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Editors

Sophio Midelashvili
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Essays on Economics & International Relations
Edited by Sophio Midelashvili, İsmail Şiriner & Şevket Alper Koç

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Introduction:
Essays on Economics & International Relations

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The past few years have been marked by a series of ongoing crises that have had a significant impact on the world as a whole. These challenges include securing peace, the COVID-19 pandemic, protecting human rights, promoting economic and social progress, and dealing with climate change. Effectively addressing these issues requires the support of both international organisations and national governments. In addition, the work of scientists is crucial to studying these challenges and drawing meaningful conclusions.

One of the unexpected and significant events of last year, 2022, was Russia's invasion of Ukraine. This invasion had far-reaching consequences, accelerating the erosion of the post-1945 international order. The full extent of the global impact of this conflict is only beginning to emerge. These challenges are compounded by the recent outbreak of hostilities between Israel and Hamas, which poses an additional threat to global stability. Taken together, these crises represent a profound and complex set of challenges, and the ultimate outcome of this period of structural change remains uncertain[1].

These global challenges have had a significant impact on progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set out by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Sustainable Development Goals are a universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure

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[1] Carme Colomina, (2022). The world in 2023: Ten issues that will shape the international agenda.
https://www.cidob.org/en/publications/publication_series/notes_internacionals/283/the_world_in_2023_ten_issues_that_will_shape_the_international_agenda (date accessed: 27.10.23)

that all people can enjoy peace and prosperity[2] by 2030. Unfortunately, the ongoing crises have significantly slowed, and in some cases reversed, progress towards these vital goals.

In the fast-paced and ever-changing landscape of the 21st century, the social sciences play a central role in helping us make sense of a world characterised by complexity, conflict and cooperation. Social science, the study of human behaviour in its social and cultural aspects, is a dynamic field that continually explores the questions that define our complex world. In this book, the authors explore some of the most common and challenging issues facing humanity in today's global arena, taking into account the current trends shaping our world.

The chapters in this book are the result of careful academic work aimed at clarifying and exploring common issues affecting humanity today, both globally and within individual nations. The book explores a range of topics within the social sciences, delving into areas such as protecting the environment, promoting regional sustainability, addressing the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, understanding economic and fiscal policies, and addressing international security issues. The book also addresses issues of positive conflict transformation and peace-building. The book explores the modern challenges of integration into the European Union, navigating the complexities of the European Union's borders and its enlargement policy, particularly in the aftermath of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. It also considers the intricate cause-and-effect relationships between the Russian invasion and Finland's possible accession to NATO.

Certainly, here's a concise summary of these chapters:

In the first chapter, Dilek, Dilek and Doğan study Sosrooms, a pioneering example of social entrepreneurship for animals in the tourism sector in Turkey. The researchers argue that the expansion of such practices is important both for the sustainability of tourism and for the creation of an environment where animals are not ignored in accordance with the principle of equal consideration.

In the second chapter, Karaman examines the shortcomings in the application and implementation of property tax in Turkey. The study is divided into two parts. In the first part, property taxes, the total tax revenue

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[2]The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). (n.d.). UNDP.
https://www.undp.org/sustainable-development-
goals#:~:text=The%20Sustainable%20Development%20Goals%20(SDGs)%2C%20also%
20known%20as%20the,people%20enjoy%20peace%20and%20prosperity. (date accessed:
27.10.23)

from these taxes and their share in GDP are examined. In the second part, the "Property Tax", which will be applied from 2021, is examined. The study re-evaluates and analyses the information, findings and data obtained from the literature.

In the third chapter, Hamzaoğlu examines the profile of individuals who have a tendency to protect the environment in Turkey in terms of socio-demographic factors, social well-being indicators, personal attitudes, political actions and environmental activism using data from the World Values Survey (WVS) and the European Values Survey. The results show that happiness has a significant impact on environmental action, political interest and attitudes towards environmental protection. The study also shows that there are differences in environmental attitudes over time. The results could provide a profile of environmentally concerned citizens. Finally, policies to improve collective environmental action could spread attitudes towards environmental protection.

In the fourth chapter, Midelashvili and Guguchia examine the role of multidimensional diplomacy and economic factors in the positive transformation of ethno-political conflicts in Georgia. These factors have the potential to break down artificially created political barriers and facilitate human interaction. The study examines the positive impact of economic activity on conflict prevention, peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding.

In the fifth chapter, Kiknadze, Zhvania, Kapanadze and Petriashvili discuss the cognitive model of effective functioning of organisational systems using the example of sustainable development in the region. On the basis of the analysis, 25 key factors were selected from a large number of factors influencing the sustainable development of the region to build this model. In the study, the modelling process is carried out in two directions: self-developing situations and modelling situations when it is influenced by certain parameters.

In the sixth chapter, Akpınar, Erdağ and Şahin explain the relationships between job satisfaction, burnout and affective commitment on health care workers in Turkey during the Covid-19 pandemic. The study is conducted on a sample of healthcare professionals working at Kocaeli University Medical Faculty, the first EUMS (European Union Medical Specialists) accredited hospital in Turkey and considered as a European Medical Training Centre. PLS-SEM technique is used to estimate the measurement and structural parameters. The results show that job satisfaction is negatively associated with burnout and that the negative relationship

between internal satisfaction and lower personal accomplishment is stronger when affective commitment is higher.

In the seventh chapter, Çiçek notes that job insecurity worldwide has led to deteriorating working conditions and widespread poverty. The increasing exploitation of migrant workers in various regions, the practice of treating workers as commodities through private employment agencies, the erosion and corruption of workers' character caused by neoliberalism, the occasional resistance to these issues and the struggles of workers to maintain their daily lives are all depicted by Ken Loach's camera in a raw and realistic manner. Through this portrayal, the film aims to provoke people to question the impact of capitalism on social relations. The impact of the global financial cycle on the financial cycles in Turkey by using a frequency domain causality test covering the period 1996:M01-2021:M12. The empirical results provide synchronisation between the global financial cycle and domestic financial cycles.

In the eighth chapter, Kuprashvili makes a concrete contribution to the research of strategic assessments of possible trends, which is important both for avoiding expected threats and for perfecting the process of Georgia's integration into the unified system of international security.

In the ninth chapter, Chkhikvishvili, Bukhrashvili and Jijeishvili analyse the modern risks and challenges of Georgia's integration into the European Union. The process of Europeanisation of Georgian political thought is discussed from a historical perspective, and the study identifies the factors that have created problems for Georgia in its relations with Europe. The stages of EU-Georgia relations and Georgia's involvement in EU integral projects are evaluated. The Russian factor in Georgia's European integration path is highlighted.

In the tenth chapter, Yiğit notes that the war in Ukraine has focused the European Union's attention on its eastern and south-eastern borders, adding an unprecedented security and defence dimension that must be taken into account not only by the existing member states but also by those countries aspiring to become future members. The study identifies the dynamics at play in this volatile period and the challenges and processes involved in extending the borders of the European Union.

In the eleventh chapter, Kupreishvili and Okropilashvili argue that the recent geopolitical processes have once again laid the foundations for the increase in armaments and the development of military capabilities. The expansionist desire to spread power and spheres of influence has once again made Russia a threat to world stability. Russian expansionism and growing

revisionism have again put on the agenda the need to develop new security standards, which will be more comprehensive than ever before in world history.

PART I

ECONOMICS:
ENTREPRENEURSHIP, PUBLIC FINANCE,
ENVIROMENTAL ECONOMICS
& POLITICAL ECONOMY

1

SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP FOR ANIMALS IN THE TOURISM SECTOR: A CASE OF SOSROOMS.COM

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Abstract

Social entrepreneurship will educate people about their nature as social beings, who have the responsibility to improve people's lives and to maintain their environment. In this context, it is clear that the animals that exist in people's environment should not be ignored, and that social entrepreneurship practices in the tourism sector should increase for them. The only application example made at this point in Turkey is Sosrooms.com. Sosrooms.com is a hotel reservation page working within HAYTAP, from which you get directed to booking.com, so that visitors who are fighting for animal rights can support those creatures in need while making hotel reservations. In this study, Sosrooms, which are a pioneering example of social entrepreneurship for animals in the tourism sector in Turkey, are examined. Increasing such practices is important for both the sustainability of tourism and the creation of an environment where animals are not ignored in accordance with the principle of equal consideration.

Keywords: Social Entrepreneurship, Sosrooms, Animals, Haytap, Tourism

Jel Codes: L80, L83, E52, L31, Q18

1. Introduction

Social entrepreneurship is one of the fastest growing social movements of our time (Sheldon and Fesenmaier, 2017). Increasing attention is directed towards social entrepreneurs and their importance in leveraging such positive effects for communities in developing countries (Sloan, Legrand

and Simons-Kaufmann, 2014; Laeis and Lemke, 2016). Communities, particularly those located in less-developed countries, are continuously faced with various social problems (Aquino, Lück and Schänzel, 2018). Widely adopted since the 1980s, social entrepreneurship promotes an alternative business model established from non-profit ventures, also known as social enterprises, having the goal of eradicating various social problems such as poverty, lack of education, poor public health, unemployment, and other social needs unmet by the public and private sectors (Bornstein and Davis, 2010).

According to Brock and Steiner (2010), social entrepreneurship is the creation of social impact by developing and implementing a sustainable business model which draws on innovative solutions that benefit the disadvantaged and, ultimately, society at large. In addition to that, Situmorang and Mirzanti (2012) said that social entrepreneurship can lead to social change for the better welfare and education. Social entrepreneurship will educate people about their nature as social beings, who have the responsibility to improve people's lives and to maintain their environment. In this context, it is clear that the animals that exist in people's environment should not be ignored, and that social entrepreneurship practices in the tourism sector should increase for them. The only application example made at this point in Turkey is Sosrooms.com. Sosrooms.com is an affiliate of booking.com which means that your reservation will be made through booking.com at their applicable rates and conditions - there are no additional charges for you. As an affiliate, sosrooms.com receives a commission for each reservation it directs to the booking.com site and will direct all profits made in this manner to three wonderful charities which have been selected with great care. Booking.com will be providing monthly reports of the reservations they have received through sosrooms.com.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Social Entrepreneurship and Tourism

Entrepreneurship generally describes the process of establishing, growing or operating for-profit businesses (Hisrich, Peters & Shepherd, 1998; Gedeon, 2010). Entrepreneurs develop new business ideas and aim to manage businesses profitably. For-profit businesses generally aim to accumulate capital, make profits and compete in the market. Entrepreneurs must have core skills such as innovation, risk taking, resource management and business strategies. Social entrepreneurship is a type of entrepreneurship in which a business or entrepreneur is established to solve social or environmental problems or improve the well-being of

society (Haugh, 2005; Baron, 2007). Unlike for-profit businesses, social entrepreneurs prioritize creating social or environmental impact rather than simply generating financial profit. Social entrepreneurs aim to achieve sustainable social change or benefit through their business model and activities.

Social entrepreneurship and tourism refer to the combination of initiatives that focus on the tourism sector in order to provide both social and economic benefits (Dahles, Khieng, Verver & Manders, 2020). Social entrepreneurship is an approach in which non-profit organizations aim to solve social problems using entrepreneurial principles. Tourism is an industry where people travel to different places and discover new cultures and experiences. The combination of social entrepreneurship and tourism focuses on goals such as sustainability of the tourism industry, development of communities and addressing various other social problems (Buzinde, Shockley, Andereck, Dee & Frank, 2017). Here are some examples that can arise from the combination of these two fields: Resorts Creating Social Impact: Social entrepreneurs can build sustainable resorts in tourist areas. These resorts contribute to the development of local communities by providing employment opportunities and at the same time comply with the principle of environmental sustainability. Touristic Guidance Projects: Social entrepreneurs can develop projects that provide guidance services to touristic places. These projects support communities by providing employment for local guides. Cultural Education and Awareness Raising: They can create education and awareness programs that aim to introduce local cultures, histories and social problems to visitors to touristic places. Sustainable Tourism Investments: Social entrepreneurs can establish investment funds aimed at financing sustainable tourism projects. These funds can provide resources for tourism initiatives that create positive impacts on the environment and society. Contribution to the Solution of Social Problems: Projects focusing on the solution of social problems in touristic areas can be developed. For example, improvements can be made in education, healthcare or infrastructure. Social entrepreneurship and tourism aim to minimize the effects of tourism on society and the environment and create social benefit. This approach aims to both provide unforgettable experiences to tourists and support local communities. In this way, the tourism sector is more sustainable and copes with social problems more effectively (De Lange & Dodds, 2017). In this context, some solutions can be created through social entrepreneurship regarding animal welfare and animal rights, which are one of the social problems, and thus meaningful changes can be brought about in the perspective of tourism stakeholders towards animals.

2.2. Social Entrepreneurship for Animals in the Tourism Sector

Social entrepreneurship is entrepreneurial activities aimed at eliminating primary social problems and transforming systems without prioritizing material benefit and profit (Phillips, Lee, Ghobadian, O'regan & James, 2015). According to the definition of the European Commission: "A social enterprise is a business that has a social impact and contributes to the social economy, rather than making profits for its owners or shareholders as its main purpose. It operates by providing goods and services to the market in an entrepreneurial and innovative manner and uses its profits primarily to achieve social goals" (European Commission, 2023). Although social entrepreneurship has started to be used as a concept in recent years, it is a social benefit movement that has existed in practice for centuries. This social benefit movement; It created both change and awareness when it was named social entrepreneurship by Bill Drayton in 1980 (Daru & Gaur, 2013; Gabriel & Drayton, 2016).

Social entrepreneurship aims to solve social problems by developing a service, product or model. Social enterprises can generate revenue and profits to achieve their social goals; However, unlike commercial ventures, dividends are not distributed. They use the profits they make as reinvestment to achieve their goals. In social enterprises, it is not competition; lasting social impact, sustainability and solidarity are taken as basis. Therefore, social entrepreneurship recognizes where there is an opportunity to satisfy some unrecognized, undefined needs that the welfare system cannot or cannot meet in all areas of life, gathers the necessary resources and uses them to make a difference (Peredo & McLean, 2006). One of these areas is tourism. Social entrepreneurship is extremely important for the sustainability of the social, cultural, economic and natural environment, especially in developing countries, and tourism is one of the pillars of this. So much so that while the tourism sector is the agent of social change/transformation by creating positive and negative effects on both socio-economic, socio-cultural and natural environment, there are also many areas that it ignores as the right arm of capitalism. The most important of these is the domination over natural habitats brought about by the anthropocentric structure of tourism. In this context, it is clear that the animals that exist in people's environment should not be ignored, and that social entrepreneurship practices in the tourism sector should increase for them. At this point, Sosrooms emerge as an important example of social entrepreneurship for the tourism sector in Turkey.

3. Method

The case study method was used in the study. Case study is a widely used method as a research methodology. This approach is used to examine and

understand a specific event, situation, group or individual in depth (Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg, 2016). Case studies are used to gain in-depth understanding and often demonstrate the applicability of theories or concepts. In this context, the 'Sosrooms.com' website was examined in the context of social entrepreneurship.

4. Results

The relationship between animal rights and tourism is an important issue due to the interaction of the tourism industry with animals and the effects of this interaction on animal rights. The tourism industry offers activities in which millions of tourists worldwide participate, and during these activities they are likely to encounter and interact with animals. Therefore, it is important to maintain the balance between tourism and animal rights. In order for the tourism sector to operate in a way that respects animal rights, it must be able to plan, train and collaborate carefully. Tourists can also support ethical and animal rights-sensitive tourism by making conscious touristic product/service choices in this regard. Relevant organizations can carry out various campaigns and educational activities to maintain the balance between tourism and animal rights. One of these organizations is HAYTAP, and with its activities, it contributes to the development of animal rights in tourism as well as in all areas of life. HAYTAP is a non-governmental organization that defends animal rights and carries out studies on animal welfare in Turkey. The organization aims to raise awareness about animal rights, provide better living conditions for animals and prevent animal mistreatment. HAYTAP is a federation that brings together many local and national animal rights organizations that carry out animal protection, rehabilitation and awareness raising activities on animal rights.

Sosrooms.com is a hotel reservation page working within HAYTAP, from which you get directed to booking.com, so that visitors who are fighting for animal rights can support those creatures in need while making hotel reservations . When you enter sosrooms.com, you can make reservations for hotels all around the world via booking.com, enjoying the same prices and terms & conditions of booking.com without an additional charge. When you enter sosrooms.com, you will be re-directed and connected to the worldwide famous booking.com reservation system. From this stage on, your reservations will be taken care of by booking.com. Sosrooms.com is only a front view page. That means that it is a web page that was created by HAYTAP volunteers and is being managed by HAYTAP, which you view before being directly linked to booking.com. Because reservations are generated via sosrooms.com for booking.com, HAYTAP receives a commission from booking.com on a monthly basis, which is used for

helping stray animals. You do not pay any cent extra for any reservation that you make. There is no difference in price when you log into booking.com directly or when you use sosrooms.com. However, when you go directly to booking.com, HAYTAP does not receive a commission. You definitely need to start your reservation on sosrooms.com and stay on this webpage until your reservation is completed. Any reservation you make via Sosrooms.com will not cost you any extra cent, but you will make it possible that a commission is paid to HAYTAP from booking.com and, thus a donation to HAYTAP is made.

5. Conclusion

Tourism, animal rights and social entrepreneurship have an important relationship, especially in maintaining an ethical and sustainable balance regarding the use of animals in tourist activities or the protection of animal rights (Font, Bonilla-Priego & Kantenbacher, 2019). Social entrepreneurs can carry out education and awareness activities by emphasizing the effects of tourism activities on animals and encouraging respect for animal rights, and they can also promote sustainable tourism practices. This context between tourism, animal rights and social entrepreneurship reflects an approach that takes into account both the sustainability of the tourism sector and the protection of animal rights. This could be an important way to create a more ethical and sustainable tourism industry. In this context, the Sosrooms initiative, which emerged within HAYTAP, both creates awareness in terms of animal rights and enables potential tourists to easily support animals in terms of their participation in tourism. This example of social entrepreneurship is also important for the sustainability of tourism.

Changing conditions and social changes also change needs. While some of the social needs are subject to commercial activities, some needs include social entrepreneurship activities. Increasingly different needs, along with entrepreneurship that emerged in order to meet the needs effectively, led to the emergence of social entrepreneurship. It is possible to see that social entrepreneurship also exists in almost all sectors where profit-oriented entrepreneurship operates. Tourism is one of these sectors. For this reason, the management processes and strategies followed in order to carry out profit-based touristic activities should also be implemented in the conduct of social entrepreneurship in line with social developments. Therefore, profit is needed for a sustainable activity in social enterprises. This need cannot be met only with philanthropic support, but requires acting with an understanding of efficiency. Thus, it will be possible to meet social needs in a sustainable manner.

Considering the fact that not every need and problem in the world can be met by profit-oriented initiatives, it can be said that the need for social entrepreneurship will increase even more. However, in social entrepreneurship practices that go beyond traditional entrepreneurship narratives, it is necessary to take into account animals, which are important components of life. For example, Sheppard and Fennell (2019) reviewed tourism policy to find broader and deeper trends for animal welfare and offer a policy framework to conclude that "animals should be considered stakeholders in the tourism industry and provided a representative voice". Therefore, their sense of social responsibility It is of great importance to strengthen sustainable social entrepreneurship structures. Social entrepreneurship has the potential to transform the tourism industry in a more ethical, environmentally sustainable and socially responsible way. This can help the tourism industry better prepare for future challenges and positively impact both the environmental and social impacts of tourism.

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2

A NEW WEALTH TAX PRACTICE IN TURKEY: VALUABLE HOUSING TAX

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Abstract

Each country's tax system consists of taxes on income, wealth and expenses. These three taxes are applied in a complementary way. The aim is to collect taxes that cannot be collected on income at the stage of spending or acquiring wealth. Wealth is the sum of the economic values of natural persons and legal entities in a given period. A wealth tax is an objective tax levied on the sum of the economic values of natural persons and legal entities in a given period. The purpose of collecting wealth taxes is social, and also, through these taxes, income differences in the society can be somewhat compensated. Taxes on wealth in Turkey are Property Tax, Motor Vehicle Tax and Inheritance and Transition Tax. In addition, the "Valuable Housing Tax" was accepted with Law No. 7193 on "Digital Service Tax with Some Laws and the Legislative Decree Law No. 375" published in the Official Gazette dated 07.12.2019 and numbered 30971. However, due to deficiencies in Law No. 7193, the implementation of the tax was postponed in 2020. Law No. 7221, published in the Official Gazette dated 20.02.2020, has rearranged the deficiencies in the law. Valuable Housing tax will begin to be paid in 2021. The application purpose of the Valuable Housing Tax is to regulate income distribution by taxing wealth effectively and also to contribute to public revenues. However, some things could be improved in the Valuable Housing tax. This study aimed to investigate the deficiencies in applying and implementing wealth tax in Turkey. The study consists of two parts. In the first part, wealth taxes applied in Turkey at the end of the year 2020, the total tax revenues of these taxes and the share of GDP will be examined. In the second part, "Valuable Housing Tax" to be applied from 2021 will be examined. In the study, the literature was reviewed. The books and articles published on the subject, as well as legal regulations, communiqués and circulars, were examined. The information, findings and data obtained from these sources were re-evaluated and analyzed per the purpose of the study.

Keywords: Wealth, Wealth tax, Inheritance and Transition Tax, Income Distribution, Specific tax, Motor Vehicle tax, Valuable Housing Tax

Introduction

For the state to fulfil its public services, it must have various sources of income. The most important of these income sources is tax revenues. Today, approximately 80% of public revenues consists of tax revenues.

State tax revenues are composed of income tax, expenditures and taxes on wealth. The taxes on income in Turkey are Income and Corporate Tax. The most comprehensive tax on expenditure is Value Added Tax and Special Consumption Tax. Taxes on wealth are Property Tax, Motor Vehicles Tax, Inheritance and Transition Tax, and Valuable Housing Tax will come into force in 2021.

The underlying reason for the state taxing income, wealth and expenditure is to tax the tax that cannot be collected at the income stage when it turns into wealth or when it is spent. In addition, wealth taxes have a social purpose, such as correcting income distribution and inequalities and providing income for the state.

Wealth taxes are collected not only from natural persons but also from legal entities. For this reason, wealth can be explained as the sum of the economic assets owned by natural persons and legal entities in a certain period. Wealth taxes are direct and objective categorized taxes.

In Turkey, Property Tax, which is one of the wealth tax, is collected by Municipalities. Motor Vehicle Tax and Inheritance and Transition Tax are among the government's tax revenues. The Central Government treasury also collects Valuable Housing Tax. The share of wealth taxes in total budget revenues and GDP is meagre.

1. Applied Wealth Taxes in Turkey

The taxes applied as wealth tax in the Republic's first years were grouped under four headings: Land Tax, Building Tax, Ağnam Tax (Animal Tax), Inheritance and Transition Tax. Animal Tax application was applied until 1961. Wealth Tax was applied in 1942-43. In addition, Defense Tax was collected from the buildings between 1941-70. The system included the Motor Land Vehicles Tax in 1957 (DPT, 1996:43).

The common feature of wealth taxes, which can be regarded as significant differences from country to country, is that they are liable for various economic assets, namely wealth, not the economic activities of individuals (Öz, Kutbay, & Buzkıran, 2014:88).

Wealth tax is defined as a direct and objective tax on all kinds of movable and immovable property owned by natural persons and legal entities at a particular time, as well as the values of all or part of their money and receivables (Keskin, 2018:33). In Turkey, taxes on wealth are Property Tax and Motor Vehicle Tax. The tax levied on the transfer of wealth is the Inheritance and Transition Tax.

Some wealth taxes applied in Turkey are objective since they do not consider the individuals' personal and family situation. For example, Turkey's property and motor vehicle taxes are objective and direct taxes (Nadaroğlu, 2000:350). However, with the current practice, it has turned into a semi-personal tax because no real estate tax is collected from those who are retired, widows and orphans who have a single house, and no Motor Vehicle tax is collected from disabled people. The application of reductions in Inheritance and Transition Tax, up to the degree of kinship in goods transitions through donations and grants, shows that the tax is subjective.

1.1. Property Tax

Property Tax is a tax the municipalities charge on buildings, land and estate.

Municipalities collect property tax in most countries. In Turkey, Property tax is collected by the central government, but it has started to be collected by the municipalities since 1986. Approximately 90% of municipal revenues comprise Property Tax (Öncel, 1999:82).

The property tax applied in Turkey is included in the particular wealth tax group because it is only collected on real estate. While tax is collected, it is not taken into account whether the real estate generates income or not (Şenyüz et al. 2018:371).

Property tax is taken from buildings and land within the borders of Turkey. The taxpayer is the people who use the buildings and lands as if they were the owner or owner. Being a Turkish citizen or a foreigner does not matter in terms of obligation (Şenyüz et al. 2018:371).

The declaration procedure in property tax has been abolished. Taxpayers report the information about the properties to the Municipality with the "Real Estate Tax Declaration Form". The information provided by the taxpayers is automatically taken into account in the tax calculation in the following years (Şenyüz et al. 2018: 377). The square meter cost of the buildings is determined by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization

every four years according to the construction class. The square meter cost is increased by half of the yearly revaluation rate. The unit square meter prices of land and estates are determined every four years by appreciation commissions. (Eker, 2001)

It is 1‰ in residences and 2‰ in other buildings. These rates are applied in double within the metropolitan borders. (2‰ in residences, 4‰ in other buildings). It is 1‰ in the estate and 3‰ in the land. These rates are applied in double within the metropolitan borders as well. (2‰ in estates, 4‰ in lands).

The tax is paid in two instalments. The first instalment was paid in March, April, and May and the second instalment in November.

1.2. Motor Vehicles Tax

"Motor Vehicles Tax entered our tax system in 1957 under the name of "Special Automobile Tax". This law was converted into Motor Land Vehicles Tax in 1963. It was renamed Motor Vehicles Tax in 1980 " (Eker, 2001: 215).

Motor Vehicles Tax, which is a unique wealth tax, is a specific type of tax levied on motor vehicles and aircraft. The tax is calculated by taking into account the characteristics of the vehicles, such as engine cylinder volume, number of seats, maximum weight and age of the vehicle and the insurance value (Pehlivan, 2019: 350). Motor vessels previously subject to tax have been excluded from tax since 2009.

The taxpayer of the Motor Vehicles tax is the natural persons and legal entities registered in the traffic registry and civil aviation registry with motor vehicles and aircraft.

The tax is accrued annually by the tax office where the registration is made and is not notified to the taxpayer. It is paid in two instalments in January and July each year.

1.3. Inheritance and Transition Tax

In modern tax systems, the Inheritance and Transition Tax have an essential place in regulating the distribution of wealth. Inheritance and Transition tax is taken from two different subjects. These are "inheritance tax" collected from goods transitions through inheritance and "transition tax" collected from goods transitions through grants and donations between providers. The combination of appliance of these two types of

taxes is essential to prevent tax evasion by transferring wealth (Aksoy, 1998: 357).

Inheritance and Transition Tax in Turkey is received from natural persons and legal entities who receive money and property through inheritance, donations, grants and games of chance. Tax is applied progressively.

The tax rate is applied as 1%, 3%, 5%, 7%, 10% to the tax base brackets in property transfers through inheritance. In the case of donations and grants, 10%, 15%, 20%, 25% and 30% rates are applied. If a person transfers goods from their mother, father, spouse and sibling through donation, half of these rates are applied. Base tranches are increased each year at the revaluation rate.

The tax is paid in two instalments per year within three years, in a total of six instalments in May and November (Pehlivan, 2007: 133).

1.4. Rate of Wealth Taxes in Budget Revenues and GDP

The share of wealth taxes in total budget revenues and GDP is very low.

In terms of central government, taxes on property consist of Inheritance and Transition Tax and Motor Vehicle Tax. The share of taxes on property in total taxes is 2.5 per cent. In addition, property tax, an important income source for local governments, can be considered within this scope. The share of property tax revenues in total tax revenues increased from 0.94 per cent in 2007 to 1.33 per cent in 2011 (T.C Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2014: 12).

Table 1: Wealth tax rate in GDP in Turkey (%)

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
0,63	0,65	0,62	0,59	0,60	0,60	0,66	0,58	0,59	0,58	0,58	0,46	0,31	0,37

Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Directorate of Strategy and Budget: The General Government Total Revenues and Expenditures ratio to GDP. www.sbb.gov.tr

Turkey's share of wealth tax in GDP has lagged behind most countries. The tax rate, around 0.63- 0.66% between 2010 and 2016, has declined to 0.58% since 2017. The amount of tax on national income decreased to 37% in 2023.

2. Valuable Housing Tax Application in Turkey

Valuable Housing Tax is a type of wealth tax introduced to cover the budget deficits caused by the economic crises in our country and create new sources of income.

The "Valuable Housing Tax" was accepted with Law No. 7193 on "Digital Service Tax with Some Laws and the Legislative Decree Law No. 375" published in the Official Gazette dated 07.12.2019 and numbered 30971. Articles 42 and 49 added to the Real Estate Tax Law No. 1319; "valuable housing tax" has been arranged as a new type of tax. However, due to deficiencies in Law No. 7193, the implementation of the tax was postponed in 2020. Law No. 7221, published in the Official Gazette dated 20.02.2020, has rearranged the deficiencies in the law.

According to these new regulations, "within the borders of Turkey and worth more than 5.000,000 Turkish Lira (TL) of residential real estate, will be subjected as valuable residential tax" from 2021.

However, residential real estate with a building tax value of less than 5.000.000 TL determined by the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre is stipulated to be exempted from this tax (Seviğ, 2019). The subject of tax is only residential real estate such as flats, villas, waterside residences, workplaces, plots of land, etc. Immovable properties that are not used as residences are not subject to tax (Albayrak, 2021). This means that immovables not residential and whose building tax value or the value determined by the General Directorate is less than 5.000.000 TL will be excluded from the "Valuable Housing Tax".

2.1. Payer of Valuable Housing Tax

The taxpayer of the valuable property tax is the owner of the real estate tax, the usufruct owner, if any, or the owner of the real estate tax, if neither of them are available. In other words, the taxpayers of the tax are natural and legal persons who own residences within the borders of Turkey with a value of over 5,000,000 TL in 2021 and over 6,173,000 TL in 2022 (Denet, 2023). In 2023, those whose house value exceeds 9,967,000 Turkish liras will pay the tax.

In the case of shared ownership of immovable residential properties, the owners will be liable in proportion to their shares. Owners are collectively responsible for taxation. If a person owns more than one house with a value exceeding 9,967,000 Turkish Liras, the house with the lowest value among these houses is excluded from tax (Resmi Gazete, 2021).

Those who do not have a residence in Turkey but have a valuable residence in Turkey are also taxpayers (Albayrak, 2021).

The obligation begins at the beginning of the year following the year in which the building tax value of the residential real estate exceeds 5,000,000 Turkish liras. The obligation ends in cases where the building burns, collapses, becomes completely unusable, or meets exemption conditions as of the instalment following the date of these events (Resmi Gazete, 2021).

2.2. Valuable Housing Tax Base and Rate

The General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre will determine the tax base.

As the tax base, the highest building tax value and the value determined by the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre will be preferred (Birsen, 2020). Property owners can appeal against the determined values of the residences.

Published tax values will be increased each year by half of the revaluation rate published by the Ministry of Finance.

The basis and rates of Valuable Housing Tax are given in the following table 3.

Table 3: Valuable Housing Tax Base and Rates (2023)

Base Levels	Applied Ratio
Between 9.967.000 TL and 14.951.000 TL (including this amount)	3 ‰
Between 14.951.000 TL and 19.936.000 TL	6 ‰
More than 19.936.000 TL	10 ‰

Source: Official Gazette, Real Estate Tax Law, Official Gazette No: 13576 https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/13576.pdf

In shared ownership and joint ownership, the total value of residential real estate is taken as the basis in the tax base calculation. However, shareholders pay the tax in proportion to their shares.

The determined bases will be increased by half of the yearly revaluation rate by the Ministry of Finance and Treasury. As a result of the increase of the base rate by half of the revaluation rate every year, valuable houses that did not have a value of 5.000.000 TL(2023 9.967.000TL) in the previous year or were in a lower rank in the ranking may be included in the next year's tax (Şen, 2019).

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Parliament) has yet to authorize the executive branch to reduce or increase this tax rate. Unless the law is regulated, the value of residential real estate subject to Valuable Housing Tax cannot be changed. Parliament is authorized in all these subjects. The President of the Republic cannot issue a Presidential decree per Article 104/17 of the Constitution regarding the valuable housing tax (Şen, 2019).

2.3. Objection to Base Amount Determined in Valuable Housing Tax

The immovables determined by the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre and whose value exceeds 5.000.000 TL(2023 9.967.000TL) will be announced on the website of the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre. In addition, the taxpayer will be notified by notification. Only after the end of the 15th day from the date of the notification the value of the residential property, which has not been objected against the General Directorate, will be finalized. Objections made on time will be evaluated and concluded within 15 days, and the finalized value will be directly notified to the right owner (Seviğ, 2019).

From the notification of the decision of the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre upon the objection, or if the objection is not answered within 15 days, the objection will be deemed rejected, and the taxpayer may file a lawsuit in the tax court to which the taxpayer is affiliated within 30 days.

2.4. Declaration and Payment of Valuable Housing Tax

Valuable Housing Tax will be declared by the evening of 20th of February 2024. The tax will be levied and accrued annually by the competent tax Office (TÜRMOB, 2023).

Taxpayers can submit their declarations electronically or through Independent Accountants and Financial Advisors. In this case, the document showing the tax value of the building must be delivered to the tax administration by hand or via post office within 15 days (Albayrak, 2021).

Taxpayers who are liable for income or corporate taxes will submit their valuable housing tax returns to these tax offices to which they are affiliated (Albayrak, 2021).

The tax levied and accrued by the tax office will be paid in two equal instalments until the end of February and August of the relevant year

(Seviğ, 2019). The tax will be paid to the tax office where the property is located. Valuable housing tax is considered general budget income (Resmi Gazete, 2019: 13).

2.5. Exceptions and Exemptions in Valuable Housing Tax

The following properties are exempt from tax (Resmi Gazete, 2019: 13).

Buildings belonging to general budget administrations, municipalities and buildings belonging to universities,

Within the borders of Turkey, people who have only one residential real estate

Embassy and consulate buildings belonging to foreign states (on condition that they are applied mutually)

Registered to the businesses of those whose main field of activity is building construction, and yet Valuable house tax is not collected for newly built real estate (excluding those rented) that are not subject to sale, transfer or assignment.

2.6. Criticisms of Valuable Housing Tax

In its current form, the Valuable Housing Tax application introduced by Law No. 7194 violates the double taxation prohibition (Şen, 2019). Because those who have valuable residences above the amount specified in the law will pay both Property Tax and Valuable Housing Tax, namely, a person who has a residence worth 9.967.000 TL within the borders of the metropolitan Municipality will pay 5‰ tax, of which 2‰ Real Estate Tax + 3‰. Valuable Housing Tax: This tax will be paid even if one TL exceeds 9.967.000 million TL.

Another point is that regardless of the income status of the taxpayer and the number of immovables owned, being only a taxpayer over the value (Şen,2019) of the immovable is against the principle of justice. For example, if a person has more than one house and the total value is 20-30 million, but the value of each is less than 9.967.000 TL, that person is no Valuable Housing Taxpayer.

In addition, the exclusion of tax for buildings whose value exceeds 9.967.000 million TL and which are used as workplaces and rented out is also against the 2nd paragraph of Article 73, which is entitled as tax duty

in the Constitution. According to this article, the tax burden should be distributed equally.

The law excludes this residence from tax if a person owns a valuable residence outside Turkey. For example, in France, a person's valuable residence within and outside the country is taxed (Yazıcıoğlu, 2021).

For the Valuable Housing Tax, taxpayers must submit a declaration every year. This practice negatively affects taxpayers' voluntary tax compliance (Bozdoğan, 2023: 75).

The regulation of the valuable residence tax within the Real Estate Tax Law confuses many issues, such as the subject of the tax, exemption conditions, tax tariff, declaration submission and payment time (Bozdoğan, 2023: 73). Namely, while taxpayers cannot benefit from Regret in real estate tax, they can benefit from valuable property tax. This difference may cause taxpayers to conflict (Bozdoğan, 2023: 74).

Property tax Buildings belonging to hospitals, student dormitories and kindergartens are exempt from taxes. However, these institutions are not exempt from the Valuable Housing Tax. It would be beneficial for these public institutions to be tax-exempt.

Conclusion

Wealth tax, in practice, is applied to collect taxes that cannot be collected on income at the stage of spending or acquiring wealth. In addition, it is taken to provide income to the state and eliminate income and wealth inequalities in society.

Taxes on wealth in Turkey: Property tax (Building-Land and Land), Motor Vehicles Tax, Inheritance and Transition Tax and Valuable Housing Tax, which started to be collected in 2021.

The ratio of wealth taxes within the general budget tax revenues varies between 3-4%, and the ratio within the GDP is between 0.5% and 0.6%. This is the detection of the meagre current market value of a particular property in Turkey.

Valuable Housing Tax, which has been implemented since 2021, has been put into practice to effectively tax wealth and to close budget deficits. But it has some deficiencies in itself. Namely, collecting property and valuable house tax from houses worth more than 5 million Turkish Lira (9.967.000

million TL in 2023)   reveals the double taxation problem. In addition, valuable buildings used as workplaces are excluded from tax.

Additionally, taxpayers are dealing with the Municipality for the property tax and the Finance directorate for the Valuable Housing tax.

In order to ensure compliance with the valuable residence tax, the declaration must be submitted every four years, similar to the practice in Real Estate Tax.

Valuable residences of taxpayers in Turkey outside the country should also be included in the declaration.

In conclusion, if we want to tax wealth effectively in Turkey, the current values of the buildings should be reviewed. In order to avoid double taxation in the Valuable Housing tax, the tax must be levied by the Municipalities as property tax. However, its Proportions can be determined according to the value of the building. For example, a person who has a residence worth 9.967.000 TL within the metropolitan border pays a total of 5 ‰ tax, of which 2 ‰ Property Tax + 3 ‰ Valuable Housing Tax. Instead of this rate, 3-4 ‰ tax may be charged.

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3

THE DETERMINANTS OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION IN TURKEY

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Abstract

There are increasing and various ecological concerns in the world today. In the middle of Climate Change, we face the problems such as the rise in temperature and sea levels, heat waves, droughts, and unusual climate conditions. Since the overuse of natural resources accelerates the scarcity, environmental protection has become one of the most prominent goal of the nations and one the newest public good. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate individual attitudes and preferences towards environmental protection. The study aims to reveal the profile of individuals having the tendency to protect environment in Turkey regarding socio-demographical factors, social well-being indicators, personal attitudes, political action and environmental activism by using the data from the World Values Survey (WVS) and European Values Survey joint data set from 2018, WVS 2011 and WVS 2005. The findings indicate that happiness substantially impacts environmental actions, political interest, and scale attitudes toward environmental protection. Additionally, there are differences in environmental attitudes over time. The results might provide a profile of environmentally concerned citizens. Finally, policies to improve collective environmental action might disseminate the attitudes toward environmental protection.

Keywords: Environment, Environmental Protection, Micro-Based Analysis, Sustainability, Public Good

JEL Codes: D12, D91, Q56

1. Introduction

There are concerns in the world today for a multitude of reasons. First and foremost, the health and the survival of the planet directly impacts the well-being of societies. Since the environment is the vital source for human existence by providing with essential resources like clean air, water, and food. Ignoring ecological issues could jeopardize these

resources and, consequently, the health and survival of societies. Additionally, beyond these immediate needs, biodiversity plays a crucial role in maintaining ecological balance. Therefore, any loss of biodiversity can disrupt ecosystems, leading to cascading effects and potentially affecting human societies.

In the middle of Climate Change, we face the problems such as the rise in temperature and sea levels, heat waves, droughts, and unusual climate conditions. Since the overuse of natural resources accelerates the scarcity, environmental protection has become one of the most prominent goal of the nations and one the newest public good.

Furthermore, ecological problems are often interconnected with social and economic issues. For instance, deforestation can contribute to the displacement of indigenous communities, and pollution tends to disproportionately affect vulnerable populations. Thus, addressing ecological concerns is a step toward creating a more just and sustainable world.

To fight against Climate Change, national and international precautions are necessary. Since the 1970s, environmental protection has been one of the primary goals on the global agenda, but yet we still try to eliminate the negative impacts of Climate Change and generate long term goals to achieve sustainability. First in 1970's, concerns about Climate Change started to gain traction, while scientists and environmentalists began to voice their worries about the potential impact of human activities on the climate. In 1980's, international efforts started to address Climate Change which firstly gained recognition on the global stage, and discussions about the need for coordinated action started in international forums. During 1990's, we see crucial international steps such as the adoptions of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 1992 during the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro and Kyoto Protocol as an international treaty with legally binding emissions reduction targets in 1997. While there are prominent frameworks addressing environmental and sustainability issues, we see urgent calls during 2000's due to experiencing negative effects of climate such as extreme weather events and rising global temperatures. Additionally, 2010s saw increasing and more complex policy tools to fight against the Climate Change such as the Paris Agreement, the European Green Deal and the UN Sustainable Development Goals.

Individuals' perceptions of environmental protection shape their behaviors. It is essential for individuals to change their behavior and focus on environmental protection. For these reasons, it is crucial to investigate

individual attitudes and preferences towards environmental protection to design better micro-policies. In this context, Vargas-Vargas' (2010) study on environmental conservation in different regions of Spain at different time periods served as inspiration for this study. Within this framework, the current study aims to measure individual environmental conservation in Turkey from the early 2000s to the present using data collected in three different periods. As is known, there is no micro-level study on this topic in the literature for Turkey.

The study aims to reveal the profile of individuals having the tendency to protect environment in Turkey regarding socio-demographical factors, social well-being indicators, personal attitudes, political action and environmental activism. First a brief literature review will be provided. Then the methodology will be presented. The econometric models will be shown and the results will be discussed. Lastly concluding remarks will be given.

2. Literature Review

Environmental protection is essential to provide the sustainability of scarce natural resources. Since Hardin's classic "The Tragedy of Commons" explores the concept of scarcity of natural resources, it also highlights how shared resources can be overexploited due to individual self-interest. This work has influenced discussions on sustainable resource management (Hardin, 2009). Since there is a wide literature on public policies to enhance environmental protection, studies focusing on individual behavior in this contexts are quite limited.

We see the rise of environmental awareness occurs with the emergence of "environment-friendly" consumers, green purchasing based on both ecological perspectives and evaluation of the various product attributes. Here, it is noteworthy to mention that there is an intrinsic evaluation mostly driven by altruism. Moreover, we see the 'green purchasing inconsistency' and the 'green attitude behaviour gap' (Chen and Chai, 2010; Wheale and Hinton, 2007). This gap might result from the impact of other factors such as price and availability and social influences.

Individual based environmental awareness generates the behavior of environmental protection. The awareness and knowledge may not provide accurate level of individual behavior. In this context, Feng and Reisner (2011) found high levels of environmental knowledge and high recognition of the seriousness of environmental issues whereas they found moderate levels of individual actions supporting environmental resource conservation and low levels of public environmental behaviors.

Socio-demographic factors; attitudes (psychological factors); habits and contextual factors (individual, social and institutional) are four categories of the determinants of environment-friendly behavior (Blankenberg and Alhusen, 2019). It is possible to argue that there is a need of more than one or two behaviors to measure environment-friendliness, private vs. public sphere behaviors and environmental activism. Furthermore, the economic situation of an individual is a significant aspect since environmental protection is also a normal good and the demand may increase with income (Franzen, 2003). On an individual level, environmental protection behavior can vary depending on the region/country where the individual resides and the environment they are exposed to, and the willingness to pay for environmental protection can also exhibit variability (Witzke and Urfei, 2001; Gellisen, 2007). Other factors including political actions and environmental activism also matters (Dalton and Rohrschneider, 2002). As Stern et al. (1985) express, environmental protection can be considered as a social-psychological process involving the activation of moral norms against harming innocent people.

3. Data, Methodology, and Econometric Models

In this section, we firstly discuss data selection and methodology. Then econometric models and results are provided.

3.1. Data and Methodology

The data from the World Values Survey (WVS) and European Values Survey joint data set from 2018, WVS 2011 and WVS 2005 are used to conduct econometric models in this study.

In the study, three distinct econometric models have been generated for three different time periods. Survey questions remain consistent across all three periods, and the objective in the three distinct models is to observe individual changes in environmental protection behavior in Turkey over the years. In the econometric models, Logistic Regression Analysis is applied. Logistic regression analysis in econometrics is a statistical method used to model the probability of a binary outcome. It is specifically designed for situations where the dependent variable is dichotomous, meaning it has only two possible outcomes (usually coded as 0 and 1). The formula can be given as (Powers and Xie, 2000):

$$logit \ [P(Y \leq j)] \ = \ aj \ - \ \textstyle\sum \beta i \ Xi$$

The dependent variable in all econometric models is the protection of environment. This variable is derived from the responses to the statement

of "Protecting the environment should be given priority, even if it causes slower economic growth and some loss of jobs".

To measure the environmental protection on individual basis, the econometric models contain several independent variables based on the findings in the literature review and the study of Vargas-Vargas (2010) and related variables. Socio demographic factors like age, marital status are control variables. To measure the impact of economic variables, income scale is added. Number of children in household can show an sign of altruistic behavior (Schluter and Wahba, 2008). Therefore, this variable is added to the models. A factor that may reveal environmental conservation behavior is trust in environmental organizations since individuals can develop intention and behavior through such trust. (Ahmed and Salas, 2009) Therefore, this variable is included in the models. Similarly, political action and environmental activism can be related to each other (Dalton and Rohrschneider, 2002) thus several variables -like political scale (0= being leftist, 10= being rightist), political interest, joining strikes, joining peaceful demonstrations, boycotts, signing a petition- to measure political action are in the models.Since all religions propose a moral and ethical commitment to protect the nature and what God created (UNEP, September 2 2021), so that the models examine the impact of religiosity on the behavior of environmental protection.

The quality of life and socio-psycholodical factors are quite related to the life quality. Since the life quality includes the quality of environment that we live in, the study aims to measure whether there is a significant correlation between social well-being factors like health, happiness, freedom. As far as it is known there is no such study focusing on this issue. But it can make sense since the quality of environmental amenities affect psychology.

3.2. Econometric Models and Results

Table 1 shows the econometric models. The analysis reveals that gender and marital status (being married) do not exert any influence on environmental protection. Conversely, the number of children exhibits a negative and statistically significant impact. Notably, a positive and significant influence of education was identified in 2011. Results pertaining to the income scale were mixed in 2011 and 2018.

Individuals demonstrating confidence in environmental groups display a tendency to prioritize environmental protection; however, membership in environmental organizations does not yield a discernible impact. Analysis indicates that individuals positioning themselves on the left side of the

political scale are inclined to prioritize the environment, though the influence of political actions is not statistically significant. Conversely, a negative and significant relationship is observed between environmental protection and political interest.

Table 1. Econometric Models

	2007	2011	2018
FEMALE	0.0971	-0.182	-0.107
	(0.134)	(0.122)	(0.103)
BEING MARRIED	0.257	0.0647	0.143
	(0.168)	(0.141)	(0.129)
EDUCATION	0.0224	0.0782**	0.0321
	(0.0362)	(0.0305)	(0.0693)
INCOME SCALE	0.0485	-0.0842**	0.114***
	(0.0315)	(0.0330)	(0.0312)
CONFIDENCE ON ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS	0.0947	0.270***	0.168***
	(0.0726)	(0.0647)	(0.0615)
POLITICAL SCALE	0.0101	-0.00429	-0.114***
	(0.0255)	(0.0252)	(0.0206)
POLITICAL INTEREST	-0.0752	-0.140*	-0.175***
	(0.0675)	(0.0728)	(0.0632)
NUMBER OF CHILD	-0.0759*	-0.0665	-0.0835*
	(0.0438)	(0.0485)	(0.0469)
FREEDOM OF CHOICE	0.0116	-0.0116	-0.0156
	(0.0282)	(0.0312)	(0.0243)
HEALTH	-0.0638	-0.0650	0.0211
	(0.0835)	(0.0830)	(0.0798)
HAPPINESS	0.222**	0.0941	0.161*
	(0.0908)	(0.0849)	(0.0887)
MEMBERSHIP TO ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS	-0.0857	0.581	0.362
	(0.511)	(0.434)	(0.242)
RELIGIOSITY	-0.333*	-0.149	0.470***
	(0.174)	(0.327)	(0.109)
JOINING STRIKES	NA	-0.0207	-0.0674
		(0.481)	(0.186)
JOINING PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS	0.166	0.450	0.250
	(0.232)	(0.373)	(0.153)
BOYCOTTS	-0.172	0.435	0.160
	(0.247)	(0.423)	(0.193)
SIGNING A PETITION	0.238	-0.250	0.0385
	(0.197)	(0.227)	(0.157)
Constant	-0.548	0.00125	-0.181
	(0.444)	(0.416)	(0.350)
Observations	1076	1377	2169
R^2	0.054	0.1214	0.0365
Standard errors in parentheses	Significance levels: *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$		

Furthermore, it was discovered that happier individuals exhibit a propensity to be concerned about environmental protection, although no significant impact of health was discerned. Religiosity demonstrates a strong and negative correlation with environmental protection, but this relationship turns positive and significant in 2018.

4. Conclusion

Environmental protection matters because it is intrinsically linked to human health, biodiversity, climate stability, economic prosperity, and the overall quality of life. It is a shared responsibility that requires collective action at local, national, and global levels. This study aims to measure the environmental protection behavior of individuals in Turkey during 2000s and 2010 when the climate action started to have a dominancy in both political and social issues. By inspired from the study of Vargas-Vargas (2010), this study includes the measurement of several social factors like political action, social well*-being factors like happiness and health on the environmental protection over years. In general, there is an increasing impact of income scale, religiosity, confidence on environmental organizations on the environmental protection attitude and behavior.

Based on the findings, in order to advocate for environmental protection and cultivate attitudes favoring environmental stewardship, some crucial policy recommendations can be proposed. First, environmental protection can be categorized as both a public and normal good, acknowledging its collective benefits and integral role in individual well-being. Second, environmental organizations should devise strategies to champion environmental protection, tailoring their efforts to resonate with their members and diverse political groups within society. Third, environmental goals can be politically integrated and this integration must be announced to the public more adequately. Lastly, we can design policies that support and educate on environmental protection while considering the diverse needs and characteristics of different social groups within the society. This approach ensures inclusivity and relevance across various demographics.

In future research, this topic can be explored more extensively. This study, conducted through the analysis of a robust dataset published over three periods, could benefit from broader examination in subsequent investigations. Future endeavors might involve designing specific surveys to enable a more detailed analysis of individuals' environmental protection behaviors. Additionally, by measuring the same individuals at specific intervals, panel data could be obtained to scrutinize changes over the years. This approach would facilitate the assessment of the effectiveness of public policies targeting environmental protection goals. Furthermore, experimental microeconomic research could also be conducted in this field.

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4

PROSPECTS FOR THE POSITIVE TRANSFORMATION OF CONFLICTS IN GEORGIA

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Abstract

The work is dedicated to examining the role of multidimensional diplomacy and economic factors in the positive transformation of ethno-political conflicts in Georgia. These factors have the potential to break down artificially created political barriers and facilitate human interaction. The paper explores the positive impact of economic activity on conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and post-conflict peacebuilding. However, in the context of extreme polarization between conflicting parties, economic relations alone will not guarantee success unless complemented by multidimensional diplomacy. In this scenario, multidimensional diplomacy becomes of paramount importance, requiring coordination among various international actors and mechanisms.

Keywords: Conflict Transformation, Peacebuilding, Georgian Conflicts, Economic Factors, Multidimensional Diplomacy.

1.Introduction

Ethno-political conflicts represent one of the most intricate and significant types of conflicts, owing to their multifaceted nature. Given the recent rise in such conflicts worldwide, the study of ethno-political conflicts has both conceptual and practical importance, as it entails understanding the causes of these conflicts and seeking methods for their resolution within the realm of political science.

Over the past five decades, the study of conflicts has gained significant prominence. By the end of the 20th century, a new scientific approach to conflict analysis emerged, encompassing the examination of conflict transformation and peacebuilding. This encompasses realist peace studies,

which aim to describe and analyze conflicts that threaten peace, and critical peace studies, which focus on addressing the social roots of conflicts.

In 1964, Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung, the founder of the International Peace Research Institute, published "On Positive and Negative Peace." This seminal work revolutionized the theory of peace and remains relevant today. Galtung's theory of positive and negative peace provides valuable insights into conflict resolution, helping us understand various forms of violence (direct, structural, and cultural) and, consequently, opportunities for non-violent transformation of conflict. The authors utilized Galtung's theory of positive and negative peace as a framework to elucidate the potential for conflict resolution in the context of Georgia. (Galtung,1964).

Georgia has faced long-standing conflicts rooted in history, politics, and ethnicity. Two major disputes are Abkhazia and so-called South Ossetia. In the early 1990s, Abkhazia and so-called South Ossetia tried to break away from Georgia, leading to a war with Russian support. The conflicts resulted in thousands of casualties and people being displaced. The situation escalated into a full-scale war in 2008 with Russian military intervention. Abkhazia and so-called South Ossetia declared independence after August war in 2008, though their status is not internationally recognized. These conflicts have made Georgia's path to stability challenging. Both conflicts have been heavily influenced by Russia, which has supported the separatist movements and recognized the independence of Abkhazia and so-called South Ossetia. (Midelashvili, 2022).

The conflicts in Georgia are deeply intertwined with ethnic and political complexities. Efforts to resolve these conflicts have involved international diplomacy, with organizations such as the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and European Union playing roles in mediating peace talks. However, finding a lasting resolution remains challenging.

These conflicts have had a significant economic and social impact on Georgia. They have hindered the country's development, displaced numerous people, and contributed to a sense of insecurity in the region.

Georgian conflicts encompass historical, political, ethnic, and international elements, making their resolution a challenging task. As Georgia strives to find a path towards stability and reconciliation, the conflicts in Abkhazia and so-called South Ossetia remain unresolved issues.

2. The Role of the Economic Factor in Peacebuilding:

Resolving conflicts is an arduous and protracted process. Thus, it is essential to mobilize all available resources to facilitate conflict resolution and maximize opportunities. Globalization and the modern world order, characterized by intricate interdependencies, have elevated the significance of international economic relations in resolving ethno-political conflicts (Weller, 2011). Economic systems play a pivotal role in conflict resolution and societal stabilization (ICCN, 2020). Economics can dismantle artificially constructed political barriers, enhance economic freedoms for individuals, and contribute to peacebuilding. Consequently, the success of economic activities in ethno-political conflicts is contingent on the nature of partnerships, understanding partners' needs and motivations, and establishing business connections. Economic activities and the ensuing interactions positively influence the peacebuilding process.

In 2004, the UN Security Council convened to discuss the role of businesses in conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and post-conflict peacebuilding. At the meeting, Gunter Pleuger, former president of the Security Council, stressed that private sector involvement in all phases of conflict can only succeed when embedded within a broader, cooperative effort involving governments, international organizations, businesses, and civil society. Therefore, relevant UN bodies, Bretton Woods institutions, and civil society must closely collaborate with the private sector to create a peaceful atmosphere in conflict-ridden regions, defuse crises, and facilitate reconciliation (Security Council, 2004).

The United Nations hosts the "Business for Peace" platform, which supports the private sector's involvement in post-conflict activities. This platform emerged from several studies demonstrating that, in fragile environments, business activities, through engagement and active dialogue, play a pivotal role in fostering economic development and stabilization (UNITAR).

Numerous instances exist wherein economic factors have played a significant role in facilitating the peaceful transformation of conflicts on a global scale. During conflict resolution processes, People's republic of China places substantial emphasis on the incorporation of a peaceful economic dimension, a perspective that is consistent in the case of Taiwan. A similar approach is also evident and has demonstrated successful outcomes in divided Cyprus. A parallel illustration can be drawn from the region of Brcko in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the establishment of a trade zone has proven to be instrumental in the peaceful transformation of the conflict (Gakhokidze et al., 2020).

Owing to the universally applicable nature of commercial interests, they can often prove to be more efficacious than other methods in the endeavor to eliminate and de-escalate conflicts. It is imperative to acknowledge, however, that divergent viewpoints exist on this matter. Notably, it is frequently underscored that a fundamental aspect of business—namely, competition—can potentially exacerbate tensions, particularly when flawed legal frameworks or other adverse circumstances exist within a conflict-ridden region. Moreover, the unattractiveness of investing in an unstable environment poses a challenge for potential investors. In practice, there are instances where economic activities have served as a catalyst for the escalation or prolonged duration of conflicts. For instance, during the Syrian war, the business activities of the "Islamic State," including the revenue generated from the sale of oil products, were utilized to finance military operations, contributing to the intensification of the conflict (Miller et al., 2017). It is essential to recognize that while cases like these are less frequent in comparison to instances of successful conflict resolution through economic means, the positive role of economic relations in a given conflict resolution scenario hinges upon the specific conflict and the contextual attributes at play.

Ethno-political conflicts vary in terms of political, geographical, and social conditions, while economic activities remain constant in their principles of mutual benefit and financial interests (Djazayeri, 2011). Consequently, the influence of economic activities on peacebuilding varies depending on the specific conflict's context. Therefore, it is essential to develop a mechanism to identify all factors that shape a specific conflict's environment, allowing for a precise assessment of the peace potential of economic relations in that context.

In the resolution of ethno-political conflicts, it is crucial to uncover factors and interests that transcend ethnicity and past grievances while simultaneously forging new connections between the conflicting parties. Economic activity inherently fosters human interaction. It establishes various types of connections and relationships between partners. The greater the number of such connections, the higher the likelihood of peaceful conflict transformation. These connections reduce tension-inducing factors and serve as a form of prevention. Liberal theories emphasize that individuals with property and the ability to increase it are less likely to engage in conflicts, fearing the loss of their assets. Therefore, economic relations, characterized by mutual benefit, foster interdependence between parties. In general, given the high costs and risks associated with discord and conflict, peaceful development and improved socio-economic conditions typically align with the long-term interests of both the population and businesses (UNITAR).

In the same vein, the peace initiative "A Step Towards a Better Future" prepared by the Office of the Minister of State for Reconciliation and Civic Equality of Georgia underscores the importance of encouraging trade along dividing lines. This initiative aims to enhance the humanitarian and socio-economic conditions for residents in Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region, facilitating new opportunities, access to domestic and foreign markets, and fostering connections and relations between populations on both sides of the dividing lines. It promotes cooperation around common interests and activates the peace process. This initiative is expected to significantly contribute to building inter-people relations and fostering peace. Notably, the Ergneti market experience underscores the positive impact of such initiatives. Although the Ergneti market had its drawbacks, it served as a natural space for improving relations between the Georgian and Ossetian populations. Unfortunately, it was not effectively harnessed as a tool for conflict resolution (Gakhokidze, 2019).

3. The Role of Multidimensional Diplomacy in the Positive Transformation of Conflicts in Georgia

In conflict-ridden regions, achieving conflict resolution necessitates the restoration of trust and mutual understanding among the involved parties. Positive conflict transformation offers an avenue for identifying areas conducive to building improved relationships (Weeks, 1992). Thus, the utmost importance is attributed to multidimensional diplomacy, which allows for the consideration of all facets surrounding conflicts and the resolution of this intricate issue by concurrently coordinating various actors and mechanisms.

When discussing the specifics of Georgia's conflicts, it is imperative to focus primarily on Abkhazia and the current situation in so-called South Ossetia. The discourse within the Georgian political elite has been dominated by the "one conflict" narrative, which originated following the 2008 Georgia-Russia war and differs significantly from the perceptions held by the general public and the conflict-affected regions (Abramishvili et al., 2018). This discord is exacerbated by extreme polarization between the parties. Moreover, the Geneva negotiations format established in the wake of the August 2008 war, despite 15 years of efforts, has failed to mitigate this polarization, even though it remains the only functional format created under the aegis of the European Union and serves as a meeting ground for the conflicting parties.

The strategic vision of the Georgian government is founded upon a policy of non-recognition and isolation. Following the August 2008 war, Georgia shifted the conflicts onto the international stage, recognizing Russia as the

sole party involved in these conflicts. In line with this policy, prior channels of communication with de facto authorities were severed, and the opportunity for dialogue was curtailed. Consequently, after the August war, the mechanisms that had underpinned the delicate peace process, painstakingly constructed over the years, were dismantled, resulting in the occupied regions becoming increasingly isolated. (These regions consider Russia a strategic partner and their primary gateway to the outside world.) Such disconnection and polarization stand as formidable barriers to the peaceful resolution of the conflict.

It is noteworthy that in the occupied regions, ongoing efforts to influence the population's consciousness, propagate propaganda, disseminate false information, and rewrite history, with the aim of presenting the Georgian side as an adversary, remain active. In such an environment, the acceptance of one-sided proposals in a divided, alienated, and distrustful society is a formidable challenge. Therefore, preparatory work is essential for a realistic assessment of the situation, enhancing the effectiveness of public diplomacy and other communication channels. In addition to domestic political activities, international support is indispensable for this process.

A novel platform for relations between the parties is necessary. This platform, in the form of a joint contact group, should include appointed representatives from all parties, focused on achieving specific outcomes. The involvement of international actors, who are perceived as objective, independent, and impartial entities, is vital to instill trust in the populations on both sides and kindle the hope that their interests will be considered. It is crucial to nurture relationships at all levels under the auspices of this platform, even though establishing connections with the de facto government entails inherent risks. It should be stipulated from the outset that the conditions outlined in the non-recognition policy will be maintained.

The government initiative, "Step towards a better future," outlines strategies in the realms of education and healthcare (Office of the State Minister of Georgia for Reconciliation and Civic Equality, 2018). In the occupied territories, healthcare services are grossly insufficient, necessitating residents to seek medical treatment in other parts of Georgia. Given this context, the provision of quality services to the population living there, by establishing well-equipped clinics near the dividing lines (e.g., in Zugdidi), is a prudent approach to offer high-level medical services. In terms of education, although the "Step towards a better future" peace initiative envisions increasing and streamlining educational opportunities for those residing in Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region, existing approaches need simplification. It is advisable to allocate quotas in

universities, where Abkhazian and Ossetian students can enroll in foreign language (Russian/English) programs without examination fees.

With the support or even the participation of international actors, it is possible to facilitate dialogue between the parties and embark on essential directions, including improving access to education in the mother tongue, addressing property rights, the rights of refugees and internally displaced persons, and other requisite resources. The involvement of international organizations and their projects will gradually reduce dependence on Russia, which spans political, economic, and informational dimensions (Abramishvili et al., 2018). Extensive Russification significantly hinders the process of conflict transformation (Center for Social Justice, 2021). Addressing these challenges necessitates comprehensive approaches to counteract Russian propaganda and transform existing perceptions about the Georgian side, which predominantly portrays Georgians as adversaries and exploits the psychological traumas resulting from the war (Abramishvili et al., 2018). To diminish Russia's influence, it is crucial to raise awareness among the population and embrace Western values.

With the backing of international stakeholders, or even their direct involvement, the initiation of dialogue between the conflicting parties will become feasible, alongside efforts in other equally vital domains such as enhancing property rights, safeguarding the rights of refugees and internally displaced persons, and ensuring access to essential resources. The engagement of international organizations and their implemented projects will gradually reduce the dependence on Russia, which manifests across political, economic, and informational dimensions (Abramishvili et al., 2018). The extensive process of Russification, notably, obstructs the progress of conflict transformation (Center for Social Justice, 2021). Resolving this challenge necessitates multifaceted strategies to counteract Russian propaganda and the existing negative perceptions regarding the Georgian side, which predominantly portray Georgians as adversaries and appeal to psychological traumas sustained after the conflict (Abramishvili et al., 2018). To mitigate Russia's influence, raising public awareness and embracing Western values are imperative.

At present, Abkhazia and residents of so-called South Ossetia do not possess the privilege of visa-free travel and free trade opportunities with the European Union. In contrast, Moldova and Cyprus have implemented different practices, affording their populations these advantages (Piranishvili, 2020). The facilitation of regulations in this regard holds the potential to advance the Europeanization process in these regions. Moreover, within the broader context of Georgia's European future and the prospect of EU accession, such regulatory improvements offer a

significant alternative to liberate these regions from Russian influence. This alternative is underpinned by the principles and values of Europe, ensuring the protection of the rights of all ethnic groups and minorities.

Promoting awareness among the people residing in the occupied territories is paramount significance, enabling them to make informed decisions based on objective information rather than being subject to misinformation. Concurrently, Georgia should actively work towards expediting the European integration process and ultimately achieving EU membership. Such a development would not only make Georgia more appealing to Abkhazians and Ossetians but also align with the precedent set by Cyprus, where a high standard of living has proven to generate considerable interest on both sides.

4. Conclusion:

In conclusion, the multifaceted nature of ethno-political conflicts in Georgia necessitates a comprehensive approach to conflict resolution. Multidimensional diplomacy and economic factors are integral components of this approach, each playing a crucial role in fostering peace and reconciliation.

Economic activities have the capacity to break down political barriers, enhance economic freedoms, and contribute to peacebuilding. These activities are underpinned by the principle of mutual benefit, which creates interdependence between conflicting parties. By fostering connections and reducing tension-inducing factors, economic relations can facilitate the peaceful transformation of conflicts.

Multidimensional diplomacy encompasses a range of strategies and actions, involving various international actors, to analyze, mediate, negotiate, and engage in post-conflict peacebuilding. Multidimensional diplomacy adapts to the unique characteristics of each conflict, promoting dialogue and reconciliation. To achieve a positive Galtungian peace, it is imperative for the Georgian government, with the active participation of international organizations, to implement a multidimensional policy aimed at engaging with and reconciling with the Abkhazians and Ossetians.

Ultimately, the effective resolution of ethno-political conflicts in Georgia requires a synergy between economic factors and multidimensional diplomacy. These components should be integrated into a comprehensive strategy, acknowledging the nuanced nature of each conflict and the importance of involving various stakeholders, both at the national and international levels.

Facilitating trade along the dividing lines in Abkhazia and the so-called South Ossetia can serve as a catalyst for enhancing connections and relationships among the residents on both sides of these divisions. This increased movement and cooperation around shared interests can activate the peace process. By approaching a range of issues without undue politicization, and by adhering to humanitarian principles, it becomes possible to address some of these challenges using depoliticized, status-neutral tools and formats.

We advocate that the promotion of cross-border trade in Georgia should be underpinned by a flexible and pragmatic approach, which allows for the constructive involvement of all relevant stakeholders. This effort should be carried out within the framework of engagement and reconciliation policies, with the backing of the international community.

Considering the complex reality in Georgia, it is evident that the search for new conflict resolution methods grounded in realpolitik is imperative. Both the Georgian government and the international community must adopt a novel strategy to break the deadlock surrounding these conflicts. Through our research, we have ascertained that the ongoing state of uncertainty in the Abkhazia and the so-called South Ossetia conflicts cannot be sustained indefinitely. Therefore, Georgia's approach to the occupied regions should not be exclusively offensive or defensive but rather constructive and conciliatory. This entails aiming to rebuild mutual trust, foster reconciliation, and gradually, through a step-by-step process, create conditions that both sides can accept and benefit from, ultimately leading to the comprehensive resolution of the conflicts.

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PART **II**

DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS

5

INNOVATIVE MODEL DESIGN FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF REGIONAL SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

Complete possession of information (managerial, financial, legal, marketing, etc.) and intellectual resources (human, technical, technological, program) of the corporation and, consequently, their operational management are necessary and essential for the successful functioning of any organizational system. The most important precondition for line balancing is its modern and complete provision with the necessary technological, labor, material, and financial resources.[1] Also, Optimal information processing is important for the effective management of systems. Modern organizational systems are characterized by high dynamics, process globalization, customer orientation, and growing competition, requiring the use of adequate methods and tools for optimal management. One such method is to build a model of its operation before designing the system. The article discusses the cognitive model of the effective functioning of organizational systems, on the example of sustainable development of the region. Based on the analysis, 25 key factors from the many factors affecting the sustainable development of the region have been selected to build this model. The modeling process is performed in two directions: self-developing situations, and modeling situations when it is affected by certain parameters. The model involves the creation of alternative scenarios for the operation of the system. These scenarios are played as an experiment on a model. The obtained results will allow us to select the scenario of effective functioning

of the sustainable development of the region, which precedes the functioning in the real environment and will significantly reduce the mistakes; will identify the trends that have a positive impact on the sustainable development of the region.

Keywords: sustainable development of the region, cognitive model, scenario with management

Introduction

I t is necessary to build a system model and create alternative scenarios for system operation, in order to effectively manage and operate complex systems. Let's act out the scenarios on the model in the form of a model experiment and select the best from these scenarios. The article examines the modeling process in the example of only one scenario.

The article examines the issue of the management of complex systems on the example of sustainable development of the region.

The dynamics of the region as a complex, difficult to formalize system are related to the interaction of factors influencing on it. Despite the influence of factors, the sustainable development of the region must always maintain its qualitative characteristics as an instrument of sustainable development of the state [2].

The region represents a complex organizational structure, lots of factors influence on its development, for example, economic, social, ecological, organizational, etc. Not all of these factors have the same influence on the main goal – on the sustainable development of the region. We have selected 25 relatively important factors (indicators) from more than active 150 factors, based on the analysis of the factors affecting the sustainable development of the regions of Georgia, the degree of impact (contribution) of which on the sustainable development of the regions will be more important [3. 4].

Table 1. Factors influencing the sustainable development of the selected region as a result of the analysis.

The list of factors
The sustainable development of the region
Social indicator
Economic indicator
Environmental indicator
Organizational index
Population density
Demographic dynamics
Population growth rate
Birth-rate increase
Migration rate of Population
The share of the living space per capita (m2)
Share of city population (%)
The population growth rate of the city
Promoting sustainable development of population
Entrepreneurial activity (%)
National Domestic Product per capita %
Import of services and products %
Economic development %
The share of the adjusted National Product per capita
Export share of National Domestic Product (%)
Investment share %
Population living below the poverty line in drought-stricken areas (%)
Ecosystem management, fighting against desertification and drought
Existence of a national strategy for sustainable development
The structure of decision-making

After identifying the factors influencing on the sustainable development of the region, a cognitive map is worked out. The modeling process consists of two parts:

1. Description of the situation

2. Situation modeling and analysis

1. **Description of the situation** envisages determining the basic factors and the mutual dependence between them (Table 2).

Where the significance of the factors or their influence on the main goal, in our case, the sustainable development of the region, is defined in the range of 1 to 10, where 1 corresponds to a relatively low influence, while 10 corresponds to a high influence [4].

Table 2. Factor ranking table

N	Factors	Importance	Evaluation of factor changes
1	The sustainable development of the region	10	1
2	Social indicator	8	1
3	Economic indicator	8	1
4	Environmental indicator	7	1
5	Organizational index	9	1
6	Population density	5	0
7	Demographic dynamics	10	1
8	Population growth rate	9	1
9	Birth-rate increase	9	1
10	Migration rate of Population	3	-1
11	The share of the living space per capita (m2)	7	1
12	Share of city population (%)	6	-1
13	The population growth rate of the city	2	-1
14	Promoting sustainable development of population	7	1
15	Entrepreneurial activity (%)	8	1
16	National Domestic Product per capita %	9	1
17	Import of services and products %	4	-1
18	Economic development %	7	1
19	The share of the adjusted National Product per capita	9	1
20	Export share of National Domestic Product (%)	8	1
21	Investment share %	7	1
22	Population living below the poverty line in drought-stricken areas (%)	2	-1
23	Ecosystem management, fighting against desertification and drought	7	1
24	Existence of a national strategy for sustainable development	9	1
25	The structure of decision-making	8	1

Assessment of factor dynamics is defined by -1, 0, and 1, where -1 means that increasing the value of this factor in the dynamics worsens the situation, 1 - increasing the value of the factor in the dynamics improves the situation, 0 - the dynamics of this factor does not influence on the situation.

Determining mutual dependence

The mutual influence of factors were determined (i.e. which factor influences on another factor). If we denote the number of factors by n, then the relationship between the factors will be n x n.

The mutual influence of factors can be direct or indirect. The influence of one factor over another one is considered to be direct, if a change in that factor directly influences (affects) on the relevant factor. The influence of

one factor over another one is considered to be indirect if the change in that factor does not have any influence on the relevant factor.

The qualitative (cause-to-effect) interrelationships between factors on the sustainable development of the region are presented in Figure 1 (fragment). Influence is represented by a sign (positive or negative +/-), while the power of influence of one factor over another one is represented in numerical values [0, 1].

Table 3. Cause to effect interrelationships (fragment) between basic factors

Name the factors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Sustainable development of the region													
Social indicator	0.3		0.3	0.2	0.6	-0.2	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2	0.1	-0.1	-0.2
Economic indicator	0.3	0.1			0.1					-0.2		-0.2	-0.2
Environmental indicator	0.1	0.1				-0.1	-0.1	0.1	0.1	-0.2		0.1	0.1
Organizational index		0.1								0.3			0.1
Population density	-0.2	-0.2	-0.1	-0.2			0.1			0.1	-0.2	0.1	0.2
Demographic dynamics	0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1		0.2				0.1	-0.1	0.2	0.1
Population growth rate		-0.1	-0.1	-0.1		0.1	0.1		0.2	0.1	-0.1	0.1	0.1

After determining the cause to effect interrelationships between basic factors, the structural target analysis of the situation is implemented.

2. Situation modeling and analysis envisages: structural target analysis, management search, building a situation development schedule.

Separating out the integral indicators (groups of factors), characterizing the goal, is carried out for **structural target analysis**: Based on them, a target vector (a set of goal factors) is formed, by the change of which in the modeling process, the strategic goal of the development of the situation in different directions can be studied.

The target vector was determined, from the factors influencing on the sustainable development of the region. In the proposed scenario, these factors are from table 1: 1 (Sustainable development of the region), 2

(Social indicator), 3 (Economic indicator), 4 (Environmental indicator), 8 (Population growth rate) and 9 (Birth-rate increase).

Separating out controlling influence (combination of controlling factors), which represent a potential lever for influencing on the situation in order to develop the situation in the desired direction in the modeling process. Separating out controlling influence envisages: forecasting the situation, when it is influenced by controlling parameters, forecasting the situation without control, seeking the controlling influence for the purpose.

The scenario given in the article discusses the circumstances of forecasting the situation, when it is influenced by controlling parameters.

Table 4. Structural target analysis

List of factors	Initial values	Target values	Managing impact	Observable values
The sustainable development of the region	-0.5	0,7		
Social indicator	-0.3	0.6		1
Economic indicator	-0.4	0.6		1
Environmental indicator	-0.7	0.5		1
Organizational index	-0.3	0.7		1
Population density	-0.3	0.4		1
Demographic dynamics				1
Population growth rate	-0.1	0.5		1
Birth-rate increase	0.1	0.7		1
Migration rate of Population	0.7	0.1		1
The share of the living space per capita (m2)	-0.5	0.5		1
Share of city population (%)	0.8	0.2		1
The population growth rate of the city	0.8	0.1		1
Promoting sustainable development of population	0.1	0.8		1
Entrepreneurial activity (%)	0.1	0.9	1	1
National Domestic Product per capita %	0.1	0.7		1
Import of services and products %	0.8	0.2	1	1
Economic development %	0.1	0.7		1
The share of the adjusted National Product per capita	0.1	0.5		1
Export share of National Domestic Product (%)	0.1	0.9	1	1
Investment share %	0.1	0.8	1	1
Population living below the poverty line in drought-stricken areas (%)	0.9	0.1		1
Ecosystem management, fighting against desertification and drought	0.1	0.7	1	1
Existence of a national strategy for sustainable development	0.1	1	1	1
The structure of decision-making	0.1	0.8	1	1

Factors are selected as controlling parameters: investment share, existence of sustainable development strategy, entrepreneurial activity, the initial and target significance of the factors are defined and the factors that should be observed are determined (Table 4).

A structural-targeted analysis is performed according to the described scenario. A goal vector inconsistency graph and a management impact diagram are constructed.

Fig.1 Goal vector inconsistency diagram
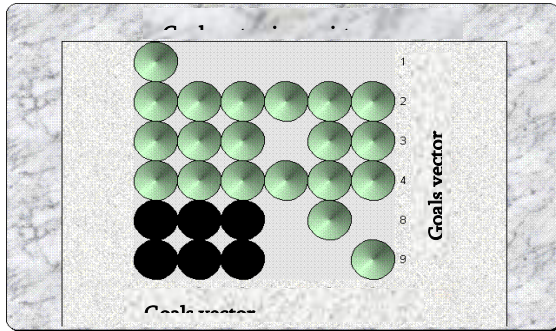
Fig. 2. Effectiveness Diagram of controlling influence
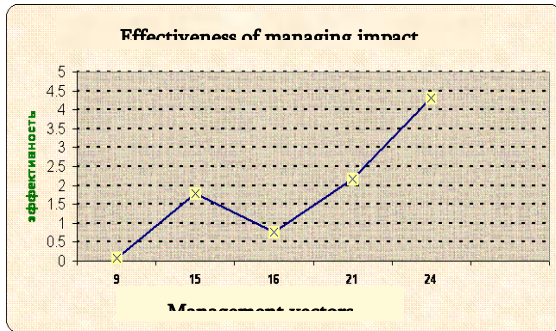
Based on the analysis, the diagrams showed (fig 2), that the goals (factors) 1 (The sustainable development of the Region), 2 (Social indicator), and 3 (Economic Indicator) are in mutual contradiction with each other. As well as, with factors 1 (The sustainable development of the region), 2 (Social indicator) 3 (Economic indicator), 8 (Population growth rate), and 9th (birth-rate increase) are in mutual contradiction. All other factors reflect a positive interaction with each other. The essence of the mutual contradiction between the tendencies of their changes lies in the fact, that if there is an increase (decrease) in any goal, another goal decreases (increases). For example, when goal 1 increases goal 9 decreases or vice versa. (Fig.2)).

The efficiency of management with respect to the chosen control vector is increasing in Figure 3, which confirms that the control vector is chosen correctly.

Considering the initial values of the factors and the controlling influence, the graph of the results is presented in figure 3, the summary values of the obtained factors are given in Table 5.

Table 5. A forecast of the development of the situation from a given starting point given the values and selected governing effects

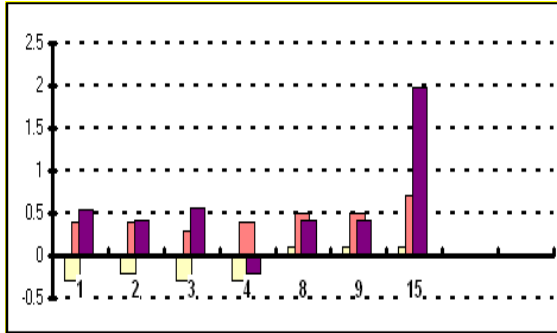| N			
	The sustainable development of the region	Grows significantly	{ 0.54}
	Social indicator	Grows moderately	{ 0.41}
	Economic indicator	Grows significantly	{ 0.56}
	Environmental indicator	Grows very weakly	{-0.21}
	Organizational index	Grows moderately	{ 0.38}
	Population density	Does not change	{-0.07}
	Demographic dynamics	Grows very weakly	{ 0.15}
	Population growth rate	Grows moderately	{ 0.42}
	Birth-rate increase	Grows moderately	{ 0.41}
	Migration rate of Population	Does not change	{-0.09}
	The share of the living space per capita (m2)	Grows moderately	{ 0.31}
	Share of city population (%)	Grows significantly	{ 0.65}
	The population growth rate of the city	Grows significantly	{ 0.67}
	Promoting sustainable development of population	Grows significantly	{ 0.84}
	Entrepreneurial activity (%)	Grows very strongly	{ 1.97}
	National Domestic Product per capita %	Grows significantly	{ 0.78}
	Import of services and products %	Grows very weakly	{ 0.19}
	Economic development %	Grows very strongly	{ 1.35}
	The share of the adjusted National Product per capita	Grows significantly	{ 0.68}
	Export share of National Domestic Product (%)	Grows very strongly	{ 1.73}
	Investment share %	Grows very strongly	{ 1.95}
	Population living below the poverty line in drought-stricken areas (%)	Grows moderately	{ 0.33}
	Ecosystem management, fighting against desertification and drought	Grows significantly	{ 0.75}
	Existence of a national strategy for sustainable development	Grows very strongly	{ 1.27}
	The structure of decision-making	Grows very strongly	{ 1.29}

Fig.3. A graph of the results obtained taking into account the initial values of the factors and the managing impact

On the diagram

|||||||| -corresponds to the initial value of the target vector;

▢ - Corresponds to the target value of the target vector;

▢ - Corresponds to the predictable value of the target vector.

where

1. Region sustainable development -   Grows significantly;

2. Social indicator - Grows moderately;

3. Economic indicator -Grows significantly;

4. Environmental indicator -Decreases very weakly;

5. Population growth rate - Grows moderately;

6. Birth rate - Increases moderately;

7. Entrepreneurial activity (%)- Grows very strongly.

Conclusion

The analysis of the models showed, that the sustainable development of the region (main goal) increases significantly in the case of selected controlling influences. Only factor 4 (environmental indicator) experiences a slight

increase. Therefore, we can make a conclusion that the controlling influences are selected correctly.

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PART **III**

LABOUR ECONOMICS:
HEALTHCARE OF EMPLOYEES
& JOB INSECURITY

6

THE PROTECTIVE ROLE OF AFFECTIVE COMMITMENT AGAINST BURNOUT SYNDROME: A RESEARCH ON HEALTHCARE EMPLOYEES DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN TURKEY

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Abstract

This study investigated the interrelationships among job satisfaction, burnout, and affective commitment on healthcare employees in Turkey during the Covid-19 pandemic. The fact that this research has yet to be found in the literature examining the relationships between these variables during the Covid-19 pandemic indicates the research's importance. Moreover, our study is conducted on a sample of healthcare employees working at Kocaeli University Medical Faculty, the first hospital that has EUMS (European Union Medical Specialists) accreditation in Turkey and is considered a European Medical Training Center. The PLS-SEM technique was used to estimate the measurement and structural parameters. The findings reveal that job satisfaction is negatively associated with burnout. Moreover, the findings also show that the negative relationship between internal satisfaction and reduced personal accomplishment is stronger when affective commitment is higher.

Keywords: Affective Commitment, Job Satisfaction, Burnout Syndrome, Covid-19 Pandemic, Health Sector

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1. Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic was declared by the World Health Organization (WHO) on March 11, 2020 (WHO, 2021). Unfortunately, the number of cases and deaths has increased rapidly worldwide. In order to reduce the impact of the pandemic throughout the process, many restrictions have been decided by governments within the scope of WHO's recommendations (Acar, 2020: 8). Although the precautions that are taken and especially the start of vaccination against the virus at the beginning of 2021 were effective, the course of the pandemic could not be taken under control.

Within the scope of combating the pandemic, the most crucial task belongs to the health sector workers (Kurnaz & Karaçam, 2021: 66). In the health sector, where there is a busy and stressful working life even in regular periods, private and business lives have been adversely affected at the highest level by the effect of the pandemic. With the existence of the pandemic, the duration and workload of overtime in the health sector have increased. In addition, the decisions taken for the sector employees -such as the abolition of all annual and administrative leaves- affect the increase in fatigue and exhaustion. Furthermore, it is observed that sector workers' anxiety level increases due to the risk of contracting the disease and transmitting it to family members (TTB, 2020: 62-67).

Burnout syndrome is frequently encountered in the health sector due to the work's nature and the working conditions' burden. Burnout syndrome occurs when people feel that having more workload than they can handle. Burnout syndrome consists of three sub-dimensions; emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and a decrease in the sense of personal accomplishment (Vidotti et al., 2018: 2). Emotional exhaustion refers to the inability of a person to cope with the situation he/she is in by consuming all his emotional resources (Yıldız, 2015:61). As a result, the person becomes insensitive and isolates him/herself from the environment (Dalkılıç, 2014:65). In the last stage, the person realizes that his/her performance has decreased and starts to feel inadequate (Civelek & Pehlivanoglu, 2019: 2076). The incidence of burnout syndrome has increased due to the rapidly increasing workload in the health sector during the pandemic.

When the studies on burnout syndrome and job satisfaction variables are examined in the literature, it has been seen that there is a significant relationship between them. Job satisfaction expresses a person's pleasure from his/her job (Locke, 1976). It consists of two sub-dimensions, internal and external satisfaction, arising from the job itself or working in a job. On

the other hand, burnout syndrome may reduce job satisfaction levels, resulting in the person feeling inadequate when facing the workload.

Today's companies are aware that they must value their human resources to cope with the violence of rapidly increasing competition in the globalizing world economy. The high performance of human resources significantly impacts profitability and sustainability. The existence of burnout syndrome in employees and the decrease in job satisfaction levels may reduce the performance of individuals and, finally, the enterprise. From this point of view, companies that aim to maintain or increase their competitive advantage emphasize burnout syndrome and job satisfaction. In addition, companies focus on commitment to the organization to avoid negative behaviors of employees who feel burnout for various reasons or whose satisfaction level decreases, such as leaving the workplace (Yumuşak, 2008: 7).

The concept of organizational commitment refers to the feelings that an employee develops towards the workplace. It has three dimensions; affective, continuance, and normative commitment (Meyer et al., 1993). Affective commitment refers to a strong desire to continue working in the workplace voluntarily (Brown, 1997). While continuance commitment is related to the costs to be incurred in the case of leaving the workplace (Şekerli, 2017:63), normative commitment is related to the employee's acceptance of staying at that workplace as the right attitude and feeling an obligation in this respect (Özutku, 2008:82). Companies require an affective commitment to be relatively higher than the other dimensions. Employees with high affective commitment try to contribute to the business by fulfilling their duties and responsibilities best. Employees who feel strong and positive feelings towards the business may be less affected by the negative situations than other employees (Gürbüz, 2006:59).

The level of affective commitment has gained more importance in the health sector, as factors such as increased workload, fatigue, exhaustion, hopelessness, and anxiety caused by the Covid-19 pandemic may increase burnout syndrome and reduce the level of job satisfaction. In this context, the current situation was analyzed by testing health sector workers' burnout syndrome, job satisfaction, and affective commitment levels.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Burnout Syndrome

The concept of feeling burnout was introduced by Freudenberger in 1974 and defined as emotional exhaustion, a decrease in motivation, and work

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engagement. Maslach and Leiter, 2007, who contributed to Freudenberger's work on the concept of feeling burnout to gain an important place in the literature, explained the concept as a psychological syndrome caused by exhaustion, cynicism, and inadequacy felt in the workplace. According to this definition, the concept of feeling burnout is when people cannot adequately cope with the stress factor experienced within the complex social network of business life.

Burnout syndrome consists of the processes of depersonalization by consuming emotional resources (Emotional Exhaustion) and realizing that there is not enough energy to make the necessary efforts in a stressful situation (Reduced Personal Accomplishment) (Vidotti et al., 2018: 2). People experiencing a sense of burnout limit their relations with other people around them by consuming their emotional resources in the first stage. The person who begins to isolate from his environment begins to become insensitive to the social network (American Thoracic Society, 2016:1). At the final stage, he thinks that can not provide a sufficient contribution to the working environment by comparing current attitudes and behaviors with past attitudes and behaviors. (Ardıç & Polatcı, 2008:71).

Emotional exhaustion occurs in people who think they are tired and worn out at work (Akçamete et al., 2006). Considering that the person is mentally tired, exhausted, has low-level energy, and the work-life is getting more challenging daily, it consumes emotional resources. The person who thinks that took more responsibility than should at the workplace begins to feel under pressure and has negative feelings towards the work and the environment (Yıldız, 2015: 61).

Depersonalization is a result of a person's emotional resources decreasing over time. It can be explained as the person's starting to have negative and contemptuous attitudes and behaviors towards the environment with which he interacts in business life (Nurka & Males-Bilic, 2014:283). In the depersonalization phase, burnout syndrome generally increases, and the ideals for work begin to disappear (Girgin, 1995). The person experiencing depersonalization begins to distance themselves from other people around them by drawing boundaries. They believe that they can protect themselves from the effects of negative experiences by keeping a distance from people. Developing such feelings towards the environment may cause them not to be able to work as efficiently as they used to (Dalkılıç, 2014:65). They exhibit an insensitive attitude towards employees, customers, and the responsibilities that need to be accomplished in the workplace. Finally, the person creates an indifferent image towards the environment, is alienated

from the job, and does not care about the environment and the people who serve (Yıldız, 2015: 60).

Reduced personal accomplishment is a situation in which a person feels inadequate by negatively evaluating themself. They are dissatisfied and unhappy with the level of success at their job (Maslach & Jackson, 1981). When people think of themself as inadequate, they feel incomplete. They believe they can not cope with the difficulties and blame themselves for the negative experiences. When people have a low sense of personal achievement and lose their self-confidence, others' feelings of trust towards this person may also decrease (Dalkılıç, 2014:68). As a result of the diminishing sense of confidence, the person begins to feel cannot make any progress in the work and starts to perceive may not show performance as before (Civelek & Pehlivanoglu, 2019: 2076).

Burnout syndrome is frequently observed in occupational groups such as teachers, psychologists and psychotherapists, and health and social workers (Zhao & Ding, 2019: 82). When the studies in the literature are examined, it is understood that the rate of burnout syndrome is higher in the health sector, where emotional and physical stress existed at an increased rate, compared to the other sectors (Nurka & Males-Bilic, 2014:283). For example, nurses play a significant role among health personnel. In his study, Jennings, 2008) states that nurses have a high burnout rate, and these people feel exhausted, overworked, and lethargic. In another study conducted by Stanetic et al., 2016, the effect of burnout syndrome on doctors was investigated. It was concluded that they had high emotional exhaustion and depersonalization.

On the other hand, in a study conducted by Gündüz et al., 2021, on burnout syndrome during the Covid-19 pandemic, it was found that health sector workers in Turkey had a high level of anxiety about catching the disease. As a result of the research, it was determined that emotional exhaustion was moderate, depersonalization was low, and the sense of personal accomplishment was high due to reasons such as increased workload and anxiety level. Another study by Şengül et al., 2021) reported that 52% of 537 healthcare workers experienced burnout syndrome. According to the findings obtained from the research, it was determined that the increase in workload during the Covid-19 pandemic period, the inability to provide occupational safety, and managerial problems cause burnout syndrome.

Considering the studies on burnout syndrome within the scope of health workers, they reached alienation from work-related activities, responsibilities, and distance from colleagues' results. The stated effects of

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burnout syndrome may negatively affect the job satisfaction level by causing a decrease in the pleasure felt by the work (Nurka & Males-Bilic, 2014:284).

2.2 Job Satisfaction

Locke, 1976, defines job satisfaction as employees' satisfaction with their duties and experiences during their employment. Working in a business in the globalizing world means establishing social networks in a wide environment that goes beyond the boundaries of the business. Employees experience many positive and negative emotions through the relationships they develop in this wide environment by interacting throughout their business life. As a result of these experiences, a person's attitude toward work is formed (Aziri, 2011:78).

If there are more negative feelings towards the job, the person becomes unhappy and unsatisfied with the occupation. Therefore, job satisfaction can be defined as an individual's evaluation of the job and work environment as an emotional response and behavioral expression (Aksu et al., 2002).

Many factors, such as the job itself, career opportunities, working period, demographic characteristics, level of responsibility, and the attitude of the management to the employees, together with the accumulation of emotions arising from the people interacting, may affect job satisfaction levels (Akova & Hasdemir, 2019: 69; Cerev, 2018: 97-98).

Job satisfaction, which may be affected by many factors, has two sub-dimensions called internal and external satisfaction. Internal satisfaction is directly related to the job. Factors such as the job itself, the importance for the person, the level of involvement in management decisions and taking responsibility, and finding the opportunity to use skills to enable creativity affect the level of internal satisfaction (Bektaş, 2017: 630).

External satisfaction consists of factors arising from working in a workplace, such as acceptance, position in the subordinate-superior relations, wages, and the social rights provided by the business (Yıldız & Marşap, 2019: 7039).

The concept of job satisfaction is substantial in terms of both personal life quality and the business's productivity. The level of job satisfaction may change the level of pleasure in life by affecting physical and mental health (Yavaş, 1993). From a business perspective, the stress factor arising from job dissatisfaction can significantly affect the business's productivity

(Çimen & Şahin, 2000). Low job satisfaction can lead to increased anxiety levels and undesirable negative behaviors in the business, such as boredom, quitting, absenteeism, and belligerence (Judge et al., 2001).

The studies on the relationship between the level of job satisfaction in the health sector and burnout syndrome revealed that long and intense working hours and a high sense of responsibility due to human health could cause burnout syndrome and reduce the level of job satisfaction (Torun & Çavuşoğlu, 2018: 72). For example, in the study conducted by Bahadirli and Sağaltici, 2021, about the burnout syndrome and job satisfaction level of healthcare workers during the Covid-19 pandemic, high levels of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and low sense of accomplishment were determined. Accordingly, job satisfaction was at a moderate level. As a result of the research, it was found that high depression and low job satisfaction levels are the most accurate predictors of burnout. In addition, factors such as dissatisfaction with the wages and social rights obtained in return for the labor given and efforts to keep the information constantly updated in the health sector can be effective on the burnout syndrome and job satisfaction level (Sarabi et al., 2020: 65).

Today's businesses know the strategic importance of human resources in profitability and sustainability. The concept of organizational commitment is considered essential to prevent the performance of trained human resources from decreasing or leaving the job for various reasons (Yumuşak, 2008: 7). Organizational commitment is examined in three dimensions, and affective commitment is accepted as the first area showing the power of identification with the organization (Trofimov et al., 2017). The concept of affective commitment may play an essential role in burnout syndrome and job satisfaction levels through the willingness to continue working despite negative experiences in the workplace.

2.3 Affective Commitment

Organizational commitment has three sub-dimensions called affective, continuous, and normative commitment (Meyer et al., 1993). Affective commitment refers to establishing an emotional closeness between employees and the business (Yozgat & Şişman, 2007). Continuous commitment relates to employees' perceptions of the costs they will have to bear if they leave the workplace. In other words, it is the difficulty of leaving the benefits such as seniority and position obtained in the workplace and continuing to work because there is no alternative to switching to another business. (Şekerli, 2017:63). Normative commitment refers to the perceived obligation to work in the workplace. It arises due to

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the person's acceptance of the commitment to the workplace as a duty and belief that this is the right attitude (Özutku, 2008:82).

Affective commitment is a strong and positive attitude towards the goals and shared values of the enterprise. People with affective commitment continue to work in the company not because they have to or feel obliged to but just because they want to stay (Allen & Meyer, 1990). Employees with high affective commitment have a positive commitment to the goals and values of the enterprise, a desire to work to be more beneficial, and a determination to continue working in that workplace (Gürbüz, 2006: 59).

The fact that an employee internalizes the problems faced by the business and perceives them as their problems indicate that the level of affective commitment is high. These people perceive the business as their family and are pleased to continue with their professional career in this business (Eisenberger et al., 1986). The feeling of sincere commitment might function as a mediator, which enforces the employee not to feel burnout despite the difficult conditions, and accordingly, keeping the job satisfaction level at the desired level. Affective commitment positively affects factors such as job performance and attendance (Riketta, 2002).

On the other hand, when the studies in the literature that deal with the variables of job satisfaction, burnout syndrome, and affective commitment were examined, it was observed that job satisfaction is a strong determinant of affective commitment (Altaş & Çekmecelioğlu, 2007). It is also determined that positive experiences, which lead to increased job satisfaction, are required to develop affective commitment in the employee (Rhoades et al., 2001). In addition, the job satisfaction level of an employee who experiences feelings such as fatigue, exhaustion, and inadequacy may decrease due to factors such as heavy workload and high anxiety levels. For instance, according to the research conducted by Kılıç et al., 2020, in the health sector, the job satisfaction levels of employees with a higher level of commitment to the organization in case of the high level of anxiety caused by the Covid-19 pandemic were higher than the others.

Especially in the health sector, burnout syndrome is frequently observed, and because of this, job satisfaction is low (Shimizu et al., 2003). For this reason, having a high level of affective commitment is important in ensuring the continuity of the companies serving in the sector. For example, a study conducted with 735 doctors and nurses in Turkey determined that emotional burnout levels were high and depersonalization levels were moderate. Accordingly, it was concluded that the level of internal satisfaction is high, and the level of external satisfaction is low (Karabulut & Ulusoy, 2017:90). Another study conducted by Hakami et

al., 2020, revealed that there is a significant and positive relationship between the job satisfaction levels of health workers and their affective commitment.

In light of the studies mentioned above, efforts should be made to increase the level of affective commitment to reduce the effects of factors such as burnout syndrome and job satisfaction, which may cause poor performance or quitting of health sector workers.

2.4 Relationship of Health Sector Conditions with Burnout Syndrome, Job Satisfaction, and Affective Commitment in Turkey during the Covid-19 Pandemic

The health transformation program initiated in 2003 in Turkey led to radical changes and effective reforms in delivering health services and the restructuring of health sector enterprises (Ministry of Health, 2012). Through the reforms, Turkey has risen to a prestigious position among the world's countries in the expertise of the medical area (Bulut & Şengül, 2019:46).

The quality of the service provided in the health sector is being improved daily by using the latest technology diagnosis and treatment tools in the field of medical area in Turkey. However, due to the rapid population growth and increasing immigration due to the instability in the Middle East, the service provided per capita is at a lower level compared to OECD countries. While the number of hospital beds per 10,000 people was 28 in Turkey in 2018, the average number in OECD countries was 47. As of 2020, while the number of beds per 10 thousand people in Turkey increased to 28.6, it decreased to 45.3 in OECD countries. Although the number of beds is low compared to the population, the bed occupancy rate was 75% in OECD countries and 68% in Turkey in 2019 (TTB, 2020: 34-35). In addition, according to published statistics, there were 164,594 doctors and 198,465 nurses in Turkey as of January 01, 2020. While the number of people per doctor in Turkey in 2020 was 498.2, it was 341.3 in OECD countries. While the number of people per nurse was 413.2, it was 102 in OECD countries (Ministry of Health, 2020). As of 2021, the number of doctors is 174.187, and the ratio among the total health workers is 14.8%. 24.5% of health workers are midwives and nurses (Nesanır et al., 2021: 3).

The Covid-19 virus emerged in Wuhan, China, in December 2019, and it was declared a pandemic by the WHO on March 11, 2020, rapidly affecting the whole world (WHO, 2021). The first Covid-19 case in Turkey was diagnosed on the same day as the pandemic declaration, and

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the first loss of life occurred a week later (İnce & Evcil, 2020:236). With the impact of the Covid-19 virus, the burden of the health system has increased unpredictably, and health services have remained inadequate worldwide. In January 2020, Turkey established a Coronavirus Scientific Advisory Board (Scientific Committee) consisting of health professionals who are experts in their fields, enabling them to support government officials in matters related to the diagnosis and treatment processes of the Covid-19 virus (Sarıyıldız et al., 2021:316). In line with the recommendations of the scientific committee, activities were carried out to increase awareness about hygiene elements, and social distance was implemented. In addition, social activities were restricted to prevent people from coming together in groups, and partial and general curfews were introduced (Acar, 2020: 8).

Despite all the preventive actions taken, as of September 1, 2020, 271.705 people were diagnosed with COVID-19, and 6,417 lives were lost in Turkey (Berk, 2020:731). As of January 14, 2021, the vaccine developed for the Covid-19 virus was confirmed to be used in Turkey, and as of October 24, 2021, a sum of 115.213.412 vaccines was injected to 55.155.134 people in Turkey as the first dose and 48.074.057 people as the second dose. Ministry of Health, 2021). However, on January 24, 2022, the number of cases increased to 10.949.129 people, and the number of deaths increased to 85.969 people (Tübitak, 2022).

From the first days of the pandemic, an effective effort has been made to procure the necessary materials and equipment to increase the competency of the health system in Turkey. Furthermore, efforts have been made to ensure that the health system provides the highest level of service possible by acting rapidly on issues such as masks, visors, gloves, disinfection materials, medicine, and respirator supply (Directorate of Communications, 2020). However, in March 2020, a series of preventive actions were taken regarding the working conditions of health sector employees based on the recommendations of the scientific committee. The preventive actions taken include the cancellation of annual leaves, the scheduling of doctors specialized in different branches by the hospital administration to different units as needed, and the inability of any health worker to quit his job (TTB, 2020:62-67).

In periods that have devastating effects on public health, such as the pandemic, the most important task belongs to the health sector employees. Health sector employees at the forefront of combating the pandemic, especially doctors and nurses, are coming across many risk factors (Kurnaz & Karaçam, 2021:66). Even in the pre-pandemic period, employees working in the health sector that requires intense effort in Turkey, have to

provide services in conditions that go beyond the limits of endurance with the effect of the pandemic. In addition, the level of anxiety they experience increases to protect themselves and their families. As of 2021, the death rate from Covid-19 among doctors in Turkey is 8.32 per 10,000 and 0.83 per 10,000 for nurses (Nesanır et al., 2021:3). Due to the high risk of Covid-19, doctors, and other health workers had to reside in hotels at their own expense to protect their families during the pandemic period (TTB, 2020:64).

Healthcare workers who experience intense and exhausting work conditions and elevated anxiety levels due to preventive measures may be at risk of burnout syndrome resulting from decreased intrinsic and extrinsic job satisfaction.

H1: Job satisfaction perceived by health sector employees has a significant and negative effect on burnout syndrome.

H1$_a$: Internal satisfaction perceived by health sector employees has a significant and negative effect on emotional exhaustion.

H1$_b$: Internal satisfaction perceived by health sector employees has a significant and negative effect on depersonalization.

H1$_c$: Internal satisfaction perceived by health sector employees has a significant and negative effect on reduced personal accomplishment.

H1$_d$: External satisfaction perceived by health sector employees has a significant and negative effect on emotional exhaustion.

H1$_e$: External satisfaction perceived by health sector employees has a significant and negative effect on depersonalization.

H1$_f$: External satisfaction perceived by health sector employees has a significant and negative effect on reduced personal accomplishment.

For instance, in the study conducted by Aydın et al., 2021, a significant relationship was found between burnout syndrome and job satisfaction among nurses during the pandemic. According to the results of the research, increasing job stress increases the phenomenon of burnout syndrome and decreases the level of job satisfaction. However, the importance of affective commitment, the primary element of organizational commitment, has increased, especially during the pandemic, as it expresses the willingness to continue to work in the workplace.

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H2: Affective commitment has a moderating role in the effect of job satisfaction perceived by health sector employees on burnout syndrome.

H2$_a$: Affective commitment has a moderating role in the effect of internal job satisfaction perceived by health sector employees on emotional exhaustion.

H2$_b$: Affective commitment has a moderating role in the effect of internal job satisfaction perceived by health sector employees on depersonalization.

H2$_c$: Affective commitment has a moderating role in the effect of internal job satisfaction perceived by health sector employees on reduced personal accomplishment.

H2$_d$: Affective commitment has a moderating role in the effect of external job satisfaction perceived by health sector employees on emotional exhaustion.

H2$_e$: Affective commitment has a moderating role in the effect of external job satisfaction perceived by health sector employees on depersonalization.

H2$_f$: Affective commitment has a moderating role in the effect of external job satisfaction perceived by health sector employees on reduced personal accomplishment.

As a result of the research conducted by Gürcüoğlu et al., 2020, it was seen that the dimensions of internal and external satisfaction were significantly related to organizational commitment among public health workers during the pandemic period. In this research, it was found that there is a significant and negative relationship between affective commitment and external satisfaction.

The studies in the literature are examined, and it can be deduced that the rate of burnout syndrome has increased in health sector workers, especially doctors and nurses, and there is a decrease in job satisfaction levels, and these undesirable results may be reduced through affective commitment.

3. Research Design

3.1 Measures and Research Model

In order to test the aforementioned hypothesis, multi-item scales adopted from previous studies were used for building measurements. Minnesota Job Satisfaction Inventory was adapted to measure internal and external

job satisfaction. This scale consists of 20 items: 11 for internal job satisfaction and 9 for external job satisfaction. To measure burnout, we used Maslach Burnout Inventory. This scale comprises 22 items and three dimensions –emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and personal success. Emotional exhaustion contains nine items, depersonalization has five, and personal success has eight.   Finally, we used a 6-item emotional commitment scale developed by Meyer & Allen, 1997. The model created following the purpose of the research is shown in Figure 1.

Figure1. Research Model
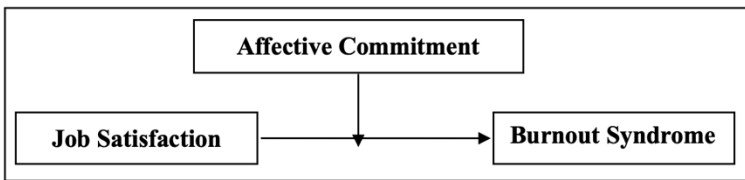
Sub-hypotheses are given in Table.3 in the hypothesis testing section.

3.2 Sampling

The research was conducted between 1st March and 15th April 2020 within a non-financial project when the Covid-19 pandemic was most effective in Turkey. The project was completed in October 2022, so the publishing efforts began. A research design was made with a selection of 800 medical employees working at Kocaeli University Medical Faculty, Kocaeli, Turkey, by random sampling. All the participants were informed about the research purpose and they provided informed consent by filling out the research survey form. We have chosen this city because it is Turkey's second center of health tourism, following İstanbul, with 17 Joint Commission International (JCI) accredited hospitals (KCC, 2022). Kocaeli is also the third city, regarding the volume of healthcare services, following Istanbul and Ankara (TSV, 2022).

Moreover, Kocaeli University Medical Faculty is the first hospital with EUMS (European Union Medical Specialists) accreditation in Turkey since 2018. Furthermore, it is the only medical Faculty chosen as European Medical Training Center (EBGH, 2023). The research questionnaires prepared online were sent to 800 medicals, whose contact information was obtained from the Health Ministry of Turkey. The medical employees were informed about the research via telephone and email and kindly asked to answer the questionnaires. Among 800, 632 had agreed to participate in the research, and of 632, 569 had completed the survey. Among 569, 8 surveys were excluded from the study because there were unanswered

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items. Thus, the available data for our study is made up of 561 medical employees.

Table 1. Characteristic of Sample

Variables	Frequency	~ (%)	Variables	Frequency	~ (%)
Gender			Experience (Year)		
Male	202	36	1-3	153	27
Female	359	64	4-6	80	14
Age			7-9	58	10
18-24	47	8	10-12	63	11
25-29	111	20	13-15	82	15
30-34	124	22	16 and above	125	23
35-39	114	20	Departmant		
40-44	99	18	Clinics	195	35
45 and above	69	12	Polyclinics	121	22
Marital Status			Intensive care	68	12
Married	377	67	Operating room	67	12
Single	184	33	Emergency	69	12
Position			Treatment Units	41	7
Doctor	208	37			
Nurse	352	63			

3.3 Analysis

The PLS-SEM technique was used to estimate the measurement and structural parameters in our structural equation model (SEM) (Chin, 2001). We used the PLS-SEM technique to test our model based on several considerations. First, the PLS method can operate under a limited number of observations with more discrete or continuous variables. Second, covariance-based SEM (e.g., AMOS, Lisrel) needs to be revised for complex models with more than eight latent variables. When the models become more complex with more latent variables, the denominators within the fit indices calculations also increase, which may lead to justifying an unfitting model. However, component-based SEM does not have such a limitation. Because our research model involves nine latent variables in addition to two-second order variables, we decided to use component-based SEM (SmartPLS). PLS is also a latent variable modeling technique that incorporates multiple dependent constructs and explicitly recognizes measurement error (Abdel-Nour et al., 2009). Also, PLS is far less restrictive in its distributional assumption and applies to situations where knowledge about the distribution of the latent variables is limited. Finally, PLS requires the estimates to be more closely tied to the data than covariance structure analysis (Fornell & Cha, 1994).

3.3.1 Measurement Validation

In this study, following Kleijnen et al., 2007, we used reflective indicators for all our constructs. To assess the psychometric properties of the measurement instruments, we estimated a null model with no structural relationships. We evaluated reliability using composite scale reliability (CR), Cronbach's alpha (α), and average variance extracted (AVE). For all measures, PLS-based CR is well above the threshold value of .70. Cronbach's alpha goes beyond the threshold value of .70, except for personal success with 0.672. In addition, personal success AVE is very close to the .50 threshold value of 0.496 (see Table 2). Also, we evaluated convergent validity by inspecting the standardized loadings of the measures on their respective constructs and found that all measures exhibit standardized loadings that exceed .60 (see Appendix A).

We next assessed the discriminant validity of the measures. Table 2 shows the correlation among all variables, providing further evidence of discriminant validity. To fully satisfy the requirements for discriminant validity, AVE for each construct should be expected to be greater than the squared correlation between constructs (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). Such results suggest that the items share more common variance with their respective constructs than any variance the construct shares with other constructs (Howell and Avolio, 1993). In the model, none of the inter-correlations of the constructs exceeded the square root of the AVE of the constructs (see Table 2).

Table 2. Correlations, Construct Reliability and Validity

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Acommitment	0,763					
Depersonalization	0,282**	0,736				
Emotional exhaustion	-0,472**	0,549**	0,726			
External satisfaction	0,632**	-0,229**	-0,458**	0,715		
Internal satisfaction	0,610**	-0,296**	-0,452**	0,590**	0,706	
Reduced personal accomplishment	0,331**	-0,087	-0,110	0,315**	0,420**	0,704
α	0,853	0,719	0,869	0,84	0,887	0,672
CR	0,892	0,822	0,897	0,879	0,908	0,797
AVE	0,583	0,542	0,526	0,511	0,498	0,496

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$.
Note1. Diagonals show the square root of AVEs.
Note2. CR Composite Reliability, AVE = Average Variance Extracted, α = Cronbach's Alpha

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3.3.2 Hypothesis Testing

The PLS approach (Ringle et al., 2005) and the bootstrapping re-sampling method (Chin, 1998) were employed by computing the SmartPLS 3.0 software program to estimate the interaction and indirect effects in addition to the main effects and to test the hypothesis and predictive power of our proposed model. This procedure entailed generating 5000 sub-samples of cases (Hair et al., 2013) randomly selected, with replacement, obtained from the original data, after which path coefficients were generated for each. T-statistics were estimated for all coefficients, based on their stability across the sub-samples, to define the links that were statistically significant. The path coefficients and their associated t-values showed the direction and impact of each hypothesized relationship. Following the recommendation of Chin et al., 2003, a hierarchical approach for testing the hypothesis was used: a model with the main effects (and covariates) and the indirect (mediation) effects were assessed, after which the interaction effects were added.

Table 3. Path Results

Relationships	Path Coefficient (β)	Sub-hypothesis	Sub-Results	Hypo-thesis	*Results*
IS → EE	-0,110	H_{1a}	*Not Supported*		
IS → DP	-0,204**	H_{1b}	*Supported*	H_1	*Partially Supported*
IS → RPS	0,496**	H_{1c}	*Not Supported*		
ES→ EE	-0,198**	H_{2a}	*Supported*		
ES→ DP	0,057	H_{2b}	*Not Supported*	H_2	*Partially Supported*
ES→ RPA	-0,126*	H_{2c}	*Supported*		
IS x AC → EE	-0,024	H_{3a}	*Not Supported*		
IS x AC → DP	0,018	H_{3b}	*Not Supported*	H_3	*Not Supported*
IS x AC → RPA	0,252**	H_{3c}	*Not Supported*		
ES x AC→ EE	0,119	H_{4a}	*Not Supported*		
ES x AC→ DP	0,174	H_{4b}	*Not Supported*	H4	*Not Supported*
ES x AC→ RPA	-0,023	H_{4c}	*Not Supported*		

* p < .05, ** p < .01.
Note1. IS= internal satisfaction, ES= external satisfaction, EE= emotional exhaustion, DP= depersonalization, RPS= reduced personal accomplishment, AC= affective commitment.

Table 3 shows the hypothesis, including paths, betas, significance levels, and results. The findings reveal that internal satisfaction is negatively related to depersonalization (β =-0.204, p <0.01), supporting H1b. External satisfaction (β =-0.198, p <0.01) and reduced personal accomplishment (β =-0.126, p <0.05) are negatively related to emotional exhaustion, supporting H1d and H1c. A two-step procedure was used to address the hypothesis concerning the moderating effects of emotional commitment, i.e., H2 (Chin et al., 2003). First, the PLS approach enables

explicit calculation of the standardized latent variable scores after saving the obtained results (Tenenhaus et al., 2005). Here, each item of external and internal satisfaction and emotional commitment was standardized. Based on this procedure, the standardized question items were multiplied. However, the findings only support the moderation of affective commitment on the relationship between internal satisfaction and reduced personal accomplishment, marginally supporting H2a-b-c. No other moderation is supported.

3.3.3 Structural Model

In order to validate the PLS-SEM approach, various quality scores, such as the coefficient of determination (R2) (Chin, 1998) and the Goodness-of-Fit Index (GoF) (Tenenhaus et al., 2005), are being considered. The R2 values of the endogenous constructs are used to evaluate the model fit and indicate how well data points fit a line or curve (Chin, 1998; Tenenhaus et al., 2005). As suggested by Chin, 1998, the categorization of R2 values is small (.02≤R2<.13), medium (.13≤R2<.26), or large (.26≤R2). In addition, GoF is employed to globally evaluate the model's overall fit, seeking a concordance between the performance of the measurement and the structural model, as well as being consistent with the geometric mean of the average commonality and the average R2 of endogenous latent variables. GoF ranges between 0 and 1, where a higher value represents better path model estimation. In line with the effect sizes for R2, using .5 as a cut-off value for commonality (Fornell & Larcker, 1981), threshold values for the GoF criteria are categorized as small (.1≤GoF<.25), medium (.25≤GoF<.36), or large (.36≤GoF) effect sizes.

Table 4. Structural Model

Fit Measures	Endogenous Constructs	R^2
	emotional exhaustion	0,291
	depersonalization	0,145
	personal success	0,241
GoF		.21

Note1. GoF = √ Average Communality x Average R2

The R2 statistic values of the endogenous constructs were used to assess model fit (Chin, 1998; Tenenhaus et al., 2005). Table 3 shows R2 and GoF values as the fit measures of the structural model. In accordance with the categorization of R2 effect sizes, the effect size for emotional exhaustion (R2= .29) is large, while the effect sizes for depersonalization (R2= .15) and personal success (R2= .24) are both medium. On the other hand, according

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to another fit measure, the result of GoF was .21, revealing a small-sized fit (see Table 4).

4. Discussion

There is always an intense and stressful working environment in the health sector. There are factors in the sector such as long working hours, the high number of patients per healthcare worker, and the effort to keep professional knowledge up-to-date by following the constantly developing and changing medical practices with the effect of technology. This may lead to a decrease in job satisfaction and, ultimately, a feeling of burnout. Job satisfaction consists of two internal and external sub-dimensions: the job itself and the job-related elements. Burnout syndrome refers to a process that manifests itself primarily with the consumption of emotional resources, continues in depersonalization, and eventually causes a sense of failure in people.

The increased workload due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the very high risk of catching the disease among health sector workers may increase people's anxiety levels and reduce internal job satisfaction. In addition, decisions are taken by authorized institutions, such as prohibiting health sector employees from leaving work, canceling annual leaves, extending working hours, being assigned to different health units, and not making improvements in wages or social rights, which may adversely affect the level of external satisfaction.

On the other hand, health sector workers, who had served far beyond humanitarian borders due to the Covid-19 pandemic, were depleted of their emotional resources. So, they come to the point of a low sense of personal accomplishment by thinking they are overwhelmed by a burden more than they can handle. The data obtained from the study revealed that contrary to the studies in the literature, the sense of reduced personal accomplished failure of health sector workers with high levels of internal satisfaction is also high. This result is likely due to the fact that the research was carried out during the period when the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic was felt at the highest level in Turkey. The fact that health sector workers feel that their personal success is low despite their satisfaction with their work may be associated with the pandemic. Factors such as the pandemic were not brought under control despite the high-level efforts made, the treatments have not yet been clarified, and the number of deaths increased daily can be shown among the factors about this result.

Similarly, the thoughts of health workers with high internal satisfaction that they have low personal achievement decrease with the effect of their

affective commitment to the business they work for. In other words, when people who are satisfied with their job but not satisfied with their level of personal success believe that the business they work for shows all effort and support under the pandemic conditions, the level of success they feel increases.

In addition, the depersonalization rate of health sector workers with high internal satisfaction is lower. In other words, satisfaction with the job itself has a reducing effect on depersonalization towards the environment. It is estimated that this result is due to the sensitivity of health sector workers to medical developments and new information from their colleagues and, most fundamentally, the importance they attach to human health due to the nature of the profession. In addition, the level of external satisfaction reduces emotional exhaustion and a low sense of accomplishment. This result can be explained by the increased need for health sector workers during the pandemic and the increased reputation in society.

Finally, the findings show that the negative effect of internal satisfaction on reduced personal accomplishment becomes stronger when the employees` affective commitment is higher. Accordingly, affective commitment emerges as an essential protective mechanism or shield against reduced personal accomplishment since it strengthens the decreasing effect of internal satisfaction. Surprisingly, the findings did not provide empirical support for the moderating role of affective commitment on the relationships between internal satisfaction and other dimensions of burnout and external satisfaction and burnout syndrome. This result may be attributed rot the specific conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic. During the pandemic, healthcare employees were on the frontline, experiencing stress, anxiety, isolation, and, ultimately, burnout. It is probable that in this specific period, healthcare employees were prone to such high levels of anxiety and burnout that any protective mechanism, such as affective commitment, could not operate.

Limitations and Future Research

The article presents a few research limitations and recommendations for future studies. One of the significant limitations is the use of cross-sectional data, which raises questions about the causal direction and purpose of the relationship among the constructs (Graziano&Raulin, 1997). In addition, the survey method used in the study may not provide objective measures and results about the flow of knowledge. The scholars are recommended to collect longitudinal data to overcome this issue.

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Another limitation is that the data are self-reported, although self-reports are practically valid in many research contexts (Podsakoff& Organ, 1986). However, many studies suggest that self-reports are not as limiting as once commonly asserted (Tjosvold et al., 2004), and they can provide more precise estimates than behavioral measures. (Howard et al., 1980)

Finally, the study's sample is limited to doctors and nurses at Kocaeli University Medical Faculty in Kocaeli, Turkey. To overcome this limitation, future studies should include public and private hospitals and other health sector workers. Future studies may also add subjective well-being as an output or personality (big five dimensions) as moderators to expand the research model.

Conclusions

In sum, this study sheds light on the relationship between job satisfaction and burnout among healthcare employees during the pandemic. The findings reveal that job satisfaction is negatively associated with burnout. Moreover, the findings also show that the negative relationship between internal satisfaction and reduced personal accomplishment is stronger when affective commitment is higher.

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APPENDIX- A

Factor loadings are given in parentheses, and * shows the dropped items.

A) MINNESOTA SATISFACTION SCALE
Internal Satisfaction
1. Being able to keep busy all the time (.681)
2. The chance to work alone on the job *
3. The chance to do different things from time to (.694)
4. The chance to be "somebody" in the community (.719)
7. Being able to do things that don't go against my conscience *
8. The way my job provides for steady employment (.607)
9. The chance to do things for other people (.679)
10. The chance to tell people what to do (.740)
11. The chance to do something that makes use of my abilities (.786)
15. The freedom to use my own judgment (.724)
16. The chance to try my own methods of doing the job (.695)
20. The feeling of accomplishment I get from the job (.718)
External Satisfaction
5. The way my boss handles his/her workers (.745)
6. The competence of my supervisor in making decisions (.709)
12. The way company policies are put into practice (.729)
13. My pay and the amount of work I do (.615)
14. The chances for advancement on this job (.699)
17. The working conditions (.714)
18. The way my co-workers get along with each other *
19. The praise I get for doing a good job (.780)
B) MASLACH BURNOUT INVENTORY
Occupational Exhaustion
01 – I feel emotionally exhausted because of my work (.829)
02 – I feel worn out at the end of a working day (.798)
03 – I feel tired as soon as I get up in the morning and see a new working day stretched out in front of me (.795)
06 – Working with people the whole day is stressful for me (.611)
08 – I feel burned out because of my work (.820)
13 – I feel frustrated by my work (.683)
14 – I get the feeling that I work too hard (.617)
16 – Being in direct contact with people at work is too stressful *
20 – I feel as if I'm at my wits' end (.636)
Depersonalization
05 – I get the feeling that I treat some clients/colleagues impersonally as if they were objects (.621)
10 –I have become more callous to people since I have started doing this job (.856)
11 – I'm afraid that my work makes me emotionally harder (.809)
15 – I'm not really interested in what is going on with many of my colleagues (.609)
22 – I have the feeling that my colleagues blame me for some of their problems *
Personal Accomplishment
04 – I can easily understand the actions of my colleagues/supervisors *
07 – I deal with other people's problems successfully(.651)
09 – I feel that I influence other people positively through my work (.707)
12 – I feel full of energy (.822)
17 – I find it easy to build a relaxed atmosphere in my working environment (.693)
18 – I feel stimulated when I have been working closely with my colleagues (.683)
19 – I have achieved many rewarding objectives in my work (.735)
21 – In my work, I am very relaxed when dealing with emotional problems *
C)AFFECTIVE COMMITMENT SCALE
1. I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career in this organization. (.797)
2. I really feel as if this organization's problems are my own. (.827)
3. I feel like a 'part of the family' at my organization. (.687)
4. I feel 'emotionally attached' to this organization. (.631)
5. This organization has a great deal of meaning for me. (.822)
. I feel a strong sense of belonging to my organization. (.791)

7

THE TRANSFORMATION OF KEN LOACH'S CINEMA THROUGH THE CONCEPT OF JOB INSECURITY: AN EVALUATION OF THE NAVIGATORS, BREAD AND ROSES AND IT'S A FREE WORLD

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Abstract

The patterns of precarity observed in the working class as a result of the move away from the welfare state and the effects of neo-liberalism since the 1970s have been addressed in many different films in Ken Loach's cinema, which has an important place in the class-based narratives of British cinema. The neo-liberal practices imposed on society with the slogan "There is No Alternative" in the early 1980s during the Margaret Thatcher era made their first effects felt through privatization policies, and railway transportation was one of the leading areas of this. While this process meant the end of the happy days of the middle-aged British working class, who were secure employees and benefited from the principles of the welfare state, Ken Loach demonstrated the job insecurity created by the privatization processes in his work The Navigators. On the other hand, over time, while the working class has been rapidly eroding the foundations of job security, new forms of work and the wave of international migration and its manifestations in Western Europe have led to the growth of a new type of precarious working class. This transformation, which profoundly affected the ways of understanding the working class, separated migrant groups and women workers as new stratified layers of the working class from the central mass of the working class, which had relatively better standards than them, and turned them into phenomena constituting different social strata. These masses, working without job security, are brought to light in Loach's Bread and Roses and It's a Free World. Ken Loach's cinema has recompiled the problems of the working class, which it has put on its agenda through the visibility of the concept of job insecurity in today's conditions. Thus, the reflections of the unearthed lives in the cinema were tried to be evaluated with the method of textual analysis and from a class-based perspective.

Keywords: Political Cinema, Precarious Work, Ken Loach, The Navigators, Bread and Roses, It's a Free World.

JEL Codes: J41, J61, J81, J83

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1. Introduction

Cinema is an art form that takes the events of daily life and displays them on a white screen. It shows the audience a representation of social reality and can even convey political messages. It can be considered a visual tool that can influence the masses intellectually. Like all art forms, cinema reflects the social conditions in which it exists. Cinema conveys the language of everyday life through the stories of ordinary people and characters that shape society, making it a powerful visual art form. This style of filmmaking enables directors to bring to the forefront the working class and emphasize the inequalities and societal contradictions that stem from capitalist production relationships. It also provides the opportunity to demonstrate how politics and theory are interrelated and manifested in practical terms on the screen.

Cinema portrays the working class in diverse production fields, depicting their everyday lives, political reactions, and battles against capital. It gives us an in-depth understanding of the different practices of conflict and struggles they encounter. Profiles of laborers, including miners, agricultural workers, immigrants, and women, are displayed on the screen. Over the last four decades, the rise of neo-liberalism has resulted in a considerable decline in social rights. As a result, political cinema often portrays the diverse experiences of the working class, highlighting the various representatives of this class in society. These depictions provide insight into the daily lives of workers and their struggles. Among these representatives, Ken Loach is one of the notable directors who succeeded in reflecting different working-class profiles in cinema. Ken Loach's films about workers aim to discuss the lives of laborers in the Western world, especially in Britain, using social realism. Through discourse analysis and an emphasis on class, the films explore various fields of struggle, including privatization, trade union conflicts, and the daily lives of laborers.

2. Ken Loach: Portrait of a Cinema Activist

Ken Loach, an acclaimed director known for his working-class films, highlights the social and economic inequalities and class contradictions brought about by the capitalist system in British society through his numerous cinematic works that explore the daily struggles of the British working class. Ken Loach, who has succeeded in bringing more than 50 works of art to the masses through both television and cinema since he started directing in the mid-1960s (IMDb, 2023), is one of the most prominent sources of inspiration that played a role in the development of his cinematic style is the *Czech New Wave Movement*, which had a significant impact on cinema in the 1960s. The most basic approach of the Czech New Wave, which Loach felt the effects of intensely, especially in

the formation of *Kes[1]*, which has a prominent place in Loach's early works, stems from the desire to bring "real life" to the screen as it is. Ken Loach, the British filmmaker, was heavily influenced by Milos Forman, a Czech New Wave director. Forman's critical perspective towards the system is evident in his subtle portrayal of the lives of poor regions. Loach admires Forman because he respects the stories of ordinary people, according to Hames (2009: 55-62). Loach also found inspiration in the *Italian New Realism* movement. Loach inspired the humanist themes of this film movement, which had a significant impact on cinema's history. Loach argues that the films of this movement created a platform for people to express their genuine problems (Fuller, 1998: 38).

Loach's films are generally distinguished from mainstream fiction films by specific features such as outdoor rather than studio shooting, documentary camera techniques, the usage of natural light, long takes, and non-professional casts. Among these features, especially outdoor shooting or the use of real locations is one of the most prominent features that make his films powerful and effective. Loach's films are generally distinguished from mainstream fiction films by specific features such as outdoor rather than studio shooting, documentary camera techniques, the usage of natural light, long takes, and non-professional casts. Among these features, especially outdoor shooting or the use of real locations is one of the most prominent features that make his films powerful and effective. The use of social house-dwellings is effective as a means of making the audience feel his stories, which are adapted from everyday life, and at the same time, they allow for an impressive portrayal of the living conditions of the working class. Although the director's films are fictional, they draw the viewer's perception to a different point compared to, for example, Hollywood genre films or art cinema films. Due to the influence of documentary techniques on his works, the audience sees his movies more as a record of social life rather than a work of art or entertainment. While classical realism identifies the audience with the characters with its unique camera techniques, we see the opposite in his films. According to Knight's assessment, Loach's usage of documentary techniques also changes the meaning of other elements in the movie. These techniques offer the viewer an image of the social issue that the film deals with, no matter what else happens in the movie (Knight, 1997: 66-67, 74).

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[1] After analyzing with cinematographer Chris Menges the products of the Czech New Wave, which he considered one of the most influential cinema movements, Loach recorded *Kes (1969)*, a film based on the book of the same name by Barry Hines, which would bring him real fame. Recorded in a coal-mining region of Yorkshire, the film sensitively depicts the meaning that a baby kestrel brings to his life as a young working-class boy isolated by the negativity in his school and family life (Fuller, 1998: 32).

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In addition to the benefit of social house-dwellings and documentary techniques, another significant feature of Loach's films is the use of amateur actors who are little known or not known at all. The use of non-professional and mostly working-class actors reveals the political implications of Ken Loach's films. According to Loach, the portrayal of a working-class character by a star actor would raise doubts about the social realism of the film. For example, it would be strange to see a star actor in the middle of the working-class living spaces in Manchester. More importantly, Loach believes casting star actors in his films would eviscerate the movies (Fuller, 1998: 114). Also, unlike mainstream movies, he is careful to preserve the local accent of his actors. For example, Ryan and Porton (1998: 24) point out that Loach's *Riff-Raff*[2] screened with subtitles even in the USA. Loach's sensitivity to language use fits into the same context as his preferences. Loach believes that asking a character to speak differently or to change his accent would destroy his place, his class position, and the nature of the film: "You reveal your class position in the way you speak, in your behavior, even in the way you hold the spoon in your hand. Such a thing cannot be played as a role. In short, you cannot play a dialect" (English, 2006: 263).

The characters in his films are almost always ordinary people. Instead of individuals representing authority in society, the main characters of his films are mainly from the working class struggling to survive under the constraints of socio-economic conditions. Although his stories are political, his characters are usually not individuals capable of such radical political action. Contrary to the world view of Loach, as a Marxist director, we rarely see characters in his films who challenge the power structures and offer his audience hope that will displace the authority with their actions (McKnight, 1997: 3). Therefore, unlike in mainstream films, Loach's characters do not have the characteristics of overcoming the conditions and

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[2] With Riff-Raff, Loach turns his camera on the "unshackled subjects" of the twentieth century. While the film centers on the story of a Glasgow construction worker, it has a loose narrative structure. The film, which takes as its theme the restoration of an old hospital and its transformation into a luxury apartment block, focuses on the temporary workers who come together under subcontract for this project, and most of the story takes place on this construction site. The classical working class of *Kes (1969)* no longer exists. By depicting these workers who are "free" from a long-term job and therefore "free" from any future guarantee, Loach can be said to have started analyzing late capitalism with this film. Almost all of the actors in the movie, which was shot on a construction site, are laborers who work in construction or have worked in such a job before. The film explores the deteriorating conditions of labor in the Thatcher era and the dissolution and fragmentation of the working class in this new era. The film also implicitly deals with the real estate industry, one of the most crucial industries sustaining late capitalism. Therefore, the characters of the film conflict with the interests of capital, which are increasingly free from control. Riff-Raff focuses on the changing characteristics of the working class, or in other words, the labor conditions of the "post-working class" (English, 2006: 272).

whose actions lead to solutions that will comfort the audience. In other words, Loach depicts ordinary people who can be seen on the streets every day instead of being heroes. Unlike the heroes who have the power to achieve crucial actions, the characters in his films can rarely overcome their socio-cultural conditions (Knight, 1997: 67). In other words, he depicts the working class with all its faults and flaws. Therefore, from the point of view of his political intentions, flawed working-class heroes help him to establish the dialectics of the issue he deals with instead of agitation in his films.

Cathy Come Home (1966), one of the early works in Loach's career, is a film about a young mother's descent into homelessness, shot in real locations and featuring interviews with the public on the housing problem in England. The film contributed to the discussion of the housing problem in the British parliament, and the passivity of the social democrats in the process led Ken Loach to *get closer to Marxist thought* (Ryan and Porton, 1998: 22, 25). In *Family Life (1971)*, Loach understandably deals with the situation of a young woman with a mental illness, claiming that an indifferent medical profession and the pressures of modern life have contributed to the woman's condition. Loach always cares about the oppressed and the marginalized and sees them as victims of a materialist society (Shail, 2007: 138). *Days of Hope (1975)*, Ken Loach's first historical work, was strongly inspired by the current state of affairs of the 1970s, even though it traced events from fifty or more years ago. The movie examines the British labor movement in the period between the beginning of the First World War and the 1926 General Strike through three characters and draws attention to the betrayal of the left to the left in a way that sheds light on the period in which the film was made (Cranston, 2014). *Questions of Leadership (1980)*, a four-part film he made for Channel 4 in which steelworkers, miners, and other industrial workers discuss the Conservative plans to weaken labor solidarity and the resulting long-term unemployment, was censored. Similarly, *Which Side Are You On? (1984)* documentary, which dealt with the miners' strike from 1984 to 1985, has been censored before being shown (Fuller, 1998: 63-64).

After struggling with censorship issues in the 1980s and being marginalized from the British film industry under the Thatcher government, Loach[3], like a phoenix, rises from the ashes and starts making films as a "European"

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[3] This period is quite painful for Loach. Not only is he facing challenges in finding the necessary resources to make films, but he is also unable to support himself as every opportunity he seeks seems to be closed off. During this period, he compromised his principles and created numerous commercials. Besides filming beer advertisements for advertising agencies such as Saatchi & Saatchi, who also managed Thatcher's political campaigns (English, 2006: 267), he is obligated to create promotional videos, even for McDonald's, which he may not wish to recall at present (Hayward, 2004: 231).

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director from where he left off. In this illustrious phase of his profession, Loach garners backing from co-production sources worldwide and shifts his focus thematically towards the global facets of capitalist exploitation. During this period, Loach continued to make films that dealt with issues such as class struggle, workers' rights, and the living conditions of laborers. Especially in films like *Riff-Raff (1991)* and *Raining Stones (1993)*, he shows the daily struggles of the working class and how capitalism exploits people. These two films that Loach made with the production facilities of Parallax Pictures focus on the effects of free-market capitalism on the daily lives of ordinary people. With the impact of solidifying his position and resources in Europe through these two films, Loach returns to his familiar style and examines the lives of the working class (Orhangazi, 2012: 63-65). Inspired by a true story, *Ladybird Ladybird (1994)* depicts the struggles of a poor mother fighting against the social services who took her children away. After a fire breaks out in the shelter where she stays, Maggie loses custody of her children. In her desperate situation, she finds support from Jorge, a Paraguayan refugee she meets at a bar. The film emphasizes how effortlessly the legal system works against individuals like Maggie, ultimately causing them to end up as the ones who lose (Haylett, 2000: 80). In *My Name is Joe (1998)*, set in Glasgow - the city with the highest intravenous drug use in Europe - Loach delves into drug use and its related crime, both critical indications of late capitalism. Bromley states that Loach investigates the current state of Glasgow, a city that formerly boasted a robust political heritage and an organized working class. Moreover, the film draws attention to the fact that poverty is not solely a result of a lack of financial resources. It achieves this by centering on the experiences of individuals who rely on drugs and alcohol to navigate the complexities of their existence. The film combines financial difficulties, the drug black market, a closed door to education, a society "damaged" to the core that leaves no room for love and other human relationships, and reveals the hidden wounds of class in the present time (Bromley, 2000: 55-57).

Loach is also a political filmmaker who draws attention to social injustices through his films. For example, in *Land and Freedom (1995)*, he depicts the political conflicts and the struggle of the working class during the Spanish Civil War, while in *Carla's Song (1996)*, he addresses the CIA-backed counter-revolution against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua in the mid-1980s. *The Wind That Shakes the Barley (2006)* tells the story of the Irish War of Independence and the resistance against British colonialism. With this dimension, Loach reminds the audience of the universal struggle of the working class from different periods. Therefore, focusing on all of the director's works would go beyond the scope of this study. In order to accomplish the purpose of this study, the focus will be on three films directed by Ken Loach after the year 2000 (*Bread and Roses*,

The Navigators, and *It's a Free World*). These films have been intentionally selected for an in-depth examination. *Bread and Roses*, *The Navigators*, and *It's a Free World* will be assessed in detail to explore the patterns of working-class insecurity in Ken Loach's cinema.

3. The Themes of Job Insecurity in Ken Loach's Cinema: Bread and Roses, The Navigators, and It's a Free World

Watching Ken Loach's films chronologically reveals his evolving critique of marketization. In this sense, it is possible to consider his films as a form of historical representation. When we look at the films within the scope of this study in chronological order, we see that Loach portrays a story that can still be considered as the days when the belief that organized labor can achieve something has not been lost. In *Bread and Roses (2000)*, Loach focuses on the struggle of a community of cleaning workers, mainly immigrants, to organize and claim their rights. Unionization still appears here as a savior (Man, 2023: 100). Bread and Roses, based on the "Justice for Janitors" movement organized by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) in the United States, is structured as a story where Mexican immigrant Maya, who enters the U.S. illegally, transforms into a militant union organizer due to unfolding events. Initially employed as a janitor in a building that her sister Rosa arranges, housing the offices of banks and high-paid Hollywood lawyers, Maya becomes politically engaged after meeting Sam, a union organizer. Sam, an anarchist-leaning union activist, and his unorthodox tactics convince the mostly unorganized janitors to join the union and stage a strike (Quart and Kornblum, 2001: 117-119). The main focus of Bread and Roses is migration and immigrants. It is possible to see how each of the migrants who enter the U.S. illegally, especially from Mexico, have powerful reasons for choosing this difficult path. Since engaging in illegal activities leaves one vulnerable to exploitation, many actors may take advantage of the situation (Man, 2023: 101). A scene in the film for such a situation is as follows (Loach, 2000):

- Thanks for this chance, Mr. Perez. I'll work hard.
- I know you will. I know. It's time we got someone young here to get rid of these old worthless rags. *I get letters begging me to work here. Do you know how lucky you are?* Do you realize that? You know, 'cause I do a favor for Rosa. I arranged the paperwork. Decent paperwork. For that, *I charge a commission.*
- And what kind of commission?
- *Your first salary. We can split it over two months.* I mean, you know...What do you say?

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In *Bread and Roses*, Loach portrays the trade union struggle as a crucial approach to solving problems that individuals cannot solve on their own. Workers acting alone will not prevent the erosion of their rights and will turn them into regulars of the precariat (Man, 2023: 102). Their dialogue during an organizing meeting in the film points to this (Loach, 2000):

- You know what this is?
- Let me see.
- Wait. This is a check stub.
- Exactly. How much is it an hour?
- Us$ 8,5O.
- Us$ 8,5O? What's the date?
- December 22, 1982.
- That's 17 years ago. *Seventeen years ago, that cleaner earned US$ 8,5O, plus health, plus sick pay, plus holidays.* Today, Los Angeles, 1999. *You don't have a union deal, you get US$ 5,75, plus nothing. Over the past 2O years they've taken billions of dollars from the poor.* Billions! Okay? We're gonna get that back. Not millions, billions of dollars! Billions!

Another dialogue shows that no gains can be made without organizing (Loach, 2000):

- Listen up. Today is a great day for the janitors in this building, alright? We have to let the owners of this building know that we'll continue until people get their jobs back, right? In the past few months, I've seen you insulted, I've seen you fired from your work, I've seen you go through financial crises with your families, there have been threats of deportation, and friends split up because of betrail. I salute your courage because it takes a lot of it. Now, we're fighting for health care, right? For respect at work. *We want bread, but we want roses too. We want all the beautiful things in life.* Did you see that banner? That banner dates back to 1912 from Lawrence, Massachusetts, When *1O,OOO immigrant workers mostly women, had to fight against poverty wages.* It was a violent and long dispute. But you know what happened? They won. No one is giving you roses for nothing. No one. You know when you get roses? *When you stop begging and you organize.* And *you form a labor movement that's strong enough to compete against these powerful companies that are controlling our lives. Stand up for your rights!*

A feature of the age of flexibility is that organizations can outsource some services to other providers. This approach increases organizational

flexibility and limits service-specific responsibilities and personnel (Man, 2023: 105). In the scene between the union organizer Sam, and the building manager Mr. Griffin, this process is reflected as follows (Loach, 2000):

- Mr. Griffin. Hi. You're the building manager for 646, right?
- Yeah. Do I know you?
- No, but I know who you are.
- What the hell is going on?
- Let me ask you something. Can you survive on US$ 5,75 an hour? Because that's what the janitors at your building get.
- You know what? *I don't hire the janitors and I don't pay them*, so, therefore, I suggest that *you take this up with their employers...Which is Angel's services.*
- You shouldn't tell tales. *You're the building manager*, right? *You take it up.*
- Who the hell do you think you are?

The Navigators (2001) explores the impact of the privatization of public services, specifically British Railways, which was privatized in 1996 under neo-liberal economic policies. The film centers around South Yorkshire railway workers and highlights the impact of privatization on their work and personal lives. Rob Dawber, the scenario writer of the film and a former railway worker, strengthens the film's connection to the issue it deals with. The film focuses on the destruction of working-class solidarity due to privatization practices (Orhangazi, 2012: 70). The title refers to the navvies, the road workers who built the railways in the nineteenth century (Hayward, 2004: 294). The text emphasizes the effects of changing work culture, including the dislocation of the established workforce and the flexibilization of labor, on both individuals and work itself. The story in the film revolves around the privatization of British Railways. However, the movie serves a greater purpose of highlighting the repercussions of privatization practices. This is particularly crucial, as similar changes are being implemented across various sectors in the UK and globally (Orhangazi, 2012: 70).

As the film begins, we see a group of railway workers performing maintenance and repairs. The scene highlights how each worker has a specific task, and the rules are well-defined. The workers work together in solidarity to complete the job at hand. In this scene of the movie, the laborers who have come to the station for their workday are in for a surprise. They are told that the railway company has been privatized and that they will now be hired on a contractual basis. They are informed they can resign "voluntarily" for compensation. Accordingly, the workers are

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informed that their annual paid leave rights are canceled, and their wages will be regulated according to their performance. Many workers are faced with a difficult decision: either accept the unfavorable working conditions or take the compensation package and resign from their jobs. Although many workers opt for the latter, a few remain and are required to watch the company's orientation video. The new boss, Will Hemmings, stresses during the video that the previous *"lifetime job guarantee" is no longer in effect.* In the first part of the film, it is seen that many rights derived from the agreements made with the unions in the past are quickly liquidated, and different practices are put forward to intimidate the workers who are determined not to quit but to continue working. On the other hand, a group of railway workers try to fight against this new system with the efforts of Gerry, who has a relatively more class consciousness among the workers. However, neither their efforts nor those of middle managers acting based on past agreements can be effective against the aggression of neo-liberalism. Thus, on the one hand, through the transformation of a public institution that has surrendered to privatization processes, the announcement of the transition to a new order in which the balanced relationship between labor and capital evolves in favor of capital (Orhangazi, 2012: 73-74). The emphasis on *"the elimination of all those who stand against change"* (Man, 2023: 102) shows the audience that *the neo-liberal wave*, which is getting stronger and stronger, will completely change all the old institutions and order and with its structure determined to destroy market forces, unions and all the tools of the old order, is expressed as follows in the dialogue between the company official (Hemmings) and a lower-level manager (Bill) who initiates a new change in place of the old working order (Loach, 2001):

- Um, just on a more general note, how are things going here? I mean, is everything on schedule?
- Yeah, I think so.
- Do you think the men are on board?
- Er... well, yeah. I mean obviously, they're a little concerned about the way things are going and...
- *Have we met all the troublemakers yet?*
- *What troublemakers?*
- *The union men.* You know what I mean.
- Er, well, we've got the union reps, of course, but...*Usually, they follow the agreements and I don't normally have any trouble with them.*
- Can I stop you there, Bill? *There are no agreements.* The slate's been wiped clean.
- Er, but *we've got local and national agreements that go back a long way.* They go back a lot of years and...

- Look, I just said *there are no agreements. It is a clean sheet.* OK? Do you understand that?
- But these agreements go back...
- Bill...
- go back a long... a long way.
- Bill, we're wasting time. *Anyone who stands in the way of change is out.* OK? They're out. *They can either go voluntarily or they can just go.*
- (Other man) We will give them the choice.
- Choice? What choice? *We've got agreements that go back a long way. We've got agreements for promotion and redundancy. We have conditions...*
- OK. Fine.
- I mean, it's...
- I understand what you're saying. Right. *I've signed it already. If you'd just like to write your letter of resignation above that, I'll accept it this afternoon.*
- Well... I...

In *The Navigators (2001)*, a worker who was an employee of a railway company and who receives the news that cleaning services will be outsourced to another company after privatization has difficulty understanding this (Loach, 2001):

- Hey! Do you know what they've done? Eh? *They've just told me that my job's finished.* Do you know what they're gonna do? *Give it to some outside contractor.* That's what they're doing. Uh? And I'll tell you what. Do you know what they've said? *I can bid for my own job.* Yeah. And *if I get my job, right, I've got to have it for six months*, *then I've got to bid again*. Can you believe it? Eh? Yeah. *I've even got to pay for my own mop!* And I'll tell you something, *I've gotta buy all my own cleaning stuff.* Bring it all in my own van, take it out in my own van! And there'll be no cupboards and no lockers.

When work is divided among subcontracting firms, the workers may be required to take on additional responsibilities. These responsibilities could involve procuring necessary materials and handling any associated expenses. Essentially, the workers are expected to be accountable for the tasks they perform to a greater extent. In another scene of the film, the situation that railway workers cannot make sense of and get used to in the chaos following the privatization processes is expressed as follows (Loach, 2001):

- You know, travel and do different levels of work.
- Well, I don't mind doing that but I'd rather do, you know,

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- Yeah, well, we'll make that a priority. You know, I'll just put that on your form.
- What else do you get, apart from that?
- I don't understand. What do you mean?
- Well, what else do you get apart from your pay? You know, like, *holiday money, traveling expenses, allowance for work gear.*
- Er, well you get a contract setting out your pay, and the hours of work, you know, when we've got the work for you.
- Yeah.
- Er, but that's it. *No holidays.*
- No?
- And *you have to provide your work gear.*
- What about sick pay?
- No. Then again*, if you can't work, we don't pay you. It's as simple as that. It's like if you want to go on holiday. You're not available for work. So you don't get paid for that, either.*
- Aye.

In addition, the laborers have to *cover the costs of the training programs necessary for them to continue their professions.* In another scene, the astonishment of the laborers about this is not overlooked (Loach, 2001):

- Do you have a Personal Track Safety card?
- Yeah.
- And a Lookout card. I need to look at those.
- So, have you got a lot on, then? Is there a lot on right now?
- No problem. Yeah.
- That's PTS and that's, Lookout card.
- Yeah. Right, just need to write these down.
- Now, *these have only got a few months left to run.*
- Um... now *when they do expire, we can get you on the courses.*
- Yeah.
- And *that's just for 200 pound each. Each course.*
- *What do I have to pay for that?*
- Yeah.

In the age of flexibility-oriented neo-liberalism, the "long-term and indefinite-term working regime," once a hallmark of the welfare state era known as the golden age of capitalism, is now considered a relic of the past (Man, 2023: 106). This emphasis is expressed in one scene of the film as follows:

- (Voice-over) *As Britain's rail industry enters a new era of change, many questions arise.* How will the new arrangements work? Will your jobs be secure? How much will change? Ultimately, *our*

success is riding on your skills, and on the people who maintain the infrastructure. Eleven thousand miles of track, including bridges, tunnels, signals, overhead structures, and everything else that makes it work. *The foundation of the future.* In the market environment we're entering, the customer is the focus. *Customers have to be won against fierce competition.* Then they have to be kept, by *continuous improvement in service, which means continuous change.*

-   I think this is a perfect cue to introduce myself. I'm Will Hemmings and I'm your managing director. I'd also like to introduce you to the biggest change of all. *A change that underpins all other changes and I think a change for the better. It's a change of culture. Unfortunately, the days of a job for life are gone.* But the jobs are there, for all of us. If we rise to the expectations the future holds, we can progress as far as our initiative will take us. There are no limits to what this team can achieve together. *Let me leave you with my vision. The end of us and them and the beginning of a partnership for progress. It's time to move forward into the 21st century and lay the foundation of the future.*

In the later scenes of the film, it is shown that the new order established after privatization has significantly damaged the spirit of solidarity and friendship among the workers. After thoroughly reviewing the film, it is evident that before privatization, the workers collaborated in unity and harmony to conduct repair tasks. During this period, Jim rescued Mick from an imminent train collision by swiftly grasping his shoulder and pulling him away, as Mick's shovel had become trapped. This event unfolded from the opening scene of the movie until the final scene, where Jim unfortunately experienced an accident. The film's concluding scene depicts the gradual decline of workers' unity following the privatization process. This decline stems from subcontractors' disregard for crucial safety measures and the inadequate number of workers at the railway site. Moreover, essential equipment is scarce, which further undermines the well-being of the workers, emphasizing the adverse effects of the updated working conditions. When Jim gets injured from being hit by a train because of the absence of proper safety measures at work, John tries to call for an ambulance. Nonetheless, Mick steps in and prevents him. Mick reasons that if Jim is discovered near the tracks, it will be recorded as a fatal workplace accident, and they will be held accountable for it instead of the subcontractor companies. Mick analyzed the situation with his friends and suggested that they might be unemployed. He proposed that they move Jim's body from the side of the tracks to the area where they are currently mixing cement. It's crucial to understand the connection between the two scenes. It demonstrates to the audience that solidarity among laborers can be fragile, and the pressure caused by changing working conditions and a

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competitive environment can lead individuals to neglect even the most basic human responsibilities. The process of privatization not only erodes workers' sense of solidarity but also compels them to prioritize their survival above their interpersonal connections (Orhangazi, 2012: 77-78).

In *It's a Free World (2007)*, we are again watching a process that can be called *a kind of reverse deindustrialization*. The themes of migration and cheap labor are again at the center of the film. However, the cheap labor here is not provided by using the fluidity of capital and going to other lands but by being supplied from Eastern Europe and working informally in London (Man, 2023: 100). The film portrays Angie as an intermediary who helps find jobs for inexpensive, vulnerable migrant workers. It sheds light on the challenges faced by these workers and exposes the false beliefs held by the bourgeois about the free world. In reality, it reveals how the powerful exploit the weak and *questions the true meaning of "freedom"* in the context of free enterprise (Genc, 2015: 125). The politics of the film, which won the best screenplay award at the Venice Film Festival, is primarily based on the fact that in the global phase of capitalism, exploitation has also acquired a worldwide dimension. The film's story is based on three interconnected and intertwined issues. Firstly, the film focuses on the problems of these migrants, who are emphasized in many studies to constitute a new sociological class category. The documentary-style film highlights the challenges faced by temporary workers in the UK. Secondly, the film questions the 'freedom' discourse of the dominant ideology. The film questions the ideology of *"free entrepreneurship"* and the *"dream of class advancement"* through its main character. One of the most significant features of the film is that it questions the concept of freedom. The most prominent aspect of the ideology of the current economic system is that the emphasis on freedom (or liberty) is always at the forefront. As a form of discourse, freedom has become hegemonic on modes of thought, but what kind of freedom it is, in what sense it is freedom, and more importantly, whose freedom it is, is not questioned. Therefore, this concept, which contains a euphemism at the discursive level, actually corresponds to concepts such as *"freedom of the market"* and *"free trade and enterprise"* including human trafficking. Loach draws attention to the irony behind this discourse with the title he has chosen for the film. The movie provides a highly realistic portrayal of a society where people are pitted against each other in the job market, human empathy and emotions are replaced by a focus on *"rational reasoning,"* and competition, exploitation, and constant striving prevail (Orhangazi, 2012: 82-83).

Most of Loach's work explores the impact of poor labor conditions, state bureaucracies, and economic systems on individuals. The distinctive features of the characters in his films are that they are usually from the

working class or marginalized segments of society. It's a Free World stands out among Loach's other films due to its narrative being shaped around the life of a character from the *"other side" - the segment of society that engages in labor exploitation*. This is a significant feature that sets it apart from his other works. Angela, the film's protagonist, experiences a notable change due to the economic and ideological environment in which she resides. In the film's opening, Angela is portrayed as a regular employee at an immigration agency that deals in aspirations. Presumably, she earns a modest salary, which is significantly lower than the company's profits. At the film's start, she is harassed by a man who is revealed to be a company manager. Her reaction is justified, but upon her return to London, she is promptly dismissed. However, at this point, we discover that Angela has been enduring this type of harassment for six months. Additionally, we learn that she has held numerous jobs in the past and subsequently resigned and that she also has outstanding credit card debts. Angela faces job insecurity as a woman and must navigate the distortions of the male-dominated business world. Angela's decision to start her own company is the only possible way out of her predicament. By doing this, she will accomplish two crucial objectives - *clearing her debts* and *catching up with the comfortable lifestyle* she has been deprived of since she turned thirty-three. Additionally, it will put an end to the injustices she has endured in her professional life for years. In such a world, she, like everyone else, will think about his interests and, in a way, take a chance in the capitalist lottery. The film effectively depicts the changing employment conditions and new forms of labor exploitation due to globalization. However, it also tells the story of a woman's transformation and alienation as she tries to survive under the ongoing distorted economic order. She believes that the only way to secure a good future for herself and her child is to exploit the labor of others. After Angela entered the competitive market as an entrepreneur, we observed a gradual loss of her human emotions. In a way, she transformed into her opposite, as if seeking revenge for the injustices she had endured for several years. As the story progresses, the character becomes completely opportunistic, solely focused on increasing his profits with ease. Angela's transformation from a victim to a perpetrator could also be interpreted as disloyalty to her social class and upbringing. Having been raised in a working-class household, Angela believes that she can only triumph over the injustices she has endured by switching sides. This is the most prominent trait of Angela, the character crafted by Loach and screenwriter Laverty. Loach highlights the current inclination towards self-preservation and the pursuit of upward mobility, rather than actively challenging injustice and working towards systemic change. The film shows that class advancement is only possible by stepping on the backs of others and exploiting the labor of others, so there is no real freedom. In the film, we witness that there is no guarantee of class advancement and that

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the big fish do not allow the small fish to grow. Angela cannot reach her goal and perhaps even gets into a much more difficult situation than at the beginning. In the film, it becomes evident that Angela's situation is far from easy and that small entrepreneurs like her are not the ones responsible for maintaining the system of exploitation. Rather, it is the legal agencies and the mafia-like organizations, whose members are not shown in the film but become visible in front of Derek's factory, that perpetuate the system. From this perspective, the film takes on the responsibility of addressing the structural challenges encountered by migrants, including unemployment and crime. It does so by illustrating that these issues are primarily rooted in the global capitalist system. The film emphasizes that migrants are disproportionately affected by this reality and seeks to raise awareness about its underlying causes (Orhangazi, 2012: 85-87, 90-91).

Migration is a central theme in *"It's a Free World"*. In the movie, laborers from Eastern Europe come to England with their documents, but the "intermediary" who organized their migration later takes their passports and sells them as cheap labor to various workplaces. Here, we have the opportunity to see the layered structure among immigrants through an Iranian immigrant character who introduces himself as a Spanish person to avoid discrimination. We have observed that employers benefiting from cheap labor view rightful subjects as a hindrance (Man, 2023: 101). The following dialogue of an employer exemplifies this situation (Loach, 2007):

- All right, Tone?
- Angie. All right, sweetheart. You're looking lovely.
- You haven't changed, have you? How are you?
- It's bollocks. Yeah, *these new Poles*. They're doing my nut, man. I swear, brings me back to the old days. No complaints. *They kept their heads down and kept that quiet. Now they've got a bit of paper, they think they own the joint.*
- Tone, don't worry about it. All right? I'll fix you up.

The state of isolation puts one in a Darwinian universe where one has to survive to exist. This means surviving at the expense of others. This leads to *"character erosion"* (Sennett, 2021) or dramatic internal contradictions. In *It's a Free World*, the protagonist informs the authorities about a camp where other migrants are staying to find accommodation for the migrants he has brought to work illegally (Man, 2023: 104). This situation is expressed in the relevant scene as follows (Loach, 2007):

- Hi. Is that the immigration service? Hi. Um... I'm... I'm... I'm representing a concerned group of citizens from a local church. Now, I'm a bit nervous about this, but I just wanna report

something going on. *I'm in a campsite right now and it's full of illegal immigrants.* I know for a fact they have false papers, OK? It's taken a lot of courage to do this and it's been going on for some time now.

- Put the phone down. Anj put the phone down.
- If nothing is done in 24 hours, I'm not being rude but I will go to the press. OK. Mm-hm... Right. It's Morris Glass Factory. It's behind there. It's on Caledonian Street. E15. All right, see you soon. All right, thanks. Bye.
- What was that about? What do you think you're doing, Anj?
- What do you think? *I'm gonna get our workers in.*
- Are you completely mad?
- *They're gonna get out. We're gonna get ours in.*
- *There are families down there. I can't believe you've done that.*
- *Well, I just have, so believe it.*

Angie is unhappy about this situation. In fact, later on, she discovers that a family she has previously assisted is among the people staying in the camp. Without hesitation, Angie rushes to warn them. Thus, all the characters in the film are focused on survival and are facing significant challenges in their efforts to do so. In order to survive, Angie is compelled to take actions that go against her moral beliefs (Man, 2023: 105).

In *It's a Free World*, a similar emphasis on the end of old types of labor appears. Angie has the following dialogue with her father, who worked in the 'old' working order (Loach, 2007):

- I'm criticized all the time. All it is is judge, judge, judge. I mean, doesn't anyone see what I'm doing? *I should be praised. I've set up my own business worked my arse off.*
- Why should I congratulate you? Do you wanna tell me? Give me a clue.
- Because I'm doing something in this world. Do you know what I mean?
- All I'm worried about is Jamie.
- So, am I worried about him?
- In about five or six years, when he goes into the world and leaves school, what's he got in store? Competing with Kosovans and Romanians? *Living on starvation wages. What chance has he got?*
- Why don't you join the National Front?
- The National Front? Don't you talk to me about them bloody lying bastards?
- God. At least I'm giving them a chance.

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- Giving them a chance? What about their own countries? *Schoolteachers, nurses, doctors. Coming over here, working as waiters on starvation money. What good's that? No one's getting anything out of it apart from bosses and governors. No one else is smiling.*
- You've got it completely wrong. Consumers are the ones laughing. You'll see that at the supermarket.
- You think buying a motorbike or a few pairs of trainers every fortnight is gonna look after him? I don't think so.
- You've just got no idea.
- *Are you paying them the minimum wage?*
- Oh... Look. *These people are starving at home.*
- *Do you pay them the minimum wage?* Tell me.
- For God's sake... Next, I'm gonna be getting the blame for climate change. What is it gonna be next? You just don't... This is the thing, right?
- *For 30 years, you've been in the same job. Me and you are very different.*
- *I've had over 30 jobs, yeah? I've been dumped and screwed in every single job.* That's where we're different. No disrespect to you, all right, but *I really don't wanna end up poor like you have.*

4. Conclusion

When considering Ken Loach's cinema from a political standpoint and examining the critical perspective he brings to mainstream cinema, it is significant to acknowledge that the portrayal of the everyday experiences of the working class in social realism serves as the primary defining factor in comprehending Ken Loach's approach to filmmaking. Ken Loach, a prominent figure in cinema since the 1960s and often regarded as the advocate for laborers in film, has drawn inspiration from the Czech New Wave and Italian New Realism movements to shape his distinctive style. The evolution of Ken Loach's cinema, from the past to the present, can be seen as a lengthy narrative depicting the gradual erosion of the achievements of European workers under the welfare state due to the rise of neoliberalism. Ken Loach has portrayed the significant deterioration of workers' working conditions in post-Thatcherist Britain through various characters and industries in his films since the 1990s. In Riff-Raff, Loach informs the audience about the challenging ordeals faced by construction workers and the instances when their health was neglected. In the early 2000s, he shifted his focus to railway workers who have become casualties of privatization processes. On the one hand, The Navigators gives a message to the secure working class of the welfare state and takes it as a duty to remind them of the value of the good old days and the practices of struggle. However, Loach gives a voice not only to the British working class

but also to all laborers around the globe. In "Bread and Roses," the narrative centers around the challenges of unionization, as experienced by a Mexican female cleaning worker. In fact, through this film, Loach conveys the working conditions of the intensive labor migration from the third world to developed countries to the audience in all its reality. Likewise, in "It's a Free World," the film portrays the ruthless exploitation of Eastern European immigrants who come to England in pursuit of a better life. The key finding in all the analyzed films is that job insecurity worldwide has led to deteriorating working conditions and widespread poverty. The increasing exploitation of migrant workers in various regions, the practice of treating laborers as commodities through private employment agencies, the erosion and corruption of laborers' character caused by neoliberalism, the occasional resistance against these issues, and the struggles of laborers to maintain their daily lives are all depicted by Ken Loach's camera in a raw and realistic manner. Through this portrayal, the film aims to provoke people to question the impact of capitalism on social relationships.

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PART **IV**

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY,
EUROPEAN UNION'S ENLARGEMENT
& NATO EXPANSION

8

ENSURING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY OF GEORGIA AND ANTICIPATED THREATS

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Abstract

The relevance of study of the international security problems of Georgia is due to the immeasurable expansion of both a subject-thematic and content field of international security in the information age. Along with the traditional military aspect, the area of world interaction has significantly increased in non-military fields (economy, energy, ecology, etc.). All of the above mentioned issues have created different problems for both cyberspace and security. The goal of modern foreign policy of Georgia is to create appropriate conditions for the development of political, socio-economic and cultural relations with the countries of the world community as well as integrate the country into the security system of Euro-Atlantic structures. This is considered as a condition ensuring both security and socio-economic well-being of the country. Thus, a concrete contribution has been made to the research of strategic assessments of possible trends, which is important for both avoiding expected threats and perfecting the process of integrating the country into the unified system of international security.

Keywords: Information Age, International Security, Foreign Policy, Threats, Indicators.

1. Introduction

The problem of ensuring security in international relations is one of the most important aspects. At the modern stage, the relevance of studying international security problems of Georgia is determined by many factors.

First of all, the currently ongoing processes of world development, revolutionary transformations, especially in the field of communication and information, mass computerization, the scale of introduction and improvement of the latest information and telecommunication technologies indicate an unprecedented growth and perspective of human development, underlining the course of drastic changes in the spheres of

political, economic, cultural and social life [Government of Georgia, 2021].

Second, in the information age, the subject, thematic and content field of international security has grown. Along with the military aspect, the scope of world interaction in the non-military or civil spheres of international security has significantly expanded and has covered economic, energy, ecological, political, informational, international, social and cultural security issues along with cyberspace.

Third, the dramatic increase in interconnectedness and interdependence under the influence of globalization has made it clear that any war is more likely to cause a global political and economic crisis than ever before. This was clearly demonstrated by Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 and the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war.

We would like to draw attention to the fact, that today the emphasis is on the creation of effective international security systems based on the joint efforts of international actors. The countries create a unified strategy against existing common threats. They unite to defend themselves against an aggressor as well as increase their ability to defend themselves against risks, threats, challenges and dangers. The countries promise to help each other in the field of defense if one of them is attacked by another country, that is not a member of this organization.

There are different definitions of collective defense, but their main point is the same and refers to the joining of forces. They aim to establish international stability, ensuring political, regional or global security. Each country of the system recognizes the security of other countries and undertakes to make an appropriate collective response to threats, dangerous conflicts and violations.

Among the collective security models, Richard Cohen's version [Cohen, Mihalka, 2001]. is the most popular today. Cohen's concept of cooperative security includes the following basic aspects: recognition of common threats (perception of a common threat should be considered the strongest determining factor. Realization that they cannot cope with a common threat without each other); Growing mutual understanding of common values (the relationship should be based on mutual understanding and common values and there should be more ideological convergence than confrontation); Institutional format (there should be created an institutional framework for relations between countries, it should be given a strong institutional form for cooperation. A potential aggressor will avoid fighting against a strong union).

Michael Mihalka's concept is also interesting in this direction. [Cohen, Mihalka, 2001]. Mihalka discusses the extended analysis of both cooperative security and attempts to apply a more solid theoretical foundation. In his opinion, if the ruling elites of the countries with different values agree on the common future of their states and consider, that joint efforts will benefit them more than playing alone, even they will be able to cooperate with each other. In addition, Mihalka says, that the possibility of cooperation of non-democratic countries is limited. They can successfully avoid wars with each other (as in the case of ASEAN), but they are not able to form a unified position regarding regional threats to stability. Mihalka argues, that the future success of cooperative security depends not only on the spread of liberal democracy, but also on deepening economic ties with non-democratic states, instilling a sense of a "security community", that aims to take into account the interests of all parties. Thus, unlike Cohen, Mihalka concludes, that cooperative security is possible even among the states, that share even a small amount of shared values.

At the same time, we should take into account the fact that even in the conditions of globalization of the information age, issues related to international security sometimes have a strongly expressed national subjective component. The reason is the fact, that each state is distinguished by its own national specificity of ensuring national security. In modern international relations, there are congruent and opposing interests of different levels of development.

2.Methodology

As a methodological function, the general theory of systems (Systems theory) can be considered as the most consistent one with the theory of national security, and therefore with international security, as it is based on a unified view of research objects, events or processes. It is the most universal and adequate method for both national security analysis and its research. Its object is represented by the same system and subsystems (a set of elements that interact with each other). The theory of national security solves the problems of stability, security, maintenance, and security of these systems under the influence of destructive forces (factors). The most important requirement of dialectics is the correct approach to reality, taking into account its mutually exclusive development and diverse connections.

Conflictology also performs a methodological function, since destructive actions develop in the creation and development of the social process, which are related to conflict situations to a certain extent. Both

international and national security systems cannot achieve the prevention of threats and risks without some informational and governance influence on the processes. Revealing and analyzing the contradictions of the practice and the theory on security issues underlie the entire research process, defining the nature of other methods. The relevance of historical and logical approaches is of particular importance for the theory of international security, as the theoretical analysis of problems is in constant connection with historical facts and the discussion of the history of views on dangers, threats and risks is based on certain theoretical models, including logical processing of the existing problems.

International security theory is inconceivable without the use of systematic analysis methods [Wilson, Hershey, 1996, p. 97-99]. The arsenal of these methods is quite wide and each method has its own advantages and disadvantages. Also they have a field of application, both in relation to the type of object and the stage of its research.

In the methodological framework of the research, we included the recently advanced direction, that national and international security issues obtained the character of a peculiar dialectical interdependence in the relationship. This has been facilitated by a certain blurring of the line between domestic and foreign policy in the conditions of unrestrained globalization initiated by the information age.

It is clear that in the 21st century, a separate country, including Georgia, is not able to provide its own national security "in a space enclosed in its own shell, if it does not get free from it". In this regard, we would like to draw attention to both Richard Cohen's concept and Michael Mihalka's version of collective security models. They have an innovative approach to collective security, collective defense and co-operation for a new generation of conflict resolution.

Another important direction of development of modern concepts of international security theory is a theoretical understanding of the word link "security-development nexus" [The Security-Development Nexus: Conflict, Peace and Development in the 21st Century, 2004]. In this regard, since the 90s of the 20th century the focus was shifted from state security to individual security and then its main slogan became "security through development, not weapons".

In general, the theoretical-methodological basis of the research is represented by the basic ideas and provisions of political sciences, international relations and national security theories, the methods of political analysis and synthesis, classification and systematization,

theoretical generalization, and description established in these scientific directions.

3.1. Objectives and main strategic orientations of foreign policy of Georgia.

Soviet isolationism separated Georgia from the unified processes of world development for many decades. After regaining independence, Georgia actually had to establish cooperation with many countries with which it had historically established relations. At the same time, the development trends of the information age require the intensification of the processes of cultural integration of Georgia with the world. Consequently, one of the main tasks of the foreign policy of the country is to create safe political conditions for such integration [Kuprashvili, 2019, p. 39].

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the main operator of the foreign policy course of the state of Georgia in international relations. However, other agencies are also involved in this direction (including the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development, etc.). They establish business relations with foreign states, international organizations and private firms within the scope of their competence.

At the modern stage of development, the main goals of foreign policy of Georgia is: to preserve state sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country; to resolve ethno-political conflicts and prevent potential conflicts; to identify sources of separatism and neutralize their actions; to establish norms of non-use of force and peaceful, non-confrontational international policy in the region; to promote and ensure membership of Georgia in both international organizations and structures; to conduct appropriate policies in international organizations and structures; to ensure national security of the country; to timely identify and neutralize possible actions directed against the security of Georgia; to protect both foreign political and economic interests; to inform the international community about the ongoing processes in Georgia; to provide information on foreign political actions of the country; to protect both the rights and interests of Georgian citizens abroad; to establish and strengthen relations with both Georgian diaspora and groups abroad that are friendly to Georgia.

The problems faced by the country can be solved only by creating an effective mechanism for monitoring and coordinating international relations of the country. This kind of mechanism does not imply the formation of a single administrative center of coordination. First of all, it is necessary to process the processes, that should cover all the main state institutions involved in international relations. They should ensure the

conceptual integration of the activities of these institutions within the framework of the unified strategy of the security of the country.

Therefore, in the process of integrating European and Euro-Atlantic structures into the political, socio-economic and security system, the main orientations of the government's policy can be:

1. Regulation of the intensity of the process of integration of the West, especially NATO and Europe, into the political, economic and security system in time, in accordance with the development of relations not only with Western countries, but also with other countries;

2. Pursuing a foreign policy that will minimize Georgia's vulnerability to Russia, including the possibility and effectiveness of Russia's pressure on Georgia's foreign policy;

3. Obtaining the political support of Western states, including Turkey;

4. Attracting economic and technical assistance from foreign countries;

5. Activation of efforts aimed at increasing the role and effectiveness of international institutions (especially in the field of security) in resolving regional conflicts and disagreements; Putting the problems of Georgia and the South Caucasus region on the agenda and bringing them to the forefront;

6. Deepening the dialogue with national minorities compactly settled in Georgia, as well as intensifying economic and social ties with them;

7. Perfection of the legislative system, which ensures the further development of the political system, the economy and the level of culture and management of the country, bringing them closer to Western standards;

8. Active participation of Georgia in both NATO programs and Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council;

9. Creation of conditions for active participation of Georgia in international peace events; Approaching the Georgian Armed

Forces to NATO standards and developing operational cooperation with NATO forces;

10. All kinds of promotion of conflict settlement and establishment of peace in the region, etc.

Today, it is vitally necessary for the state of Georgia to create appropriate conditions developing political, socio-economic and cultural relations with the countries of the world community and also establish an appropriate environment for integration of European and Euro-Atlantic structures into the political, socio-economic and security system.

3.2 Threats expected in the process of integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures

The goal of foreign policy of Georgia is to integrate the country into the Euro-Atlantic, European system of democratic states and establish itself in the European security, economic and other structures. This is considered to be an important condition, ensuring both the security and socio-economic well-being of the country. Therefore, the main strategic orientations of the foreign policy of modern Georgia are defined as follows:

1. Establishment of appropriate conditions for political, socio-economic and cultural relations with the states of the world community;

2. Proper integration of European and Euro-Atlantic structures into the political, socio-economic and security system;

3. Pursuing an active regional policy;

4. Ensuring the further development of foreign economic relations.

In our opinion, in the process of integration, the government's wrong policy may create factors hindering the integration process, which may lead to a general failure in the establishment of a democratic system. Inefficiency can hinder both the development of the market economy and the creation of a developed state management system. It is also extremely important to implement fundamental transformations in the judicial and education systems. The process of building a democratic state will be delayed, if the state does not make qualitative changes

Under the above mentioned conditions, the following expected threats must be taken into account:

1. 1. Russia's expected political pressure to change Georgia's foreign policy, bringing pro-Russian forces to power (covertly providing them with financial, information-technological other support in the elections);

2. Insufficient flexibility of foreign policy course of Georgia, which is due to weaknesses within the country;

3. On the one hand, the weakness of the country reduces the possibility of external influence on its foreign policy, and on the other hand, it strengthens the demands for solving foreign-political tasks based on urgent, short-term interests, which may contradict the long-term interests of integration process with European structures;

4. Strengthening of factors hindering the realization of political and economic interests of European states to Georgia, including: Domestic threats: political instability; strong activities of separatism; Lack of democratic control system over the armed forces of the country; Insecurity of both European standards providing democratic processes and the legal system development of the country; The weaknesses of the economy, its structural underdevelopment, increasing the costs of the West for the economic integration of Georgia. External threats: unstable regional environment; Ehnic and territorial conflicts; The increase in the political price of Georgia's integration with Europe, caused by the global conflict in the world; Ignoring interests of Georgia in the distribution of spheres of influence between Russia and North Atlantic Alliance; The unformedness of the consistent foreign policy of Russia, based on its own national interests, towards its bordering state of Georgia; The existence of lobbying mechanisms of strong anti-Georgian interest groups in Russia's foreign policy; The existence of forces uncontrolled by the central government in the southern regions of Russia (for example, Kadyrov's Chechen clan) which may pose a threat to security of Georgia; Russia's concern about Georgia due to the increased interest of Western states and, especially, Turkey; Russia's attempt to minimize Georgia's political choice; Disagreements between Russia and Georgia regarding the protection of the state border of Georgia.

It is clear, that a pragmatic orientation and correctly selected information technology should determine the structure of international security, reflecting both the rational foundations and main components of foreign

policy of Georgia. We mean the system of indicators, which will enable the country to identify expected relevant threats.

3.3. System of national security indicators in the integration component

As is known, the state is a single public organism - a whole system consisting of many subsystems, including political, economic, legislative, social, spiritual subsystems. Each of them has its own system of specific interests. Sometimes they may contradict basic material and spiritual values. These contradictions can create sources of threats to both the sphere of relations of security subsystems and the security of the country, including the whole set of vital interests of man and society. In order to create an objective opportunity to observe, to manage and to influence these processes, the state should classify all these relations into groups, owning both essential characteristics and regularities of further development and will be subject to a systematic, problem-based analysis. Accordingly, it became necessary to classify the entire relations of security into certain subsystems. The study of these processes in each separate subsystem provides an opportunity to identify the contradictions, that can contribute to the formation of danger, including in its most dangerous forms.

Each country determines its own priority subsystem (type of national security) in the unified system of ensuring national security. Countries determine their priorities based on many factors (current level of development of the country, domestic and foreign factors, geopolitical realities, international situation at the global or regional levels, etc.). However, there are several main aspects and their negligence can lead to a rapid collapse of the state. These aspects are essentially a priority for almost all states [MacFarlane, 2012]. They are: state security, economic security, public security, military security, informational security, international security, etc. Any classification of national security must be based on one of the most important uniform characteristics. Many aspects depend on the quality of the system of indicators reflecting the state of the current and past processes of ensuring international security and forecasting expected changes [Kuprashvili, 2022].

The state of foreign policy, its development trends, which represent the basis of the country's security, require constant observation and analysis by the government.

In the field of foreign relations, it is of great importance to perfect the coordination of political activities of all state agencies operating in the field

of foreign affairs in order to implement a unified security policy of the country; Aspects of protection of state interests of these actions should be combined in a single conceptual system; These aspects cannot become a subject of personal understanding and interpretation of individual state agencies and their heads. This fundamental problem should be discussed and resolved at state level. On the one hand, high socio-political activity of public life and the full participation in international exchange is unimaginable without the wide participation of various state and public institutions. On the other hand, conducting international relations independently in the form of local directions will create the danger of replacing security interests of the state with narrow sectoral or departmental interests.

In order to form a system of international security criteria, it is necessary to distinguish the essential characteristics of the security situation, which are the basis of these indicators. In turn, the main characteristics of the international security situation usually reflect the driving forces. Their activities are aimed at achieving and maintaining the protection of vital interests of the country [Kuprashvili, 2021, p. 87].

The system of national security indicators can be formed based on the characteristics of the security factors of this process in the component of integration of European and Euro-Atlantic structures into the political, socio-economic and security system. Based on the formation of the system of security criteria, it is necessary to distinguish the essential characteristics of the security situation, which are the basis of these indicators. Accordingly, the indicator of this process (which is an indicator of the level of achievement of the goal) can be the following: the reaction of the official Russian authorities, influential political and scientific circles, public opinion regarding the process of rapprochement of Eastern and Central European countries, former Soviet republics, including Georgia, with Euro-Atlantic structures and Western European Unions; It could also be: Coverage of this process by Russian news media; tightening of Russia's foreign policy towards Georgia; Attempts to destabilize the internal political situation in Georgia and to aggravate the situation in areas inhabited by non-Georgian ethnic groups; Activation of foreign agency network activities in the country; Increasing various kinds of political provocations; Strengthening the economic influence of Russia on Georgia; The position of the Russian authorities, governmental and private structures, political parties, representatives of scientific circles, mass media in relation to Georgia and the Georgian people, the current events in Georgia; The attitude of the population, authorities, law enforcement agencies, organized political groups, mass media towards Georgian citizens and people who have Georgian origin and live in Russia; The attitude of

Russian government towards the activities related to Georgia by some political parties and private structures of the country, which do not correspond to the official position of both the state and the long-term interests of Russia; The volume of Russian private capital investments in Georgia;

The nature of the interdependence of political imperatives and the economic initiative of the private sector of Russia towards Georgia; The development of public trends within the country that do not correspond to foreign policy of Georgia aimed at integration with NATO and Europe; The increase of interest of the unions operating in the field of economy, security and defense of Western and, first of all, European countries towards Georgia; Orientation of the policy of financial, material and technical assistance from the European Union towards Georgia and other countries of the region; The nature of the political support of Georgia from USA, EU and Turkey; The intensity of participation of both Western countries and transnational corporations in the utilization of resources and markets in Georgia and, in general, in the South Caucasus region; The intensity of individual military cooperation with NATO and also with the countries of the alliance (first of all, with Turkey); The strictness of the requirements for the countries wishing to join the European Union and NATO; The progress of the NATO expansion process, especially in relation to the former Soviet republics (Ukraine); The commitment of alliance to its declared principle, implying the continuity of the expansion process and so on.

It is very important to refine the classification of indicators of the level of goal achievement. They will enable us to evaluate the quality of international security provision based on the given criteria, to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the current process. The above mentioned aspects will show us clearly the ways to achieve concrete results in the provision of international security. The urgency of processing security parameters is due to the need to assess the situation created in the process of protecting and implementing vital interests of the country. This will allow us to make both the right decisions and an appropriate assessment of documents, concepts, normative-legal acts in the field of foreign policy activities.

4. Conclusion

The basis of international security is active international cooperation, observance of norms and principles of international law generally recognized by all states, joint action against new threats, risks and challenges of modern times ensuring international security. At the same

time, it should be taken into account, that aspiration to resolve relations may not be in line with national interests and problems of national identity. Sometimes these circumstances may lead to a different understanding of the phenomenon of security itself.

In order to prevent expected threats, the implementation of national security tasks in the field of foreign relations requires to ensure the principled agreement of international activities in all local directions with the foreign-political course of the state, which should be based on a complex understanding of the long-term security interests of Georgia.

Both perfection of the indicator classification of the level of goal achievement and the use of the main criteria allow us to determine whether the vision of both the heads of the state government and management bodies is adequate or not. The existing parameters contribute to the accuracy of the scientific examination of the implemented transformations (which is the basis to study problems and manage society, the control mechanism for both making and implementing political decisions). It is a means to study the problems and manage society,reflecting various aspects regarding the dynamics of prevention of expected threats and provision of international security.

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MODERN CHALLENGES OF GEORGIA'S INTEGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Abstract

The article researches and analyzes the modern risks and challenges of Georgia's integration into the European Union. The process of the Europeanization of Georgian political thought is discussed from a historical perspective and the factors causing the problem that arose for Georgia during its relations with Europe are identified; The stages of relations between the EU and Georgia and the involvement of Georgia in integral projects of the EU are evaluated; The Russian factor on Georgia's European integration path is highlighted - on the one hand, the correlation between the Russian-Georgian war and the acceleration of Georgia's European integration process, which was expressed in the positive response of the EU to the Eastern Partnership initiative; And on the other hand, between the Russia-Ukraine war and the subsequent activation of the EU, due to which the chances of full integration in the EU became much higher for Georgia. The beginning has already appeared - new perspectives have risen in Georgia-EU relations - in the form of Georgia's European perspective; In the organization, the level of "securitization" of foreign policy in the EU has increased and geopolitical priorities have been raised, the conversations regarding the issue of EU expansion have become more active. The paper discusses the current theoretical discourses in the EU regarding the organization's refinement and change of the cooperation mechanisms that hinder the expansion of the EU and evaluates the possible impact of this evolution on Georgia's EU accession policy.

Keywords: European Union, European choice of Georgia, European integration, geopolitics, enlargement, neighbourhood policy, Eastern Partnership Initiative, Association Agreement, Associate Trio, Georgia's European perspective, polarization, decline of democracy.

1. Introduction

Relevance of the research topic: The research and analysis of the process of Europeanization of Georgian political thought and strategies for avoiding authoritarianism are particularly relevant in the process of integration of the Georgian state into the main institutional structure of Europe.

The firm, unconditional and steadfast belief in the aspiration of the Georgian people towards Europe is based on the historically established feeling of the European self-identification of the Georgian people – this statement is provided by the retrospective analysis of the Europeanization of Georgian political thought. Accordingly, the aim of joining the EU for our country was reflected not only in the resolution of the Parliament of Georgia and the government program, but it also became a constitutional obligation.

The Russia-Ukraine war has opened a new window for Georgia's European integration, where defining Georgia's principled position is of crucial importance in terms of giving it a qualitatively new economic and political perspective. This war provoked a series of political discourses about the further evolution of the EU and the possible effects of this evolution on Georgia's EU accession policy. These discourses became even more active by the decision of the European Council on June 23, 2022, to grant Georgia a European perspective, which led to the strengthening of expectations among the population to match the priority of Georgia's European integration.

The purpose of the article is to activate this discourse, to analyze the dynamics of the development of Georgia-EU relations, and to study the modern challenges of the integration process of Georgia into the EU.

Theoretical framework. The theory of historical institutionalism has been used as the theoretical framework of the article, in particular the thesis of institutional isomorphism of Powell and Di Maggio, which implies the indirect influence of one or another actor on the process of institution transformation. Through this theory, we show how the EU has an indirect effect on the isomorphism of the national institutional system of the Georgian state, which is in the process of advancing with the union.

Methodology. The methodological framework of the article is the descriptive method. According to the presented format, we think that the descriptive method will help to achieve the goals we have set.

Literature Review. In the article, we will discuss relevant international documents, publications, speeches, statements, articles, and other data; The works of Georgian and foreign scientists, namely: Matsaberidze M., Asatiani L., Gogolashvili, K., Chikovani N., Sabanadze N., Nemsadze G,. Briskus, I. Boreli J., Kaufman F., Haggard D. etc., we will also discuss materials from the internet and periodicals relating to the research topic.

2. Georgia's European Choice in Historical Retrospective

The retrospective analysis of the Europeanization of Georgian political thought reveals that Georgia's European choice has deep historical roots. Although Georgia has historically always experienced the reinforcement of Eastern culture, which was significantly reflected in its style, external form and facade, the content has always remained Georgian, and in terms of national consciousness and the social development of the society, the vital values - the ideas of freedom, equality and unity - were of national origin and completely different from Asian values.

In this context, we will highlight Georgia during the Renaissance, which was an advanced European country in terms of human rights protection. Georgia was one of the first to create the "Ombudsman Institute" - a public door that provided a way to appeal various types of misconduct. Even during the reign of Tamar, "severance of limb" or mutilation was prohibited - something that was written only later in one of the amendments to the US Constitution - the prohibition of "use of cruel or unusual punishment".

Later, Kurtlu Arslan's political group demanded the establishment of an "Isani tent'', which should have been a permanent institution equipped with legislative rights similar to the parliament. If the classical generalizations of the distribution of power problem belong to Hobbes and Montesquieu in human political thought, Georgian political thought is the prologue of this generalization. Unfortunately, due to the misfortune of the historical development and the geopolitical location, the democratic development trend of the society was prematurely eased and Georgia stopped its natural development. Throughout the Middle Ages, politically, Georgia was a member of the Islamic world, but according to the general opinion, all this happened against the internal beliefs of Georgia. Its main goal was to build a bridge to the west again, which at the same time was thought of as a return to the country's true nature.

This was the goal of the Georgian writer and lexicographer Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's trip to the French king Louis XIV. Sulkhan-Saba tried to convert Georgia to the Catholic faith with the hope that the West would

be more willing to protect the Catholic country. Unfortunately, this visit was unsuccessful (Matsaberidze, 2019).

The Georgian political thought of the second half of the 18th century was saturated with the ideas of the French Enlightenment. David Bagrationi, the heir of Giorgi XII who was the last king of Kartl-Kakheti, was particularly influenced by Voltaire. He had a picture of Voltaire hanging in his room and recognized him as his teacher. David Bagrationi was the one who translated "The Spirit of Laws" by Montesquieu into Georgian (Asatiani, Voltaireanism in Georgia., 1933). The brilliant work of Alexander Amilakhvari - "The Sage of the Orient" was created under the influence of Montesquieu's "The Spirit of Laws" (Essays from the History of Georgia, 1973).

Despite the sympathy of Georgian political opinion towards the West, based on the configuration of world political forces at that time, Georgia was not included in the sphere of political interests of the West. That is why our European road passed through Russia and European ideas started coming to Georgia through Russia. The national idea in the 19th century was brought to Georgia by reciting the texts of German idealism and romantic poets which were translated into Russian.

From the second half of the 19th century, Georgian political thinking revolved entirely within the framework of European ideas and doctrines. European ideologies spread in Georgia and the influence of socialist ideas was especially significant. The Europeanization of Georgian political thought created the basis that made it possible to bring ideologies and movements developed on European soil to Georgia, and then to try to establish a democratic political culture and build a democratic state (Matsaberidze, 2019).

„You are aware that the paths of Georgia and Russia diverged. Our path leads to Europe, and Russia - to Asia. I know the enemies will say that we are on the side of the imperialists. That's why I have to state here: I prefer Western imperialists to the Eastern fanatics" - writes the Head of State of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, Noe Jordania (Jijeishvili & Chkhikvishvili, 2019).

The point of view of a famous figure of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, Gr. Lortkifanidze is also noteworthy: "Georgia's cultural and civilizational orientation was firmly directed towards Europe. This policy is the traditional-historical aspiration of the Georgian people", he noted, "Georgia, which was pruned in Asia with its Christian culture always represented a part of Europe rather than Asia. Georgia was and still is aware

that, at least for now, the worst Europe is better than the best Asia" (Lortkipanidze, 1995).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the members of the symbolist poets' group "Blue Horns" started talking about the "return" of Georgia to the European civilization, and not about moving towards modern Europe. Their motto was "Towards the West" (Briscoe, 2017).

"The closeness between educated Europe and us did not arise in two or three years. Things were much better in the distant past; Our ancestors, forgotten by us, read Plato in Georgian, and we can say that they founded their school of Greek philosophy," wrote Paolo Iashvili, one of the leaders of "Blue Horns" (Iashvili, 1995).

One of the most solid documents confirming our Europeanness is the first constitution of Georgia created during the independence of Georgia (1918-1921), which entered the top ten European constitutions and is recognized as one of the most democratic constitutions in terms of legal regulations of democratic principles. Unfortunately, this constitution only existed for 3 days, because Georgia was occupied and annexed by the Soviet forces. After the establishment of Soviet power, according to the official doctrine, for 70 years it was believed that the socialist future was in Asia.

During "perestroika" the idea of returning to Europe as in a common home was turned up once again. After the restoration of Georgia's independence, active conversations about Georgia's significant contribution to the formation and development of Western civilization started again, as Georgia was one of the first European countries to recognize Christianity as a state religion and Christian values are considered one of the necessary components of European identification.

"I am Georgian and, therefore, I am European" - this phrase, which was said by Zurab Zhvania during the reception at the European Council in Strasbourg has a great political weight. Behind this political statement lies the problem of the political, historical and cultural foundations of Georgia's Europeanness. The Europeanness of Georgia does not mean the geographical location, but the sharing of European values by the population of this country and orientation towards these values.

During a lecture at Tbilisi State University by the director of the Luxembourg Institute of European Studies, Armand Kless, six criteria were named to clarify the European identity of Georgia, which are the basis of European integration - politics, economy, strategy, geography, culture and religion. The economy unambiguously rejects our belonging to the

European space, as it represents the majority of developed industrial countries as the West (by this sign, Japan is also considered a member of the EU), according to the geographical criterion, it is arguable whether Georgia is part of Europe. As for the other four criteria, they make Georgia within Europe (Chikovani, 2005). Thus, not only the European self-identification of the Georgian people but also the idea of belonging to the European civilization of Georgia is confirmed according to the majority of the above-mentioned criteria.

It lies in our history that we should look for such an unshakable, unconditional and firm belief in the aspiration of the Georgian people towards Europe, which always, both historically and in modern practice, has consistently high support; Another confirmation of this fact is the polls conducted on April 25, 2023, according to which the population's support for joining the EU was 89% (IRI, 2023).

3. The Road to EU Candidate Status

The beginning of relations between independent Georgia and European structures dates back to May 1993, when the trade and transport ministers of the South Caucasus and Central Asian states gathered in Brussels, together with the leaders of the EU and adopted a declaration on the implementation of the transregional transport corridor development program.

It should be noted that Georgia was the initiator of the "Brussels Declaration'' adoption, specifically in using the transit potential of the newly independent post-Soviet countries with joint forces. To convince the Europeans and some regional partners that such close cooperation was necessary (the EU did not formally exist at that time, since the Maastricht Treaty entered into force a few months later, in November), Georgia had to make some diplomatic efforts, as at that time Europeans were not interested in Georgia for several reasons: firstly, Georgia did not have many lobbyist countries within the EU, such as Finland, which played a major role in creating the northern dimension of the EU's foreign policy, or Spain, which contributed to the so-called creation of the "Barcelona Process", which defined EU's relations with the Mediterranean countries; Secondly, taking into account the geographical distance, the ongoing bloody conflicts in Georgia did not represent a direct threat to the EU; Thirdly, the EU was not a global player, and at the same time, it did not have a long historical experience of political relations with Georgia (Mirziashvili & Chkhikvadze, 2014).

One of the first programs of the EU, which brought a lot of benefits to Georgia from the economic and socio-political point of view since 1994, was "TACIS", which was followed by the first steps taken in 1996 to establish contractual relations between Georgia and the EU - the partnership and cooperation agreement (PCA) was signed, which entered into force in 1999. A legal and institutional framework for cooperation between the two parties was created, the main common goals were defined and political dialogue was started in several fields, however, the partnership and cooperation agreement was aimed more at helping Georgia in the post-Soviet transformation process, rather than something more ambitious.

In general, before 2004, the relations between the EU and Georgia were represented as the relations between the donor and the recipient. During this period, the EU had already provided aid for 450 million euros to Georgia and was the largest donor along with the USA (Gegeshidze, 2018).

The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) was developed in 2004. It includes sixteen states: Azerbaijan, Moldova, Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Palestine, Egypt, Algeria, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Libya, Syria, Tunisia and Morocco. Four of them - Syria, Libya, Belarus and Algeria - participate only partially. Its main objective is to welcome new member states into its membership, to avoid the formation of dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its neighbouring countries, and to support stability and prosperity.

Georgia's invitation to participate in the European Neighborhood Policy was mainly a result of the „Rose Revolution''. Although the main foreign-political priority of the new government was membership in NATO, institutional integration in the EU was also clearly on the agenda. The Office of the Minister of State for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration was created, which was determined to provide interdepartmental coordination in the direction of relations with the EU.

At the same time, several loud statements were made by top leaders: for example, President Saakashvili directly announced that Georgia would join the EU within the next presidential term, that was, in 2009-2013 (Gegeshidze, Georgia in the Wider Europe Context: Bridging Divergent Interpretations, Policy Analyses, 2006). The European flag began to fly over all state institutions. It should be noted that while working on the "Neighborhood Policy'' action plan, the Georgian side insisted on including the prospect of EU membership in the preamble.

Although this attempt was unsuccessful, unlike in the previous period, joining the organisation has turned from a wish to an ambition. This

ambition, in turn, was nourished by clearly articulated support based on increased public expectations. Even though „neighbourhood policy'' meant the modernization of Georgia as a state, which was aimed at bringing the political, legal and administrative systems closer to European standards, it excluded any connection with EU membership. This was not quite agreeable in Tbilisi.

Instead, the so-called Singaporeanization model of development was not agreeable in Brussels, which was essentially based on the libertarian vision of the new government and did not always fit with the reform agenda provided by the „Neighborhood Policy'' action plan (Gogolashvili, 2017).

The Russian-Georgian war of 2008 radically changed the situation in this regard. It is true that despite the risks from Russia, the EU has not changed its foreign strategy at the global level - it has not stopped the policy of engagement, which was based on the view that Europe's security could only be achieved together with Russia, not by confronting it (European Council, 2016), although, it still made some geopolitical conclusions concerning Georgia - accelerated the integration process, which to some extent led to the positive response of the EU to the Eastern Partnership Initiative (EaP) in 2008 after the war. In 2013, the Georgia-EU Association Agreement initiative, including the deep and comprehensive free trade component, entered into force on July 1, 2016.

According to the 1135-page document of the agreement, Georgia has set a goal to dynamically harmonize its legislation with the EU legislation. According to this agreement, the legislation of Georgia should approximate the 647 regulations, directives and recommendations of the EU until 2029. On December 31, 2029, Georgia should complete the process of harmonizing its legislation with the European Parliament's 2009 and European Council's Regulation 1005/2009, relating to the substances that disband the ozone layer (Namoradze, 2021).

It should be noted that at the beginning of the relations, the EU considered Georgia in a regional context, instead of developing an individual policy with the country. When the EU was defining the priorities in Transcaucasia, they did not take into account the self-identification of Georgia, according to which it culturally and historically belongs to Europe, has always been outstanding among the states of the South Caucasus with European aspirations, and since the day of independence, the European idea has never been devalued; While the other two states of the South Caucasus region - Armenia and Azerbaijan - were quite inconsistent in defining their self-identification - Armenia was officially a strategic partner of Russia, while Azerbaijan maintained a balanced

relationship with both Russia and the West. This fact was creating some inconvenience.

If we make an in-depth analysis, these approaches of the EU were not surprising, as historically, if we consider the waves of expansion of the organization, almost every time several countries joined the Union at the same time, since the interest of the EU was mainly in the regions, and not in a specific country. The exception was Greece (1981) and the seventh enlargement in 2013 when only Croatia joined the EU. Therefore, at the right moment, Georgia made a very rational decision and applied for EU membership together with Moldova and Ukraine as a member of the Association Trio. Accordingly, on June 23, 2022, by the decision taken at the summit of the leaders of the EU member states in Brussels, Georgia was given a European perspective and conditions for obtaining the candidate status.

4. The Russia-Ukraine war, the new agenda of the European Union and the new perspectives of Georgia's European integration

Russia's full-scale and aggressive war against Ukraine has changed the European security agenda. Nowadays, the EU has been able to fully understand and recognize the tension of political power competition in the region and the threat that Russia poses to the EU - not only to the security of Europe but also to its political identity.

The fundamental question is: How should the EU respond to this challenge in a way that can avoid a collapse of European security and further escalation? The EU has responded to this question by changing its strategy – the EU's policy towards Russia has changed from engagement to isolation and containment, revising its "Russia first" approach and prioritizing partners and allies (Meister, 2022).

After the start of the Russia-Ukraine war, on November 23, 2022, the European Parliament heard the report of the Croatian MEP Tonino Pikula on "New EU Enlargement Strategy" and adopted the text of the resolution with a large majority of votes. It is a fact that the adoption of this type of resolution was determined by the ongoing war in Ukraine and the consolidated position of the West regarding this war. The EU has ended the policy of compromises with Moscow in the common neighbourhood. EU leaders crossed a red line - from mixed and ambiguous messages that left Ukraine in a grey buffer zone to strategic unity.

According to the speech of the High Representative of the EU, Joseph Borrell, "Putin's war laid the foundation for geopolitical Europe" (Borrell, 2022). The EU responded to the Russian aggression against Ukraine with unusual speed, imposing sanctions, maintaining unity, revitalizing the transatlantic partnership and taking steps to strengthen its energy independence and defence capabilities.

Offering candidate status to Ukraine and Moldova, and the prospect of candidate status to Georgia is perhaps the most geopolitical decision the EU has made in response to Putin's war.

By accepting Russia's geopolitical challenge, the interests of Georgia and the EU suddenly found themselves in a rare alignment.

We have already talked about the European self-identification and interests of Georgia in relation to the EU; As for the interests of the EU towards Georgia - for the organization, Georgia, with its location and political proximity, is gradually becoming more valuable. Additionally, the example of Georgia's potential accession to the EU and successful transformation could have a demonstrative effect on the South Caucasus countries and strengthen the EU's ability to project its influence even as far as Central Asia. Given China's growing influence in Central Asia, this may also affect relations with the country.

In the conditions of such a rare coincidence of interests, Georgia's historical desire to join the EU received a significant boost. Considering this factor, on March 3, 2022, Georgia applied to join the EU in an accelerated manner, where, together with Ukraine and Moldova, demanded to be granted candidate status. As known, the Georgian government was planning to do this in 2024. Until now, Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova were moving at the same pace on the path of integration with the EU. They signed association agreements and also received visa-free access to the EU at the same time.

According to Dmytro Kuleba (Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine), Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova represent an important force for European integration regarding the development of the Eastern Partnership and regional security. The three named states together are very powerful. (Nemsadze, 2022). In 2021, in Kyiv, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and Moldova signed a memorandum on the establishment of the "Associated Trio". By signing this memorandum, 3 of the 6 member states of the Eastern Partnership - Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine - clearly stated that their future is in Europe and their goal is to become a member of the EU. The creation of the Association Trio was a kind of statement that there

was no other alternative to European integration for the three signatory countries. With the formation of this unity, the EU also realized that it should accept these three countries as a feasible project to achieve peace and prosperity in the EU (European Council, 2022).

Although we are not inferior to Ukraine and Moldova in terms of "approximation", by the decision of the European Council of June 23, 2022, Ukraine and Moldova were granted the status of candidate for EU membership, and Georgia was granted the European perspective.

According to the statement of the President of the European Commission, Ukraine surprised Europe in wartime with the efficiency of its state administration, the high degree of decentralization and the ability of local governments to make independent decisions. According to European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen and European Commissioner Oliver Warhel, despite many complaints towards Moldova, the new leadership gives hope that the country will overcome all the problems (Gogolashvili, 2022).

Regarding both countries, it was noted that the European Commission trusts their governments and finds it easy to cooperate with them. In the case of Georgia, the European Commission did not express such an attitude. The EU has defined 12 conditions for Georgia to be fulfilled to obtain the status of a candidate for membership of the EU, among which are: overcoming political polarization, proper functioning of institutions and their independence, real independence and impartiality of the court, effective investigation of cases of elite corruption, de-oligarchization, free media environment, etc.

Unlike Ukraine and Moldova, in the case of Georgia, leadership was less acceptable for the EU. The rhetoric of the Georgian government, the dynamics of the internal political system development and the foreign position regarding the war in Ukraine are strikingly similar to the rhetoric and position of Mr Orbani. Georgia made the EU's Hungarian problem more visible, which damaged both the internal unity of the EU and its foreign policy reputation and reliability (Sabanadze, 2022). The case of Georgia shows a clear correlation between populism, high levels of political polarization and the decline of democracy. Populism serves to strengthen public support and transform criticism from abroad into an affront to national sovereignty. Political polarization contributes to the radicalization of leading political parties and the collapse of civil discourse. The scientific literature supports these findings and clearly shows that almost all examples of reversals are characterized by a remarkable history of polarization (Haggard &Kaufman, 2021).

Thus, the EU has faced certain dilemmas: on the one hand, it needs to ensure that the EU effectively overcomes hybrid authoritarianism and can prevent the backsliding of democracy; But it is also important that, at the same time, in response to the geopolitical challenge with Russia, it should carry out the strategic transformation of the EU, increase the degree of "securitization" of foreign policy and raise geopolitical priorities.

- After the Russia-Ukraine war, the latter was actively discussed in the format of political discourses. If the enlargement process in the EU was slowed down for two decades, the EU member states seemed to be overwhelmed and tired of the enlargement process, after the war, the organization began to focus on improving the mechanisms. The organization tries to change within itself the mechanisms that hinder the enlargement of the EU:

- This refers to the decision-making process for joining the EU, including the issues of enlargement. If, so far, the decisions in the European Council and the Council of the EU were taken by full consensus, now they can be taken by a majority of 65% of the population of the EU countries; The progress of some countries on the path of European integration is hindered precisely because of this rule: If even one country opposes the granting of candidate status to the particular country or the opening of negotiations for the granting of candidate status to that country, then no decision will be made. This was the case with North Macedonia when they were denied candidate status for a long time because Greece believed that North Macedonia had appropriated the name of its province. For the second time, the opening of accession talks has become difficult for North Macedonia due to Bulgaria's opposition. Bulgaria believes that the Macedonian language does not exist, North Macedonia speaks Bulgarian, and therefore demands this issue to be recorded. To avoid problems in the EU expansion issues, the EU is actively speaking about establishing the rule of majority decision-making.

- At the same time, a decision can be made without resolving regional conflicts.

- There is a discussion about allocating more aid to the countries wishing to join the EU from the specific funds of the Union. Even before joining, this kind of approach will equalize the level of development of the EU candidate country, both in the economic and social spheres, as well as in science, education, in the context of energy security and so on. Such an approach will contribute

not only to the rapprochement and Europeanization of certain countries with Europe but also to the development of the country in general. Before that, the candidate countries did not have access to the structural funds of the EU (Gogolashvili, 2022).

Of course, these changes will benefit Georgia as well. As a result of democratic reforms, it will be able to join the EU much more easily than before; Otherwise, Georgia, like Azerbaijan, will remain a politically important partner country for the EU. Georgia will be economically important in the context of the Eurasian transit corridor, there may be security cooperation, but the country will have little prospect of joining the EU.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The ongoing war in Ukraine has forced the EU to recognize the tensions of political competition in the region and the threat that Russia poses to the security and political identity of the EU. By accepting Russia's geopolitical challenge, the organization increased the degree of "securitization" of foreign policy, raised geopolitical priorities, and began talking about improving the mechanisms of EU expansion. As a result of these processes, the EU opened the prospect of membership to the countries of the Eastern neighbourhood, including Georgia. The beginning is already visible - new prospects have appeared in Georgia-EU relations - in the form of Georgia's European perspective, however, to obtain candidate status, the European Commission defined 12 recommendations in June 2022, which, according to them, was caused by depolarization (European Council conclusions on Ukraine, the membership applications of Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and Georgia, Western Balkans and external relations, 2022). However, the commission did not specify how to achieve this goal in the structural conditions of hybrid authoritarianism, the pillar of which is polarization. Of course, finding a solution is the task of the Georgian political elites. However, in our opinion,

- It is desirable to specify what kind of changes are expected by the EU. In the context of polarization, ambiguity is often misunderstood and becomes a source of further division between parties. The facts show that polarization, which is not unique only to Georgia, is often exacerbated by illiberal majoritarian rule and is ultimately classified as a move back from democracy.

- To stop the decline of democracy, the organization should change the paradigm, and develop a system of indicators and alarm

signals, which will facilitate the detection of democracy decline at an early stage. Election observers can emphasize the political urgency of coalition rule and the importance of consensus building, pay more attention to safeguarding independent institutions, checks and balances systems, and step-by-step assessments consisting of early warning elements and highlighting possible unpleasant consequences.

- Establishing an attractive policy on conditionality is the key importance for clear, strategic communication with the population. As Georgia's aspiration towards the EU has always had a consistently high level of support, both historically and in modern practice, therefore, if the EU uses the right communication strategy, it should be relatively easy to convince the public of the need to meet the conditions set by the EU and to put pressure on the governments to strictly adhere to the EU criteria and respect its values.

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EUROPEAN UNION: BORDERS AND ENLARGEMENT AFTER THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE

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Abstract

The European Union is an international organisation that is constantly evolving and enlarging. Since its inception sixty-five ago, it has accomplished seven rounds of enlargement. It has identified seven states – Albania, Moldova, the Republic of North Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey and Ukraine as official candidates for membership. Several more European states have declared their intention to join and are working towards achieving candidate status. Despite the United Kingdom's withdrawal, the organisation has retained its attraction. The war in Ukraine has focused the attention of Brussels on its eastern and south-eastern borders, adding an unprecedented security and defence dimension to be considered not only for existing member states but those countries aspiring to be future members. This paper identifies the dynamics at play in this volatile period and the challenges and processes facing extending the borders of the European Union.

Keywords: European Union, Enlargement, War in Ukraine, Ukraine, Georgia

1. Introduction

The need for definitions of European identity and its borders is noticeably frequent in most disciplines dealing with Europe. Regarding the legal dimension, there has been much debate concerning which path the EU should take to advance the federalisation process or adapt to the increasingly serious challenges it faces. Many studies have been conducted on the various aspects concerning European integration: basic issues of constitutional law, such as the sources of law, the form of state and government, rights and specific issues relating to individual sectors, such as environment, agriculture, public services, and financial markets to name but a few.

The central debate concerns the question of the future of the Union: how to renew institutions, increase the level of participation and awareness of citizens, and find an acceptable balance in the relationship between state sovereignty and supranational order. These themes are linked to a fundamental question: a vision of Europe that one has and from which one starts formulating the various political, institutional, and social ideas and developments. Which Europe - which model of Europe - to pursue is the choice to be made a priori, after which all the institutional constructs can be derived utilising various forms of integration.

However, as in the past, it is now a question of choosing a Europe of States or peoples but of understanding how to advance the institutional system with tools that allow it to act effectively towards its internal components and in the external dimension. In this regard, it is necessary to understand the criteria for enlargement and the nature of European identity, to study its characteristics in-depth and deduce its cultural, juridical, institutional, and social foundations.

The identity of Europe is not as is assumed unitary. However, it is a plural identity, constituted in a seamless dialectic between distinct factors which have entered relationships with each other, both from the chronological point of view, harmonisation between experiences and ideas of the ancient world and events and concepts of the Modern, both shining a light on the borders - both geographic and cultural - of the Old Continent.

This composite identity has shaped a story of unity and commonality of very close values (Manners, 2006). One must read the history of the European continent as an alternation of moments of unity and fragmentation followed in a continuous dialectic, each leaving a legacy which has enriched that plural fabric which is the matrix of Europe as it is known today. Such a matrix created a system of values that united all the Member States and remained the main tool to distinguish what Europe was from what it was not. All until Brexit. The idea of Europe was born out of binary contrast with what was beyond, on the perimeter, what was different: Greeks and Persians, Romans and Barbarians, Western and Eastern, Christian and Muslim (Pagden and Lee, 2002).

Similarly, today the borders of Europe are becoming less geographical and delimited, an area sharing common constitutional values and democracy (Schimmelfennig, 2010). Such identification is equivalent to listing the characteristics of European integration. The EU has been able, especially since the end of the Cold War, to propose itself as a collector, catalyst, and creator of a uniform system of rights and values inherited and re-proposed in a new guise to the Member States (Sjursen, 2007).

States such as Georgia that currently desire to accede to the Union find themselves having to adopt this system of values: hence the study of the requirements that they must meet to join reflects what member states already have, which the European institutions consider as fundamental for the European order, allows one to understand the nature and the contents of these values fully.

2. Enlargement

The life of any regional organisation is made up of two contrasting dimensions, different and complementary. In the case of European integration, this has been characterised as deepening and widening (Smith and Wallace,1994). While the first indicates the deepening of the integration process, the extension of the collaboration between states to new sectors and a greater commitment to cooperation itself, the second term focuses on expanding the social base of the states that are part of the organisation. Hence, one of the challenges of the integration process is to make sure that one does not occur at the expense of the other.

The enlargement of the European Union is the process whereby new nations apply to become a part of the European Union through an agreed legislative adjustment path. This is possible thanks to the extension of the contents of the constitutive treaties of the three European Communities. From the six founding states of the European Communities, the number of member states has steadily grown, and other European states have negotiations underway to join the Union.

While respecting the limits imposed by the continent's geography, the Union tends to include third countries to strengthen further and extend the achievement of such goals as peace, stability, and improvement of living conditions under the guise of which it was founded (Joffé, 2008). Each enlargement also enhances a broad cultural activity and linguistics, a distinctive aspect of the European Union. In terms of the EU, enlargement is a permanent process.

In 1957, six countries founded the European Economic Community (EEC), which formed the origin of the European Union: Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The European Communities and then the European Union gradually grew to fifteen members from these six founding members in 1995. Then, in 2004, with a great enlargement: 10 countries entered the EU simultaneously - Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Malta and Cyprus. They were joined in 2007 by Romania and Bulgaria, then in 2013 by Croatia.

For the past decade, the central question has been raised: Can the European Union still expand? This question is posed as "enlargement fatigue" has set in and, for the first time, an EU Member State, the United Kingdom, has left the European Union (Szolucha, 2010). The major enlargement of 2004 is at the origin of a "fatigue" of enlargement, which marked a halt to the benefit, in particular, of the neighbourhood policy. Although the enlargement, crowned by the great enlargement to the East, has come to a halt since 2013, it is nonetheless a living process based on a proven negotiation method that could lead to the accession of new Western Balkan and Black Sea States (O'Brennan, 2014).

After expanding very gradually until 1995, the European Union was able to expand to the East from 2004 to 2013, thanks to the fall of the Iron Curtain. The EU's continued enlargement has halted, sparked by questions about its ability to expand further after the so-called 2004-2007 "big bang" (Inotai, 2003). Hence one can identify enlargement starting from six countries in 1957 to twenty-seven currently; the EU has witnessed seven waves of new countries joining:

- first enlargement: United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark (1973): in 1971, after two refusals by France, which feared a weakening of the Communities, the United Kingdom saw the doors of the common market finally open. It was officially admitted on January 1, 1973, along with Ireland and Denmark. The Communities (ECSC, EEC, CEEA) thus grew from 6 to 9 members.

- second enlargement: Greece (1981): in 1975, after the fall of the colonels' regime and the return to democracy, Greece submitted its candidacy. It became the tenth member of the Communities on January 1, 1981.

- third enlargement: Spain, Portugal (1986): after the death of Franco and the fall of Salazar, these two countries were, in turn, able to join the Communities on January 1, 1986, bringing the number of members to twelve.

- fourth enlargement: Austria, Sweden, Finland (1995): Due to their neutrality, some European countries remained on the sidelines of European integration, preferring to join EFTA (European Free Trade Association). The fall of the Iron Curtain rendered the status of a neutral country less relevant. Hence, Austria, Sweden, Finland, Switzerland and Norway applied for membership. In 1995, only the first three joined the European

Union, bringing the number of its members to fifteen (Norway and Switzerland rejected membership by referendum).

- fifth enlargement: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia (2004): alongside Cyprus and Malta, ten Central and Eastern European countries in the 1990s launched the process of accession to the European Union, in the wake of the fall of the iron curtain. While the PHARE program made it possible to help the former socialist states financially, accession negotiations started in 1998 with the six best-prepared countries (Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic and Slovenia), then in 2000 with the six other countries (Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovakia). The Heads of State or Government decided at the European Council in Copenhagen in December 2002 that these countries could join the Union, except for Bulgaria and Romania. The 10 States joined the Union on May 1, 2004.

- sixth enlargement: Bulgaria, Romania (2007): the EU signed an accession treaty on April 25, 2005, with Romania and Bulgaria, which joined the EU on January 1, 2007.

- seventh enlargement: Croatia (2013): accession negotiations with Croatia started on October 3, 2005, and the last chapter was closed on June 30, 2011. Croatia became the 28th state of the European Union on July 1, 2013, after the accession treaty was ratified on December 9, 2011.

From the first enlargement, the debate between enlargement and deepening appeared as one of the main debates on European construction. This problem resurfaced forcefully with the gains of 2004 and 2007, concurrent with the failure of the European Constitution and the adoption of the Treaty of Lisbon (Szolucha, 2010). Fears over further enlargement beyond Central and Eastern European countries have led to a pause in the enlargement process.

Admittedly, the successive enlargements enabled the Union to strengthen and punch above its weight on the world stage: the world's leading economic power between 2005 and 2014 remained the leading trading power (Meunier and Nicolaïdis, 2005). The current European Union, with 27 Member States and almost 500 million inhabitants, is much more powerful than the economic community, which brought together six States and less than 200 million people. Furthermore, with particular regard to the enlargements of 2004 and 2007, it is worth stressing the political

importance of the enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe and the stabilising function for the former socialist states from the perspective of the return to Europe after the upheavals of the late 1980s and the economic and social shock of the end of communism in the 1990s (O'Brennan, 2006).

2.1 Central and Eastern Europe

However, the enlargement to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe weakened the cohesion of the European Union, particularly given the strong economic and social disparities it created in the Union (Farkas, 2013). Insufficient social and tax harmonisation fuelled concerns about "social dumping" - fear of much cheaper Eastern European manual workers - or the race to the bottom in terms of corporate taxes. It should nevertheless be underlined that nearly twenty years after the great enlargement of 2004, these economic disparities are diminishing, the economic convergence between Western and Eastern Europe being very strong. The economic differences within the EU are now hardly greater than, for example, within the United States (Filauro and Parolin, 2019). In the Czech Republic, for example, GDP per capita rose from 78% in 2004 to 89% of the EU average in 2017 (Čajka and Abrhám, 2019). The standard of living in Hungary and Poland - which also enjoys full employment - came closer to the European average (Čajka and Abrhám, 2019).

The fears aroused by the enlargement of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are also political. At 28, decision-making within the European Union may have seemed more difficult, particularly within the Council and on subjects requiring the unanimity of the Member States, for example, taxation. The heterogeneity of positions on certain issues between old and new Member States can also constitute an additional obstacle to decision-making. The abuses in terms of the rule of law observed in Hungary and Poland have not silenced these critics (Kelemen and Laurent, 2019).

In this context, enlargement to Central and Eastern European countries has resulted in enlargement fatigue, especially in Western European countries, where the prospect of further enlargements does not seem popular (Cornell, 2014). Drawing conclusions from this situation, the European Commission set up in 2014 expressly indicated that no enlargement would occur under its mandate until 2020, considering that no partner country could be ready by then (Copsey and Pomorska, 2014).

This enlargement fatigue has led to the development, as an alternative, of a European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), which was born out of a double observation following the 2004 enlargement: on the one hand, the EU, as it grows, draws closer to new neighbouring countries to the East and the South, which could be a source of instability at its borders; on the other hand, its capacity to integrate new members is limited (Missiroli, 2010). This is how the European Union decided in 2004 to implement a global policy vis-à-vis neighbouring countries which do not intend to join the EU, at least in the medium term. Within this remit are six eastern neighbours - Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine - and ten Mediterranean countries: Algeria, Palestinian Authority, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Syria, and Tunisia. The ENP highlights three main priorities for cooperation: economic development, security and migration and mobility. It thus promotes reforms in these areas employing financial assistance - European Neighborhood Instrument was endowed with 15.4 billion euros for 2014 – 2020 (Kalicka-Mikołajczyk, 2014).

Among the neighbouring countries, it was feasible but exceedingly difficult to imagine that Ukraine, in particular, could claim the status of a candidate country in the future. At this stage, the EU limited itself to its "neighbourhood policy", which, without exception for the future, did not currently plan to include Ukraine. However, accession negotiations continued with certain countries based on a precise negotiation method, particularly in the Western Balkans.

Enlargement is based on very general eligibility criteria and a proven negotiation method. The general criteria determine the eligibility of countries for membership in the European Union. The Treaty on European Union (TEU), in its Article 49, provides that "any European State which respects the values referred to in Article 2 of the TEU" and which "undertakes to promote them" may apply to become a member of the EU (Blanke and Mangiameli, 2013). They must submit their request to the Council, which decides unanimously after consulting the Commission and after obtaining the approval of the European Parliament, which decides by a majority of its members.

2.2 Copenhagen Criteria

With the ending of the Cold War, eligibility criteria were formulated and approved by the European Council. These are what is termed as the "Copenhagen criteria", defined by the European Council in June 1993 with a view to enlargement to the East: (Marktler, 2006).

- Political criterion (having stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for minorities and their protection).

- Economic criterion (establishing a viable market economy and the ability to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union).

- Institutional criterion (having the capacity to adopt and implement the community acquis).

Moreover, the leaders of the Union, after the great enlargement of 2004, agreed in December 2006 in the renewed consensus on enlargement that the Copenhagen criteria should be combined with the Union's ability to assimilate new members, but this should not become a prerequisite for membership (Amtenbrink, 2007). This capacity for absorption or integration is measured by the ability of the EU to welcome new members at a given time or in a given period without jeopardising the political objectives established by the Treaties.

The European Council grants the status of the candidate country based on an opinion from the European Commission considering the above criteria. Depending on the situation of the candidate countries, they can undertake to implement a reform process to adopt the Community acquis and strengthen their infrastructures and their administrations. During this process, the candidate benefits from financial and technical assistance to prepare for EU membership. The Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance is the financial instrument of the pre-accession process accession begun in 2007 (Forýtek, 2022). It was endowed with €12.8 billion for the 2014-2020 multiannual financial framework (European Commission, 2022). The financial framework for 2021-27 worth €14.16 billion is for both actual candidates - Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, North Macedonia, and Turkey - and potential ones: Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo (European Commission, 2022). Other states can also be included in the program, but only in exceptional cases, if this is part of a cross-border or regional development. The assistance the IPA provides depends on the needs of the candidate countries and their progress, according to the Commission.

The IPA operates based on five components, which are available for all candidate countries, whereas only the first two apply to all potential candidate countries: (Szemlér, 2009).

- assistance with transition and institution building;

- cross-border cooperation;

- regional development component aims to prepare the country for implementing the Community cohesion fund i.e., European Regional Development Fund, Cohesion Fund)

- human resources development component concerns the skills training necessary for participation in cohesion policy i.e., European Social Fund.

- rural development component, which includes access to the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development

The IPA is based on annual or multiannual development frameworks, and its contribution can take on different forms: investments, contracts, or grants; administrative cooperation, by sending experts from the Member States; participation in community programs or agencies; measures of support for the implementation process and program management; budget support (Boneva, 2011).

The accession negotiations are based on a highly supervised process, aiming at adopting all the Community acquis. The accession negotiations with a candidate country are opened only by a unanimous decision of the European Council. The talks occur within Intergovernmental Conferences (IGC) between the governments of the EU countries and the candidate country. All the Union's positions concerning the negotiations are determined within the Council - preparation by the "enlargement" working group and approval in Coreper. All the positions taken by the Union within the IGC must obtain the unanimity of the Member States. The negotiations are divided into 35 thematic chapters covering all of the acquis communautaire, with the opening of each chapter decided unanimously by the Council (Ker-Lindsay et al. 2017).

Negotiations begin with a screening or analytical examination of the acquis, which is conducted by the Commission and aims to describe to the candidate countries the whole of the acquis and then to identify the problems which will arise from taking over the acquis by the candidate country. Each screening report submitted by the Commission ends with a recommendation addressed to the Council: either to open negotiations on the chapter concerned or to postpone it. In the latter case, the Commission proposes in its report the reference criteria, the satisfaction of which by the candidate country will make it possible to envisage the opening of negotiations.

The negotiation begins when the candidate country and the EU present their respective negotiating positions. When invited to do so by the EU, it is up to the candidate country to offer its position first. The first common position of the EU on each chapter concerned, which allows the opening of negotiations, must indicate in particular the benchmarks which must be fulfilled to consider the provisional closure of the chapter. Impact studies can be conducted to help Member States negotiate, such as free movement of people, border management, agriculture, cohesion policy, transport, energy, foreign and security policy (Ferńndez, 2002).

Negotiations can only be closed if all chapters have been provisionally closed and the Member States decide to close the negotiations. The Accession Treaty must be ratified by the candidate country and each member state according to their constitutional procedures. The enlargement process was reinforced with the adoption of a renewed consensus for enlargement by the European Council in December 2006, which reaffirmed strict conditionality at all stages of the negotiations based on the individual merits of each one (Amtenbrink, 2007). Difficult issues, particularly those relating to the rule of law and the fight against corruption, must be tackled at the start of negotiations, and there is no fixed date in advance for the end of the talks. Membership.

A "new approach" to the rule of law, justice, freedom and security was proposed by the Commission for opening accession negotiations with Montenegro and then with Serbia and was validated by the Council in its conclusions of December 2011 (Whitman and Juncos, 2012). Negotiation of chapters 23, Judicial power and fundamental rights, and 24Justice, freedom, security, were intended to be opened among the first chapters after the opening of accession negotiations and closed at the end of the process to ensure the adoption of the necessary reforms and to enable the establishment of a solid track record of results in this area (Mirel, 2018). This approach was supplemented in 2014 by two other interrelated subjects with the rule of law to form the three fundamental pillars of the enlargement strategy: first, questions of economic governance, second, the reform of public administration and third, the functioning of democratic institutions (Armstrong, 2005).

 A new enlargement methodology was approved in May 2021 concerning Montenegro and Serbia (Sydoruk, Yakymchuk and Avhustiuk, 2022). Greater emphasis was put upon a stronger focus on fundamental reforms; a stronger political steer; an increased dynamism and an improvement concerning the predictability of the process (Council of the EU, 2021). It further reinforced the focus on issues related to the rule of law, fundamental rights and the functioning of democratic institutions. In

addition, it provided for IGCs meeting at the ministerial level to give a stronger political dimension.

3. Candidate Countries and Negotiations

Since the withdrawal in 2015 of Iceland's candidacy, submitted in 2009, five countries had been officially recognised as candidates for membership of the European Union by the summer of 2022: four Western Balkan countries - Albania, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia - and Turkey. The European Union first began conducting accession negotiations with three countries: Turkey (on October 3, 2005), Montenegro (on June 29, 2012) and Serbia (on January 21, 2014). In March 2020, the Council decided to open accession negotiations with Albania and Macedonia. A draft negotiation framework with these two countries was presented to Member States in July 2020, but negotiations had yet to start effectively within the context of the Covid-19 crisis. In addition, two countries were considered as potential candidates: Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo.

In October 2022, Bosnia Herzegovina was recommended by the European Commission to be granted candidate status, firmly entrenching the view that the Western Balkans belonged to the European family (Reuters, 2022). The challenges facing all applicants include, but are not limited to, bolstering democratic credentials, the functionality of state institutions and the rule of law, effectively tackling corruption and organised crime and guaranteeing media freedom.

Some Western Balkan countries were thought to join the European Union in the medium term as the Feira European Council in June 2000 granted the status of "potential candidates for membership" to all the Western Balkan states (Phinnemore, 2003). The European perspective of the Western Balkans was reaffirmed in 2003 by the Heads of State or Government and at the Thessaloniki Summit, then at the Sofia Summit in 2018 (Mirel, 2018). The prospect of enlargement to the Western Balkans was welcomed positively by all the Member States of the EU, even if the positions diverged on the timetable and the degree of rigour expected, with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe being the most enthusiastic.

3.1 Western Balkans

The Commission recalled with the 2018 Communication on EU enlargement policy that the accession negotiations were part of a broader process of long-term modernisation and reform and, to this end, called on the governments of the enlargement countries to undertake the necessary reforms much more actively, truly integrating them into their political

agenda (Petrovic and Tzifakis, 2021). The Commission indicated that public support for future enlargements would depend on the degree of preparedness of the candidate countries. The Commission underlined the importance of the countries concerned implementing reforms relating to the rule of law, fundamental rights, and good governance, particularly regarding the effectiveness of the judiciary, the fight against corruption and organised crime, and efficient public administration. Implementing the aforementioned reforms constituted the main benchmark for assessing individual countries' progress.

There was also a need for greater transparency in the management of public funds, especially at all stages of public procurement; the presence of organised crime remains strong in the countries involved in the enlargement process in the Western Balkans. The Commission noted that there remained a gap between the analysis of threats posed by organised crime and the operational priorities set. The authorities had to start using financial investigations and improve the results in terms of confiscation of the proceeds of crime; the fight against terrorism needed to be further strengthened through cooperation between the EU and all countries with each partner in the Western Balkans: Structures at the national and regional level needed to be made more effective, especially as regards the prevention of violent extremism, the fight against arms trafficking, terrorist financing, money laundering, and information (Kovačević, 2018). The rules on protecting personal data had to be aligned with EU standards to allow for the conclusion of cooperation agreements.

The communication noted that, although fundamental rights were enshrined in the legal order in the Western Balkans, considerable efforts were still needed to ensure their full implementation. The Commission considered it a priority, in particular: to safeguard freedom of expression and the independence of the media, which undermined the basic right to freedom of expression and democracy in the region (Kmezić, 2020). Governments of the countries concerned urgently needed to take concrete measures to implement existing legal frameworks on freedom of expression and improve the general framework for media freedom; greater protection of children's rights and gender equality by anticipating and combating violence against women; the fight against discrimination against disabled people, minorities, and other vulnerable groups; fighting discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people (Đurić and Vasiljević, 2012). Furthermore, the precarious situation of the Roma had to be addressed as a matter of priority, and the detention conditions should be improved, aligning with the EU acquis the procedural rights of suspects, defendants, and victims (Kacarska, 2012). Within functioning democratic institutions and public administration reform, constructive dialogue must

be ensured across the political spectrum, particularly with national parliaments.

Challenges related to the refugee crisis and irregular migration have been at the heart of the EU's work with the enlargement countries. More efforts are needed to equip countries with the necessary resources to address migration challenges and reduce irregular migration, return and border protection, prevention of irregular migration, capacity building in the field of asylum, social inclusion, and integration. The European Commission recommended further strengthening administrative capacity and infrastructure throughout the Western Balkan region to stabilise the situation along its borders (Demetropoulou, 2002).

The Commission noted that both the Western Balkans had significant economic potential. Despite the increase in growth rates in recent years, all governments faced significant structural challenges of an economic and social nature, including high unemployment rates, especially among young people, severe skills mismatches, persistently prominent levels of the informal economy, inadequate business environments, with limited access to finance, and low levels of innovation and regional connectivity.

The Commission regarded regional cooperation as a key element in ensuring political stabilisation and economic opportunities. The EU Connectivity Agenda had, in particular, given further impetus to regional cooperation in the Western Balkans (Pavlićević, 2019). In 2017, the region's leaders approved an action plan for the regional economic space in Trieste and signed the treaty on the Transport Community, named as the Berlin Process (Griessler, 2020). In good neighbourly relations, further efforts were needed in the most sensitive areas, such as war crimes, missing persons, organised crime, and judicial and police cooperation. Bilateral disputes needed to be resolved urgently by the responsible parties. The results were quite limited; progress was needed towards fully normalising relations between Serbia and Kosovo.

The EU approach concerning countries applying to join can be seen in the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP), which aims to create a general framework to stabilise the region politically and economically and operates as a pre-accession stage (Phinnemore, 2003). This opens with candidate countries representing the foundation of the Union's policy towards those areas. The EU starts a series of contacts to ascertain when the countries requesting entry are ready concerning the strict requirements required for admission. EU indicates the priorities that must be given to necessary reforms to meet the required parameters and includes financial and economic aid, trade liberalisation between the EU and the Balkan countries

and the signing of Stabilisation and Association Agreements (Grieveson, Holzner and Vukšić, 2021). The rule of law and good government are key priorities which accompany these processes through regular political dialogue and monitoring of the progress made by the partner.

Montenegro and Serbia, for which negotiations have already been opened, remain the most advanced in the accession process. Thus, the strategy published by the Commission in February 2018 for a credible enlargement perspective as well as a reinforced EU commitment to the Western Balkans referred to the potential accession of Montenegro and Serbia in 2025 (Petrovic, 2021). Despite a political crisis during the October 2016 legislative elections, Montenegro made clear progress on its path to European rapprochement, and its modest size is likely to facilitate rapid accession. 33 out of 35 chapters have been opened, three of which have been provisionally closed (Džankić, Mladenov and Stahl, 2021). Concerning Serbia, the negotiations are less advanced, with 18 chapters opened, including two provisionally closed (Domachowska, 2021). The election of President Aleksandar Vuÿiÿ in April 2017, then the appointment of the government of Ana Brnabiÿ in June 2017, confirmed the pro-European orientation of the country. The puzzling question of normalising relations between Serbia and Kosovo remains open (Gashi, Musliu and Orbie, 2017). The most concrete objective until 2022 in terms of enlargement, therefore, concerned the countries of the Western Balkans. The entry of this area into the interior of the EU can be said to have begun with the accession of Croatia in 2013. It is in the Western Balkans where four of the six official candidates are located: Serbia, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Albania.

The other states that have obtained candidate status belong to different and distant geographic areas but have experienced a troubled accession process. These are Iceland, which in March 2015 withdrew its membership application definitively, and Turkey, whose relations with Brussels hit a major hurdle in 2019 with the suspension of relations imposed by the EP (Lippert, 2021). Furthermore, Norway - whose citizens rejected membership in a referendum on two occasions - and Switzerland are linked to the EU by bilateral free trade agreements (Lavenex, 2011).

3.2 Black Sea and the Caucasus

Beyond this region, there are interesting perspectives in the Caucasus: Azerbaijan and Georgia became interested in the signing of Stabilisation and Association Treaties, just as Armenia initially was before it returned to the Russian sphere of influence. To the East, however, there were still two pieces missing. Belarus was excluded primarily for political reasons, even

though it bordered the Union, but not so concerning Moldova and Ukraine (Nizhnikau, 2022). Before 2022, the former faced a long path of reforms, despite being able to count on the quasi-identity which bound it to Romania and Italy. On the other hand, Ukraine faced a difficult challenge: the failure to sign the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, which led to the Euromaidan protests (Van der Loo, 2019). After the 2004 enlargement and given potential future accessions, it is important to question how far the integration process can go and, therefore, to understand what the potential boundaries are concerning the maximum expansion of the Union.

If one recalls that only a European state can aspire to join the Union, then the limits are eminently geographical. However, there are inherent problems: what are the borders of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe? Is it legitimate to consider the Caucasus? The same doubt would arise regarding Turkey, given that most of its territory is in Asia. The Catholic Church - in particular, Pope Benedict XVI - highlighted the opportunity to underline the Christian roots of Europe, which were inferred in the Treaties (Schlesinger and Foret, 2006). Accepting such a thesis signifies the medieval coincidence between "Europe" and "Christianity". In this case, states who have applied or intend to apply for entry into the Union, such as Turkey, Bosnia Herzegovina, and Albania, would have to be rejected. This question has never had relevance for two fundamental reasons: European institutions rejected the principle of Christian roots by appealing to secularism; on the other, the intent of Church did not want to exclude people with a different creed different but offered its preferred historical, cultural matrix (Habermas, 2008).

The Commission's approach has been to not set limits by clarifying how Europe is, that each country has the right to apply for membership, provided it is willing to implement the acquis and – in perspective - to adopt the Euro (Bulíř and Šmídková, 2005). Therefore, the Commission's position is quite clear: the European objective encompasses a series of geographical, historical, and cultural factors contributing to constructing European identity. Hence, the sharing of ideas and values and the common experience of historical interaction cannot be condensed into an immutable formula but must be subjected to the scrutiny of each new generation. Geographical enlargement is now only possible towards the East and towards the Balkans. As one moves away from what can be defined as the "heart" of old Europe, cultural, political and, above all, religious differences are increasing.

What has accelerated the impetus for enlargement has undoubtedly been the invasion of Ukraine in 2022, which prompted Kyiv to submit its

application for EU membership on February 28th, 2022, followed by Georgia and Moldova a week later (Sapir, 2022). On June 23, 2022, the European Council gave candidate status to Moldova and Ukraine, which also recognised Georgia as a potential candidate. Since March, the EU has had to react to developments on its eastern border, taking unprecedented steps in terms of military aid and economic sanctions (Yigit, 2022).

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has profoundly affected the European Union and how it views its future in terms of size. In the late 2010s, the EU's enlargement policy focused primarily on the Balkans, with the possibility of an eastern Balkan enlargement deemed possible by 2025. The commitment to a European horizon for the countries involved in the enlargement process was conditional upon the EU becoming stronger and more effective through a series of initiatives to be implemented based on the Treaties in force by that date. Since the Cold War, enlargement has been subject to the Copenhagen criteria, establishing democratic, economic, and political conditions for countries wishing to join (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2002).

Therefore, one can assert that the EU is open to enlargement through treaty provision and political will. Whilst the former requires much time, organisational effort, and complete unanimity to change; the latter is not. Even though the EU is a supranational entity, the member states that compose it are not hesitant to defend and impose their national interests, whether related to internal developments or enlargement.

Concerning Albania and North Macedonia, on 6 September 2022, the accession negotiation process finally began (Eurostat, 2022). The Prespa agreement concluded in June 2018 with Greece on the name of North Macedonia (now North Macedonia) was a positive point for the European perspective of North Macedonia (Chryssogelos and Stavrevska, 2019). However, on June 26, 2019, the General Affairs Council refused to open accession negotiations with Albania and Macedonia, particularly to the opposition of France and the Netherlands (Demaja, 2020). France asked for a reform of the accession process considered too rigid and not reserving the possibility of going back in case the candidate would question the reforms that were previously undertaken (Fejérdy, 2020). Taking these demands into account, the Commission presented in February 2020 a new methodology for enlargement, which, if it does not revolutionise the negotiation process, is inspired by the French proposal (Reka, 2020).

In this document, the Commission emphasises the chapters relating to fundamental reforms (judiciary and fundamental rights; freedom, security, justice), which will systematically be opened first and closed last and whose

progress will determine the general pace of negotiations. It takes up the French idea of reorganisating the thirty-five accession chapters into seven policy blocks, which could be opened in any order, according to the wishes of the candidate countries (Eisl, 2020).

To strengthen the political steering of the process, it proposes the regular holding of EU/Western Balkan summits, an annual debate at the European Council on enlargement or even the participation of ministers from the Balkan countries in ministerial discussions in the areas in which their countries are fully committed, such as Horizon 2020 (Jusufi and Ajdarpasic, 2020). To avoid divergent analyses about the candidate countries, the Commission suggests that the Member States be involved in monitoring the progress made by the candidate States in resuming the Community acquis.

Finally, the new methodology highlights the principle of reversibility. The process, based on merit, will allow a country progressing on the priority track to benefit from an acceleration of the integration process, increased participation in EU programs and increased funding and investments. Conversely, in the event of a setback in the implementation of the reforms, the Council, on a proposal from the Commission, may decide by a qualified majority vote to suspend the accession negotiations, to reopen chapters which have already been closed or reduce access to EU funding (Gray, 2009). Consequently, France lifted its opposition to opening accession negotiations with Albania and Macedonia, which the Council authorised on March 26, 2020 (Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet, 2022). The situation is more complicated concerning the two countries which do not yet have candidate status, namely Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly given the persistent division of the country between its two entities (Croatian Federation -Muslim Republic and Respublika Srpska) and Kosovo, given its economic difficulties and in terms of the rule of law and pending the normalisation of its relations with Belgrade.

Turkey's entry into the EU is undoubtedly the most debated among the planned enlargements. This is explained by its demographic weight - a population of 85 million - economic characteristics, political and cultural differences, and geographical location. The prospect of Turkey's accession to the EU dates to the contract of association between the EEC and Turkey in 1963, which strengthened economic and commercial exchanges between the two parties and led to a customs union in 1995 (Yigit, 1996). The Helsinki Council of 1999 granted Turkey the status of a candidate for the EU. In October 2005, given several reforms strengthening the rule of law in Turkey such as abolition of the death penalty, accession negotiations were officially opened, before being partially frozen in December 2006,

because of the Cyprus question (Acemoglu and Ucer, 2015). Of the 35 chapters making up the acquis communautaire, 15 opened, the last in 2016, and only one closed - science and research (Phinnemore and İçener, 2016).

The events that have taken place in Turkey since 2016 - failed coup attempt in July 2016, constitutional referendum on the extension of the powers of the President in April 2017 - have made the future of relations between Turkey and the EU uncertain (Martin, 2019). Accession negotiations thus remain at a standstill. The relationship between the EU and Turkey is based on the search for a balance between maintaining the EU-Turkey strategic partnership, in particular concerning the response to the migration challenge - Turkey hosting more than 3.6 million Syrian refugees - and condemnation by the EU of the deterioration of the situation in Turkey concerning the rule of law and fundamental freedoms (Sahin et al. 2021). On June 26, 2018, the Council adopted conclusions on Turkey, which sent clear messages to Ankara in this respect and indicated that Turkey has further distanced itself from the EU; it is impossible to envisage any other chapter's opening or closing (Pierini, 2019).

4. Conclusion

It is helpful to gauge potential new members' economic size when investigating potential new members. As can be seen from Table 1, the member states of the EU come in all shapes and sizes. They range in dimension from the small island of Malta to Germany. Therefore, it is incorrect to characterise the EU as consisting of only large wealthy states. Within the borders of the EU, there are states with smaller economies. Hence as Table 2 demonstrates, whereas Turkish accession would make Turkey the sixth largest member state, most of the other candidate states would be the smallest member states in terms of national economy. Therefore, most of the candidates are what may be termed small states in terms of economic size and territory, with the obvious exceptions of Turkey and Ukraine.

Table 1. EU Member State by Economic Size

	EU Member States	2021 GDP (Millions)
1	Germany	4,223,116.21
2	France	2,937,472.76
3	Italy	2,099,880.20
4	Spain	1,425,276.59
5	Netherlands	1,018,007.06
6	Poland	674,048.27
7	Sweden	627,437.90
8	Belgium	599,879.03
9	Ireland	498,559.58
10	Austria	477,082.47
11	Denmark	397,104.34
12	Finland	299,155.24
13	Romania	284,087.56
14	Czech Republic	282,340.85
15	Portugal	249,886.46
16	Greece	216,240.59
17	Hungary	182,280.52
18	Slovakia	114,870.71
19	Luxembourg	86,710.80
20	Bulgaria	80,271.12
21	Croatia	67,837.79
22	Lithuania	65,503.85
23	Slovenia	61,526.33
24	Latvia	38,872.55
25	Estonia	36,262.92
26	Cyprus	27,719.34
27	Malta	17,189.73

Source: World Bank, 2021

Table 2. Potential and Candidate States

EU Rank	Candidate Countries	GDP (Billion)	EU Rank	Potential Candidates	GDP (Billion)	Caucasus	GDP (Billion)
6	Turkey	815.3	27	Bosnia-Herzegovina	22.6	Azerbaijan	54.6
17	Ukraine	200	27	Georgia	18.7	Armenia	13.9
23	Serbia	63.7	28	Kosovo	9		
27	Albania	18.3					
28	North Macedonia	13.9					
28	Moldova	13.7					
28	Montenegro	5.8					

Source: World Bank, 2021

Although in the immediate future, the removal of certain barriers - in particular of customs-related regulations - has created difficulties, reactions, and protests on the part of some production and service sectors that found themselves faced with forms of competition that they were not accustomed to; entry into the Union has led to considerable benefits to countries that have joined. The countries of the Baltic region, as well as Malta or Cyprus, have been able to expand the impact of their business relationships by finding new markets, resulting in increased employment, productivity, and trade with a notable improvement in the living conditions of the populations (Dandashly and Verdun, 2021).

Given the attractiveness of the EU, it is not surprising that the list of candidate states continues to grow. The most significant impetus has been one that was never thought of: securing territorial integrity. Most of the criticisms related to EU membership were clustered around the loss of sovereignty. One of the essential tools of the state, the pooling of sovereignty, has attracted much critical thought. Despite this fact, it is precisely the loss of sovereignty and the inability to maintain territorial integrity that has proven to be the most powerful factor in attracting potential member states and the EU proactively reaching out to fast-track membership. One can conclude that the event which has completely transformed the established mental map of European borders and thinking regarding enlargement has been the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

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11

NEW SECURITY APPROACHES, CHALLENGES, AND NATO

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Abstract

The recently developed geopolitical processes again laid the foundation for the increase in armaments and the development of military capabilities. The expansionist desire to distribute power and spheres of influence has made Russia again a threat to world stability. Russian expansionism and increasing revisionism have again put on the agenda the need to develop new security standards, which will be more extensive than ever before in world history. The modern world is facing a great challenge, which has led to the need for institutional changes, both at the state and international levels. Current security systems require transformation and appropriate forms of response that must be adapted to global requirements.

Keywords: Collective Security, NATO, Minilateralism

Introduction: Security Architecture

The goal of security policy is to ensure national sovereignty and political freedom. Therefore, important aspects of security policy include the prevention and management of crises and the provision of long-term and stable solutions to conflicts.

From a theoretical point of view, the security policy can be divided into 3 parts: national, regional, and global security. National security issues are mainly related to dealing with physical threats. It is the ability of a nation to mobilize its armed forces to secure its borders and deter or successfully defend the country from physical threats. National security is the protection of a sovereign state's people, economy, or state institutions. In general, "security architecture" is considered a form of security dialogue, including the least developed security cooperation or the most developed security alliance. There are many types of institutions that individually or

collectively create the security architecture(s) of a region. Not all components of a security architecture are multilateral organizations. Common forms of security cooperation include traditional military alliances, non-aggression pacts, coalitions, security communities, regimes, and others.

The components of the regional security architecture differ in structural variability and their purpose, membership, formalization, capabilities, and scope. The objective may be to achieve certain common goals, such as common defense against a mutual enemy and regional dialogue or confidence building (Solmaz, 2022).

When it comes to global security, it includes the military and diplomatic measures taken by nations and international organizations such as the United Nations and NATO to ensure mutual security and safety. To understand global security, it is necessary to understand political, military, and economic trends around the world; sources of potential regional conflict; and emerging threats to the global security environment.

Global security arose from the necessity that nature and many other activities, especially globalization, imposed on states. These are demands that no national security apparatus is equipped to handle on its own, so it usually calls on states to cooperate. The global interconnectedness and interdependence between states that the world has experienced and continues to experience since the end of the Cold War makes it imperative for states to cooperate more and work together to overcome problems (Dalby, 2020).

Collective Security

Traditional concepts of security do not provide an adequate solution to the current challenges of intra-state conflict and regional instability. Today, many states, especially in Western Europe, are less concerned with deterring aggression or defending themselves than with maintaining the overall stability of their region. Such countries have much to gain by working together to reduce the likelihood of conflict. Their goal is often called "cooperative security".

Cooperative security is an activity to reduce the likelihood or consequences of war between states that is not directed at any particular state or group of states. This definition separates two very different areas of international relations activities: 1) activities aimed at specific states or groups of states that are perceived as a threat to peace; and 2) activities aimed at improving the environment in which states operate. cooperative security seeks to

address the second definition by improving the broader security environment (Bescotti, 2018).

The universal system of collective security, created by the UN Charter, is a unique event in the development of international relations after the Second World War. According to the charter, the system of collective security establishes not only normative but also political and military prerequisites, so that the UN can prevent threats, acts of aggression, and other acts that disturb the peace in today's conditions. This special aspect of the system of collective security in the United Nations became especially clear after the end of the Cold War when instead of ideological confrontation, cooperation between countries began and developed not only issues of collective security on a global scale but also economic and social development, the environment, the fight against poverty and underdevelopment, which requires international collective efforts of society (Dalby, 2020).

Collective defense is the most attractive arrangement in the system of collective security. Defense is a term used to refer to an action or set of actions taken by an individual, system, unit, organization, or state to reduce an attack or possible aggression. Today, the virtual, cyber dimension is added to the comprehensive definition of defense. On the other hand, security is a broad term that encompasses many dimensions including physical, economic, energy, environmental, technological, institutional, and legal aspects (Chad, 2019).

While defense is generally against a specific adversary or type of attack, security involves the holistic well-being of an individual, system, entity, organization, or state that allows for sovereign choice; in a sense, defense is a subset of security. Although collective defense is formulated as a formal agreement and is very objective, the same is not true of various aspects of collective security.

Collective security, as a multidimensional endeavor, has a more flexible approach among partners. Collective defense allies generally move in sync or at least in the same direction. However, collective security partners may compete or have vectorially opposite priorities and actions in certain aspects, while still cooperating around other interests.

Regional Security

The complexity of global security and the rise of intra-state conflicts have led to an increasingly regional approach to security management. Intrastate conflicts or civil wars often cross borders, affecting the stability of

neighboring states and beyond. Problems of poor governance and institutional weakness contribute to the existence of armed conflict not only at the state level but also in the regions. "Failure states" may belong to "failed regions" that call for regional approaches to conflict prevention and peacebuilding (Komissatov and others, 2021).

Regional organizations can play an important role in conflict prevention. Regional Intergovernmental Organizations (RIGOs) are established to address regional peace and security issues. Although the commitment to non-intervention remains strong in certain regions, there are signs of normative change at the national and regional levels.

Regional organizations are the main drivers of democratic transformation, facilitating the development of cooperation between countries, and regional organizations are increasingly involved in the defense of constitutionalism at the national level. Regional organizations are the main drivers of democratic transformation, facilitating the development of cooperation between countries, and regional organizations are increasingly involved in the defense of constitutionalism at the national level (Bremmer, 2022).

We can say that regional organizations establish certain common rules of conduct that frame the political implementation of member states. These are the rules of the game, which are common to all states of the region. The policies of individual states have a high correlation with the stability and security policies of the region in general, in the long term.

NATO and New Security Approaches

In international relations, an alliance is a formal agreement between two or more states to provide mutual assistance in times of war. Modern alliances involve combined action by two or more independent states and are generally defensive in nature, obliging the allies to join forces if one or more of them are attacked by another state or coalition. Although alliances can be informal, they are usually formalized by an alliance treaty, the most critical provisions of which are those defining "casus foederis", or the circumstances under which the treaty obligates an ally to assist a fellow member (Art and Keil, 2021).

NATO has become an unprecedented complex of cooperation in the history of modern alliances. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance established by the North Atlantic Treaty of April 4, 1949 (also known as the Washington Treaty), which sought to contain Soviet

forces stationed in Central and Eastern Europe after World War II and maintain a counterbalancing security system.

It should be noted that NATO is a regional organization with global responsibility, the benefits of which can be enjoyed in parallel with the aspiration process. NATO's Interoperability and Resilience Program contributes to the development of capabilities, both military and political. NATO's open door policy lays the foundation for improving the capabilities of the Allies in preparation for their eventual membership (Swaney, 2022).

In addition to military-political values, the alliance has an ideological framework that feeds great strategic security and is linked to a democratic peace where democrats are not at war with each other. According to the mentioned theory, the power is distributed between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, where there are different and independent competencies. The main achievement of democratic peace is the diversification of power, which is not concentrated under any single branch, and constant public monitoring of their activities is carried out (Kaim, 2017).

The development of democracy and the provision of collective defense are the main cornerstones of NATO, however, based on its long-term goals, the alliance is constantly diversifying its sources of security. Today, the purpose of the alliance is largely focused on deterrence, which ideologically feeds into grand strategic security. By implementing high-security standards, its member states are able to optimize other priorities such as economic, legal, and institutional development.

NATO is the clearest example in modern history of close and long-term relations of member states with ideological foundations. The founding states of the alliance determined its long-term strategy and centrist character, which is expressed in the Hub and Spoke system. This system is unique in human history, evolving into an unprecedented complex of institutions and cooperation that underpins a greater degree of global stability among sovereign states than history would otherwise predict. The hub-and-spokes system is highly asymmetric in nature in an alliance in both security and economic dimensions that offers military protection and economic development through trade rather than aid.

Militarily, the system allows the United States to pursue its interests, conduct expeditionary operations and "defense in depth" at a much lower cost than would otherwise be possible. Economically, the system allowed the United States to set the rules of international trade and finance and to

stand to reap the benefits of that system. Overall, the system of alliances and security partnerships currently led by the United States has provided enormous strategic advantages to both the United States and the nations that participate in it. The security networks that the United States has built as part of this strategic shift have also helped the United States achieve other transnational security goals, including nuclear counterproliferation (Sloan, 2020).

NATO has developed security dimensions in the modern stage and has become an unprecedented complex of institutions and cooperation, which are based on a higher degree of global stability among sovereign states. Differing priorities among member states are exacerbating democratic backsliding, and the continued evolution of warfare, a changing threat landscape, with the return of geopolitical competition, the emergence of new state-based challenges, ongoing challenges posed by non-state actors, and a world increasingly shaped by global issues is pushing the alliance to embrace a broader military - political spectrum and become a global force.

The international security environment has always shaped NATO's goals, objectives and responsibilities. From the changes that followed the end of the Cold War to the turn of the century, the alliance demonstrated its adaptability and proved its relevance. Along with the three main tasks of collective defense, cooperative security and crisis management, NATO faces new threats and challenges that require a review of its strategic objectives and a reassessment of its capabilities and positions. Three major forces have emerged in the Alliance's operational environment that require a renewed focus on adaptation, preparedness, and global cooperation (Cancian, 2021).

In the Euro-Atlantic security space and global security in general, resilience is seen as a future-proof way to increase preparedness and deterrence for NATO and its partners. Amid changing internal dynamics, resilience will support NATO's ability to withstand and quickly recover from external shocks and disruptions of a cyber, hybrid, natural or conventional nature. Such resilience necessarily includes both military and civilian preparedness. Based on Article 3 of the North Atlantic Treaty, the Alliance currently addresses resilience in the context of mutual aid and self-reliance to build resilience to attacks and exogenous shocks, and to reduce vulnerability among its member states.

Since NATO's last major transformation effort, warfare has expanded from the traditional air, sea, and land domains into the space and cyber domains. NATO's deterrence and defensive security policy is based on a mix of nuclear, conventional and anti-missile defense capabilities, complementing

space and cyber capabilities and ensuring the collective defense of its members based on a 360-degree approach and reflecting 3 main tasks - deterrence and defence; crisis prevention and management; and collective security (Horrell, 2018).

The digitization of conflict has brought new dynamics to strategic security policy. One significant challenge is the likely denial of operations, a factor that complicates deterrence efforts and delays defensive response times. For example, as cyber operations increasingly become a feature of modern warfare and geopolitical competition, their asymmetric costs and ability to conceal their origins have made it difficult to develop timely and proportionate countermeasures.

These new elements of warfare require new strategic approaches and new ideas about what constitutes readiness for an alliance. Readiness traditionally refers to the extent to which a force is prepared to fight, especially with little warning. It is important that readiness implies both the availability of forces and ready access to pre-developed capabilities. Readiness requires answering three questions: When should troops be ready? What should forces be ready for? And what and who the forces consist of.

The changing nature and dynamics of modern warfare require NATO to become a more flexible alliance. Flexibility requires a review and adaptation of its institutions and bureaucratic set-up, especially mechanisms for faster decision-making in order to respond to crises and conflicts with greater efficiency Katz, 2018).

In order to be more flexible, NATO needs to develop the ability to respond quickly - either as a whole alliance or in smaller groups. Alliance readiness requires each ally to contribute a certain minimum level of capability. In addition, each member state can develop niche expertise that suits both their national interests and the needs of the Alliance.

Allies must be prepared to use political instruments in addition to military instruments, either alliance-wide or through minilateral groupings, to respond to countermeasures by adversaries that do not reach the threshold of war. Recent developments in international security institutions and global governance negotiations point more broadly to a trend toward informal groupings and minilateralism.

Minilateral groupings and informal exchanges not only allow for faster negotiations and consensus-based decision-making and deployment of forces, but can also help spread skills and information about specialized

capabilities in which participation is not necessary for all members. Focusing on core tasks, with mini-lateral cooperation on specific missions, will also increase political unity around the true purpose of the alliance while allowing for divergence on selected issues (Kundu, 2023).

Conclusion

NATO needs to be more purposefully collaborative and adapt its partnership models to reflect the changing international security environment. Thus, NATO will have to find new ways to cooperate with like-minded countries and organizations that will be flexible and adapted to the given situation. A more strategic interest-based and flexible partnership model will take on greater value if NATO pursues sustainability as a core task. Due to the cross-border and interconnected nature of non-traditional, modern threats, the resilience of partners has a direct impact on NATO's resilience. Thus, strategic and flexible partnerships will be a key element in the development of the Alliance's sustainability efforts for the various partners. This in turn will make NATO more resilient and ultimately more secure.

The challenging international security environment that makes the commitment essential has also fueled political sentiments within the alliance that may make it difficult or even impossible to meet the alliance's commitment. Today, democracy is in crisis and NATO's fundamental values are contested in several member states. The rise of right-wing, authoritarian-style populism and the apparent mainstreaming of national (nationalist) politics is no longer just an abstract threat, but a reality that is currently gathering strength.

It is widely believed that NATO's longevity and resilience can be attributed both to its excellent ability to "bounce back" from the many crises it has experienced throughout its history, and to its ability to adapt to an ever-evolving strategic environment by changing its strategic direction and expanding its membership, operational scope, and scope. Jens Stoltenberg, NATO Secretary General, has no doubt that "I really hope that it will demonstrate once again that NATO is the strongest and most successful alliance in history because of two things: Because of our ability to adapt to change when the world is changing, when we face new threats and challenges and, of course, our ability to stand together, our unity".

Despite the Alliance's contemporary security challenges, NATO remains a military-political alliance, maintaining and expanding its values, as reaffirmed by the 2022 Madrid Summit. "We will continue to work to maintain a just, inclusive, and lasting peace and remain a pillar of the rules-

based international order. Together, we will maintain a global perspective and work closely with our partners, other states, and international organizations such as the United Nations and the European Union to promote international peace and security"(Madrid Summit, 2022).

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