arrest of four Russian officers in Georgia, quickly escalated to an embargo of Georgian goods and the cessation of flights between Moscow and Tbilisi. Georgia has had to find new sources for gas, or pay extremely high prices for Russian gas, and this, along with the embargo, has taken its toll on the Georgian economy. Wrangling over South Ossetian and Abkhazian independence, as well as Russia's entry to the WTO, has further strained relations. In the last few months, however, there have been signs of potential reconciliation, and the February 21st, 2008 meeting between Presidents Putin and Saakashvili is said to have gone well.

II. The Education Sector

The Georgian educational system itself is structured with three levels that everyone attends, then three different tracks that can be taken. Pre-school education begins at age one up to age five, primary education takes place from age six to eleven, and basic education is from age twelve to fourteen or over. At this point, compulsory education is complete and a Georgian student has the option to continue with secondary education for age fifteen to seventeen or over, to take vocational education, again from age fifteen to seventeen, or to join the workforce. After vocational education, the student would be expected to go straight to the workplace. For those who complete secondary education, however, there is the choice of taking the Unified National Exams which would lead to a baccalaureate degree with the eventual possibility of a Masters degree and Doctorate; the alternative is to take the U.N.E. Simplified Rule and go on to Higher Professional Education (Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia 2007).

The Georgian Ministry of Education and Science has, since 1999, produced a number of reports evaluating the educational system and proposing programs to improve it. The first report, *Georgia-Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program*, was released in 1999 and offers an in-depth examination of the education system as a whole, as well as outlining the strengthening program. *The Georgian Vocational Education and Training System: Georgian Education Sector Study* (1999) and the *Georgian Education Sector Study – The Higher Education System* (2000) specifically examine the two tracks students can take; the VET (Vocational Education and Training) and the higher education systems. While each of these three studies was conducted almost ten years ago, they are the only English-language reports dealing with these

components of the education system that I could access. I also believe that, in spite of

responsibility, inefficient coordination, lack of management capacity, and no effective evaluation processes.

The report also mentions the growing inequities, given that because the education system is so poor, there is a possibility of opening private schools. Even in public schools there are inequities because of personal expenditure as par

Two excerpts taken from the report are reproduced in the Appendix, which explain the problems facing the sector in greater detail. Again, it is important to note that the situation may have changed greatly since this report was written almost a decade ago.

Government of Georgia, Ministry of Education. (1999). *Georgia-Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program*. (Report No. PID7940). Tbilisi: Ministry of Education and Science, pp 1-6 and 8-11.

ii. Vocational Education and Training

In 1999, Chris Sealy examined and evaluated the Vocational Education and Training program in Georgia through fieldwork and desk study conducted from January to September of 1999. He describes VET in detail, looks at the duties and needs of employers, students and faculty involved, examines the fit between the VET system and the Georgian economy, compares it to international trends, and critiques the situation and trends as they existed in 1999.

His description of VET begins with the developments in policy and legislation since 1990, looking at the various laws for elementary vocational education, the need to

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Sealy did a survey of employers, students and faculty to supplement his data from state institutions and ministries. He found that professors that remain in the VET system are not the ones with marketable skills, and tend to be very conservative. They are often waiting long periods for paychecks, and often work on a part-time basis. There is also no more in-service professional training.

Students are generally from poor homes and their schools are in very poor condition, which supports their statements that students in regular secondary schools are generally richer. Further findings from the survey includes the fact that the VET educational experience has declined and still is; students would prefer to attend academic secondary school; access to employment is not dependent on diplomas or knowledge obtained at school; and teachers, students and parents do not understand the changes in the labor market that has resulted from the transition to a market economy. Because of this last problem, teachers do not understand their new roles and nor are they being trained to do so, while students would prefer the prestige of an academic education and are missing out on the benefits of good vocational training.

Sealy states that there is a lack of fit between the VET system and the economy in Georgia, especially in terms of supply and demand in the various sectors. He uses the wine industry as a case study; this is a growth industry but the education and VET systems are not taking its opportunities. The VET system is not adapting to the changes of the economy.

Sealy also examines unemployment and VET's reaction to it. The unemployment rate for those aged 15-25 years was twice the national average in 1999, and this shows the need for useful and effective vocational education for youth. An examination of

poverty line statistics and VET graduate-headed households show that those with a VET education are both more likely to be below the poverty line and have an advantage to earn a higher income than those without it.

After investigating foreign vocational education systems and offering a critique of the Georgian system, Sealy offers the following conclusions and proposals: the VET system is currently inefficient; reform of the system is necessary and feasible; and policy and systems of quality control need to be investigated and adjusted. He focuses extensively on the policy making processes, stating that they have become non-inclusive and have not followed government priorities. He also mentions that the top-down approach used has constrained the reform process. Assessment systems also need reform, as do financing systems for VET; resources are inefficiently distributed and sometimes redirected by corruption.

The excerpt taken from the report and reproduced in the Appendix contains the sections entitled “A Critique of the current situation and observed trends” and “Conclusions and Proposals”. Again, it is important to note that the situation may have changed greatly since this report was written almost a decade ago.

Sealy, C. (1999). *The Georgian Vocational Education and Training System: Georgian Education Sector Study*. Unpublished Report, Draft #2. Taken from the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia website, pp 33-42.

iii. The Higher Education System

In 2000, Jochen Lorentzen completed a final report on the Georgian higher education system. Using stakeholder interviews, surveys and workshops, he extensively

documented and evaluated the system. The following is taken from his own introduction as it succinctly summarizes his work:

“Section 2 describes the role of government, its reform agenda, the legislative and regulatory background, and the dimension and allocation of public resources. It then summarizes key characteristics of the higher education system in terms of the institutional providers, the staff employed, enrollment trends, and progression through the system. Throughout, problems are identified and discussed. Section 3 takes the analysis further by providing a microperspective on three fundamental areas, namely relevance, quality, and efficiency... Finally, section 4 concludes with a series of recommendations for system reform.” (pg 1)

Lorentzen begins with an explanation of how the system works. In terms of the legal and regulatory framework, the education system is regulated by the 1997 Education Law. Along with a 1995 reform program, the law attempts to align the education system with international practices. In sum, the provisions of the law and the reform program that are most relevant to higher education are: the introduction of privately operated institutions of higher learning; regulations concerning licensing and accreditation; curriculum reform; maintenance of so-called “state-order” contingents of government funded and allotted scholarships; and the introduction of a two-tier, four-plus-two system leading to bachelor and masters degrees, respectively.

He then speaks of the various institutions that were in existence in 1997-1998, the human capital employed in the sector, the funding system, student entry and progression, and the lack of and need for tertiary education systems that might integrate universities with the VET programs.

Lorentzen also presents case studies dealing with relevance and expertise, quality output, and efficiency and market use of resources. The first study, “Relevance: Does Georgia get the expertise it needs?” examines the higher education and VET systems and

their place in the world economy, output, employment and training profiles. To summarize these findings, the Georgian economic structure has moved drastically from industry and agriculture into services over the 1990s decade; all three sectors have declining and dynamic activities; official statistics which state that unemployment affects only towns are probably erroneous, with young people being the largest unemployed group; and enrollment trends in HE and VET systems do reflect the economic structural changes. In order to answer the question of why young people have such a high rate of unemployment, he designed an employer survey. The results conclude that the business community, both foreign and local, is dissatisfied with the education system. Recommendations for reform focus on the need for more research to better understand exactly where and how skills provided in higher education do not match with the skills in demand.

The second case study, “Quality: Is the system geared to high-quality output?” looks at lessons from international experience and surveys the experiences and views of students and teaching staff. In the recommendations for reform section, Lorentzen notes that “the most important barriers to the delivery of high-quality HE are outdated course contents, teaching methods, and corruption” (41). He believes that partnerships between local and international institutions which have worked well in other sectors might help change these conditions.

The third and last case study is “Efficiency: Does the system make good use of limited resources?” To address this question, he examines the market and how HE is provisioned for, decision-making processes, funding processes, what expenses are spent on, the relationship between funding and enrollment, fee structure, degree progress,

completion and attrition, exams and quality monitoring, personnel and costing. He concludes by noting that universities do not have the technology and expertise to operate management information systems, and nor is there an environment for proper resource planning and monitoring and evaluating performance indicators.

Finally, in his Conclusions section, Lorentzen presents a threefold challenge: to enhance relevance by providing skills and qualifications that will be useful in the labor market; to improve the quality of education delivery and the curriculum; and to raise efficiency by using management tools and performance indicators.

The excerpt reproduced in the Appendix is Lorentzen's summary of recommendations. Again, it is important to note that the situation may have changed greatly since this report was written almost a decade ago.

Lorentzen, J. (2000). *Georgian Education Sector Study – The Higher Education System*. Unpublished Report, Final Version. Taken from the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia website, pp 54-55.

iv. School-to-Work Transition

In March of 2006, the World Bank and UNICEF published a report by Furio Rosati, Zeynep Ozbil and Diana Marginean entitled *School-to-Work Transition and Youth Inclusion in Georgia-*

summarize the study's background, findings and recommendations, and the report's executive summary is included in the Appendix.

In terms of background, after the economic collapse that followed independence, the economy stabilized around 1996/7, but this stability and the economic growth that

needs. Goal 2 was to “ensure coherence of Georgian educational systems with educational systems of developed countries through improved quality and set up”. While

The study did not find gender disparities in enrollment data; however it did reveal that there is not enough data on gender and education in terms of attendance, dropout, socioeconomic class, and minority groups. Although there are reports of female disadvantage in minority groups, there is simply not reliable information that would inform the government of what areas need to be targeted.

Child labor is widespread in Georgia, and girls have a tendency to be involved in non-economic activities when working for their families, while boys tend to work in paid labor. Girls are often kept at home to help with the family in rural areas, although as boys

ii. Criminalization of Children

While not specifically related to the educational system, it would behoove anyone dealing with conflict resolution in schools to be aware of a tendency to criminalize children. In a UNICEF article from 2005, *Criminalization of children happens very easily in Georgia, UNICEF expert says*, Caroline Hamilton, international expert and professor of law at Essex University, stated that “the criminal justice system is very rigid and does not meet children’s needs”. The remainder of the article deals with recommendations for state officials in working with juvenile offenders, as well as the creation of a group of experts to study the problem and offer new options. The recommendations include focusing more on rehabilitation and avoiding sentencing juveniles to jail by developing more options for the juvenile justice system.

UNICEF. (2005). *Criminalization of children happens very easily in Georgia, UNICEF expert says*. Retrieved January 8, 2008 from the World Wide Web:
<http://www.unicef.org/georgia>

iii. Discrimination

Two articles from UNICEF (*The Issue* and *Schools for ethnic minorities in Kvemo Kartli start teaching history and geography in Georgian*) examine questions of discrimination within the Georgian educational system. *The Issue* (2004) states that there is widespread discrimination against and stigmatization of disabled children, many of whom have been denied their right to an education. *Schools for ethnic minorities* (2007) looks at an early attempt to redress educational discrimination against ethnic minorities, in that for many years ethnic youth have not received a Georgian education, leaving them

on the fringes of society. This positive initiative will hopefully continue and educational discrimination against ethnic minorities will become a non-issue.

UNICEF. (2004). *The Issue*. Retrieved January 8, 2008 from the World Wide Web:

While the fact remains that discrimination does exist in the educational system, the government is taking steps to combat it.

Government of Georgia, Ministry of Education. (2006). *Anti-Discrimination Measures in Georgian Education System*. Tbilisi: Ministry of Education and Science.

corruption and inequities; ensuring adequate salaries for teachers; and initiating public debate on the phenomenon of private tutoring.

The “Summary of Findings” and “Conclusions and Recommendations” sections are reproduced in the Appendix.

Silova, I. and M. Bray. (2004). *Shadow Education: Private Tutoring and its Implications in the Nine Post-Socialist Countries*

In the final section, a timeline from the Civil Georgia Daily Newspaper gives a detailed history of the recent conflict with Russia and the various events that precipitated and have prolonged this crisis.

a. Economic Background

i. Basic Information

-labour force by occupation – agriculture 40%, industry 20%, services 40%

-unemployment rate – 12.6%

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There are a number of problems facing the business environment. Tax administration is arbitrary and unpredictable, and without accountability mechanisms. Refunds for VAT paid on imports are also difficult to get unless the person seeking a refund has political connections. Transport costs, while officially comparable to other countries, are not competitive when one adds the unofficial payments to border agencies, excessive and time-consuming documentation, and additional costs from delays or long journey times. Finance is not easily accessible because interest rates and collateral requirements are very high, and loans mature very quickly, mostly in less than a year.

prevalence of corruption limits trading opportunities, especially for the poor and small or medium businesses. Intermediate private agencies have not emerged since the shift from central planning, and so there are not many farmer-based organizations or linkages between farmers and processors. Rural roads are also in very bad condition, and can be a problem during bad weather. Lastly, wage employment has decreased substantially, although there is some self-employment that has tempered this.

The Executive Summary of the report is in the Appendix.

Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit. (2003). *Georgia: An Integrated Trade Development Strategy*. Report No. 27264-GE. World Bank, pp. xii-xxviii.

The eighth goal for the 2004 Millennium Development Goals in Georgia is “Global Partnership for Development”. Issues that the United Nations felt needed to be confronted include liberalizing customs tariffs, developing the financial system, dealing with Georgia’s large external debt, and ensuring equal access to communications systems across the country. The UN saw major challenges for the country as including the importance of implementing a prudent monetary policy, dealing with external debt liabilities, and confronting rural poverty and lack of fixed telephone lines in rural areas.

Goal 8 from *Millennium Development Goals in Georgia* is in the Appendix.

United Nations. (2004). *Millennium Development Goals in Georgia*. Tbilisi: United Nations, pp. 52-55.

January 5, 2008 from the World Wide Web:
<http://www.emerginemarketsmonitor.com>

economy activities. Unfair tax competition can also be a problem, where businesses believe that other businesses are evading some taxes, and to be competitive, they must also evade taxes. Two other issues that have a strong bearing on the shadow economy are the regulatory burden that businesses face in terms of licenses, social security payments, and taxes, and corruption, along with the belief that bribes replace taxes.

The report then addresses the recent reforms in the taxation process, and concludes that Georgia's shadow economy has declined substantially since the Rose Revolution, and that the economic growth that the country is currently experiencing helps give citizens a sense of trust and satisfaction with their government. There remain questions that need to be dealt with; for instance, personal income tax and social security will soon be merged in a new system, and this could cause problems. Also, given the poverty in Georgian society and the fact that poverty is a motive to engage in shadow economy activities, it is possible that a personal income tax for all may not be appropriate. Corruption remains an issue, as do structural problems inherited from past governments. The authors conclude by asking how it would be possible to “develop a culture of compliance with respect to the law, rather than the culture of informality that existed for so long?” (UNDP 2007: 41).

The report's conclusion can be found in the Appendix.

UNDP. (2007). *Report on the non-observed economy in Georgia*

c. Business Culture

In his 2001 article “Leadership Styles and Work-Related Values of Managers and Employees of Manufacturing Enterprises in Post-Communist Countries”, Ardichvili gives the results of his studies of managers and employees in Russia, Georgia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, in an attempt to address cultural value differences.

Ardichvili examined the following cultural dimensions: power distance, the degree of inequality among people; individualism; masculinity; uncertainty avoidance; paternalism; and fatalism. For his hypothesis dealing with leadership, he looked at questions of transformational and transactional leadership.

His results showed that in Georgia, masculinity scored highest (151), with fatalism (120) and paternalism (108) next, followed by long-term orientation (69) and individualism (41).

In their 2006 article, Szabo and Petrosyan examine “Small and medium-sized enterprises in the Caucasian countries in transition”. Their purpose is to analyze the small and medium-sized enterprise sector (SME) and to describe its characteristics, the laws that affect it and the measures that support it.

The strengths of Georgia’s SME sector include legislative support and governmental and international organizations that focus exclusively on supporting SME, as well as a desire within the population to run their own businesses. There are many opportunities available as well, including a good location, a good environment for tourism, development of regional infrastructure and the entrance of Georgia into the WTO. Weaknesses include the following: high external debt; weak information-consulting services; low demand on domestic market; lack of access to credit resources; lack of support measures for start-ups; lack of business experience; lack of business incubators; lack of budget resources; low level of competitiveness and quality consciousness; large share of shadow economy; and lack of business insurance system. Threats to SMEs include: stagnation of the national economy; low investment in SME sector; unstable supply of energy resources for enterprises; large share of false products in market; low competitiveness of SMEs; low payment ability among most of the population; and regional conflicts. All of these issues can easily be among factors of conflict in this sector.

Szabo, A. and A. Petrosyan. (2006) “Small and medium-sized enterprises in the Caucasian countries in transition”. Published online. *Springer-Verlag*.

d. Georgia's Role in the Caucasus

In his 2005 article, "Georgia's Economic Role in the South Caucasus", Papava opens by giving a history of the Soviet Union in crisis before Georgia's independence, and the repercussions this would have on the newly independent countries of the

January 5, 2008 from the World Wide Web:
<http://www.emergingmarketsmonitor.com>.

Terterov, M. 2001. Doing Business with Georgia. London: Kogan Page Ltd.

e. Georgia's Relationship with Russia

The 2006 Timeline of important events in Georgia, from the Civil Georgia Daily Newspaper, chronicles the economic crisis that occurred between Russia and Georgia during that year. On January 22, 2006, two gas pipelines in Russia's North Ossetian Republic exploded, cutting off gas supply to Georgia. President Saakashvili called these explosions "heavy sabotage" against Georgia by the Russian Federation, and called

On November 2nd, the Russian energy producer Gazprom said that it would more than double the gas price for Georgia, while the Georgian government said that it would not pay this “political price”. Five days later, Gazprom offered to sell gas at the original price, if Georgia would give some of its assets to the Russian gas monopoly, which offer the Georgian government refused. After talks, both Georgia and Azerbaijan prepared to receive most of their gas from Turkey, however after delays on Turkish gas, Georgia still had to pay the full prices for Russian gas in late December.

All of these political difficulties with Russia (which will also be dealt with in the political section) obviously have important repercussions for Georgian business.

United Nations Association of Georgia. (2007). Civil Georgia Daily Newspaper.
Retrieved January 2, 2008 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.civil.ge/eng/>.

IV. Political Sector

The four sections that make up this chapter begin with giving some background to

vote for five-year terms. The legislative branch includes the Supreme Council (Parliament) and has 235 members; they are elected for four-year terms.

This report was written in 2000, when President Shevardnadze was still in power, and so a number of political issues may not be applicable. However, at the time this was written, the Icon Group identified the following political issues: questions of central authority and control; question of whether the technically independent judiciary is actually subject to pressure from the executive branch of government; IDPs; developing a market-based economy; human rights issues; revising the Criminal Procedures Code; and completely enforcing freedom of religion.

Icon Group. (2000). *Executive Report on Strategies in Georgia*. Retrieved December 20, 2007 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.icongroupedition.com>.

Mitchell's 2006 article, "Democracy in Georgia Since the Rose Revolution", examines the political conditions in Georgia in order to inform US policy. At first glance, it appears that Georgia is has the best conditions for democracy than any other

in 2004 put a great deal of power in the president's hands, and thus much more formal power than the president previously had. The new constitution was also a rushed affair,

The “Obstacles to Peace and Independence” section is reproduced in the
Appendix

2003 there have been several developments that would challenge this influence. Russian influence has typically been primarily military and strategic, although recently the economic sector has also become important.

Russia has kept thousands of military per

from the post-independent collapses. The article states that the most important country in the Caucasus is Azerbaijan, with the largest population and oil and gas. After last year's attempt by Russia to charge Georgia twice as much as the normal price for gas, Azerbaijan was able to make up the supply and get Georgia through the winter. If Georgia and Azerbaijan work together, they could disrupt Russia's monopoly on Central Asia's gas supply, both to the Caucasus and to Europe.

The two obstacles to the countries working together are domestic politics and war.

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circumstances, while 3% believed that the country should cease any relationship with Russia and 12% didn't know or refused to answer.

Esipova, N. and R. Srinivasan. (2006). "Russia vs. Georgia: The "Human" Cost". Gallup News Service.

Petrou's 2006 article in Maclean's, "Is this the return of the Evil Empire?" looks

actors in the Abkhazian and South Ossetian regions. In contrast with Petrou, Kokeev sees Georgia as the ultimate cause of the Russo-Georgian difficulties.

The spy scandal in October of 2006 sparked an incredible crisis in Georgian-Russian relations, including a partial economic blockade of Georgia and an interrupted political dialogue. Kokeev states that Georgian policy is dictated by Washington, and that the reason for the russophobia of the Georgian leaders is that the United States does not want to develop a sustainable, strategic partnership with Russia. He further states that the indignation over Russia's economic sanctions against Georgia is a smokescreen, which hides the fact that Georgia wishes to finance its accession into NATO using Russian money. He also states that Georgia is a parasite on the UN, addressing the General Assembly although it has not paid its dues and thus is not a voting member. He concludes by noting that there has been no repair in the communication between Georgia and Russia.

Kokeev, M. (2007). "Georgia: A Quandary". *International Affairs*, vol. 53, no.1, pp. 74-78.

b. an

meeting between Presidents Putin and Saakashvili, remarking that both sides are currently willing to resume ties. The meeting was a positive experience, as described in the Civil Georgia article “Georgian, Russian Ministers on Putin-Saakashvili Talks”.

The question of Kosovo’s independence has also strained Russian-Georgian relations, with rumors flying that Russia would use Kosovo as a precedent to grant South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Four Civil Georgia articles look at the rumors, and conclude that although there is still conflict between Georgia and Russia over the two regions, Russia has said that it will not recognize Abkhazia or South Ossetia.

Antidze, M and N. Mchedlishvili. (2008). “Georgia and Russia pledge better ties at inauguration”. *SwissInfo*. Retrieved February 27, 2008 at <http://www.swissinfo.org/eng/swissinfo.html?siteSect=43&sid=8644135>.

Russia Today. (2008). “Russia and Georgia: frosty relations thawing?”. *Russia Today News*. Accessed February 27, 2008 at <http://www.russiatoday.ru/news/news/21177>.

United Nations Association of Georgia. (2007). Civil Georgia Daily Newspaper. Retrieved January 2, 2008 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.civil.ge/eng/>.

d. 2008 Elections

Civil Georgia Daily Newspaper has created a timeline of the events that led to the political crisis and early presidential elections of 2008. It begins in September 2007, with the beginnings of the Okruashvili corruption affair. As a result, the largest protest rally in recent years demanded Okruashvili’s release, early elections and the abolition of the president’s post. Okruashvili eventually confessed to extortion, however calls for an early election continued. Protests continued, growing in strength until November 7th, when a

state of emergency was declared. The next day, President Saakashvili announced that the elections would take place on January 5th, 2008.

A number of articles in The Economist followed the controversy from October 10, 2007 to January 10, 2008. The first article, dated October 10th, “Georgia’s murky politics” looks at the former defense minister, Irakli Okruashvili, his firing from his position, his accusations towards President Saakashvili alleging that the president ordered

“Misha’s mess” appeared on November 15th, condemning Saakashvili for blaming the protests on Russia and for holding snap elections that will not be as fair as if there

United Nations Association of Georgia. (2007). Civil Georgia Daily Newspaper.
Retrieved January 2, 2008 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.civil.ge/eng/>.

Economist, The. (2007). Various Articles. Retrieved January 5, 2008 from the World
Wide Web: <http://www.economist.com>.

Icon Group. (2000). *Executive Report on Strategies in Georgia*. Retrieved December 20, 2007 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.icongroupedition.com>

Kokeev, M. (2007). "Georgia: A Quandary". *International Affairs*

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