11th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

24 . 26 JUNE
ISTANBUL
2020

ICOPEC

GLOBAL INEQUALITIES

ABSTRACTS & PROCEEDINGS

Edited by: Orkan Köyağasıoğlu

S.B.F. 1859

BATMAN ÜNİVERSİTESİ 2007

Greek Association of Political Economy

IJOPEC PUBLICATION
London ijopec.co.uk Istanbul

Global Inequalities

11. ICOPEC 2020:
International Conference of Political Economy
June 24-26, 2020, İstanbul, Turkey
| www.icopec.org |

ABSTRACTS & PROCEEDINGS

Edited By
Orkan Köyağasıoğlu (Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Turkey)

Global Inequalities
(11. ICOPEC 2020: International Conference of Political Economy: Global Inequalities)
Abstracts & Proceedings
(Edited by: Orkan Köyağasıoğlu)

IJOPEC Publication Limited
CRN:10806608
60 Westmeade Close, Cheshunt
Waltham Cross
EN7 6JR London
United Kingdom

www.ijopec.co.uk
E-Mail: info@ijopoc.co.uk
Phone: (+44) 73 875 2361 (UK)
(+90) 488 217 4007 (Turkey)

Global Inequalities
ICOPEC 2020
Abstracts & Proceedings
First Edition, June 2020
IJOPEC Publication No: 2020/09

ISBN: 978-1-913809-00-3

A catalogue record for this book is available from Nielsen Book Data, British Library and Google Books.

Printed in London.

Composer:
IJOPEC Art Design,
London, United Kingdom

11. ICOPEC 2020: International Conference of Political Economy: Global Inequalities
Scientific Committee

Kouzis Ioannis
Panteion University

Larissa Batrancea
Babes-Bolyai University

Ljiljana Markovic
University of Belgrade

Mahmut Tekçe
Marmara University

Martin Machacek
Ostrava Technical University

M. Mustafa Erdoğdu
Marmara University

Maniatis Athanasios
University of Athens

María Teresa Fernández Fernández
Rey Juan Carlos University

Mavroudeas Stavros
University of Macedonia

Mick Moore
University of Sussex

Mike O'Donnell
University of Westminster

Milenko Popovic
Mediterranean University

Milios John
National Technical University of Athens

Müfit Akyüz
Marmara University

Murat Yülek
Ostim Technical University

Oktar Türel
Middle East Technical University

Oxana Karnaukhova*Southern Federal University*

Papatheodorou Christos
Panteion University

Paul Zarembka
New York University

Peter Davis
Newcastle University

Phoebe Koundouri
Athens University of Economics and Business

Rafael Moner-Colonques
University of Valencia

Salvatore Capasso
Parthenope University of Naples

Savaş Çevik
Selçuk University

Sevda Mutlu Akar
Bandırma Onyedi Eylül University

Şevket Alper Koç
Kocaeli University

Şevket Pamuk
Boğaziçi University

Şükrü Aslan
Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University

Simon James
University of Exeter

Suut Doğruel
Marmara University

Thankom Gopinath Arun
University of Essex

Thomas Marois
SOAS University of London

Tsaliki Persefoni
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Tsoulfidis Lefteris
University of Macedonia

Vittorio Ferro
IRES, Italy

Wiboon Kittilaksanawong
Saitama University

Yılmaz Kılıçaslan
Anadolu University

Ziya Öniş
Koç University

AUTHOR INDEX

A

Alaeddin Bobat 9, 123
Alexis Ioannides 16
Ali Talip Akpınar 41
Anders Underthun 16
Anıl Duman 10
Armida Concepción García 11
Ayşenur Karademir 12

B

Bahar Baysal Kar 13
Batuhan Ersöz 14

C

Christos Papatheodorou 15

D

Derya Gültekin-Karakaş 54
Dimitris Paitaridis 16
Duygu Hıdıroğlu 17

E

Edisher Gvenetadze 18, 167
Elif Garagon 54
Emek Yıldırım Şahin 19
Emilia Alaverdov 72
Emilia Alaverdova 20
Erika Torres Godinez 21

F

Farhang Morady 22
Feridun Duman 23

G

Gülay Aslan 24
Gülçin Taşkıran 24

H

Hikmet Gülçin Beken 25
Humberto Merritt Tapia 26

I

İzzettin Önder 27

J

Joaquín Bracamontes N. 80
Joaquín Bracamontes Nevárez 38
Joel Sakhi 61
Julia Dobreva 28, 136

L

Lara-Zuzan Golesorkhi 29
Lela Tsiklauri 30, 130
Levan Osidze 18, 167
Leyla Firuze Arda Özalp 31
Lia Metreveli 32, 109
Lt Nudrat Bano (R) PN 45

M

M. Mustafa Erdoğdu 33, 178
Madlena Kotsotsashvili 34, 65
Maimaiti Yalikun 35
Maka Benashvili 36, 90
Manana Darchashvili 37, 143
Mario Camberos C. 80
Mario Camberos Castro 38
Mennatullah Hendawy 39
Merih Angin 117
Merih Angın 40
Muhammet Davut Yüce 41
Murat Yülek 42

N

Nana Bakhsoliani 43, 97
Necmi Cemal Özdemir 9, 123
Ning Hou 48
Nino Maziashvili 44, 102

Nino Otkhozoria 34
Nino Otxozoria... 65
Nur Kulakoğlu Dilek 53, 150

O

Orkan Köyağasıoğlu... 1, 2
Özgün Sarımehmet Duman 46

P

Pelin Vildan Kökçü Delikaya 47
Perihan Hazel Kaya... 48
Peter Willans... 49

Q

Qudsia Akram... 50

R

Reşide Adal Dündar 51
Roxana Toma 52

S

Sebahattin Emre Dilek 53, 150
Seda Yıldız..54
Selmin Kaşka..14
Senem Nart..55, 157
Sevda Mutlu Akar 157
Sevda Mutlu Akar 55
Stavros D. Mavroudeas..56
Stefanos Papanastasiou 57
Stelios Gialis..16
Stergios Seretis,..16

T

Thankom Arun 58
Tinatin Zhorzholiani...59
Ting Ya Hsu..60

V

Vibhuti Kapila...61
Vishal Rajput 62, 172

ABSTRACTS

in alphabetical order

Akademik Teşvik Sistemi: Nereden Nereye?
Academic Incentive System: Quo Vadis?

Alaeddin Bobat, *(Kocaeli University)*
bobatus@gmail.com
Necmi Cemal Özdemir *(Kocaeli University)*

Turkey

The law enacted on November 14, 2014 and the regulation enacted in 2015, the "Academic Incentive Regulation", which entered into academic life, have brought with it many controversies. For academic incentive, separate regulations were issued for the first two years, no different regulations were issued in 2017; assessments were made for 2017 according to regulation issued at the end of 2016. In 2018, the system was again updated by the Council of Ministers on 14 May 2018 with the academic incentive Regulation No 2018/11834. The rates and contributions initially proposed in the incentive scoring calculations were amended again in accordance with the President's Decree No. 2043 dated 16.01.2020 published in the Official Gazette No. 31011 dated 17.01.2020. Both the 2018 and 2019 regulations reforming the academic incentive system have caused both legal and economic and ethical polemics. This study specifically aims to examine the problematic changes in terms of time and conditions in 2018 and 2019, and to question where the system is going.

Trends in Gender Pay Gap: Is There A Glass Ceiling or Sticky Floor in Turkey?

Anıl Duman, *(Central European University)*
dumana@ceu.edu

Hungary

There is a large literature on gender wage gap examining the magnitude and reasons for earning differences between men and women. Usually, human capital endowments, occupational composition and gender norms are offered as the primary explanations behind the persistently lower wages of female employees. In more recent studies, it has been also shown that women are closing the gap in terms of education and skills, and occupational segregation is improving in number of economies. Yet, many countries remain to have sizable wage gaps across gender over time and this can be largely attributed to the unexplained or 'discriminatory' component. Our paper first investigates the evolution of wage differentials between men and women in Turkey by considering the period of 2005 and 2017. Our findings show that the mean pay gap has been quite stable in Turkey and despite the improvements in human capital, there were no significant reductions in pay inequalities. Then, we look at the glass ceiling and sticky floor effects through quantile regression techniques. While average female labor force participation is quite low in Turkey and only slightly increased between 2005 and 2017, women with university education has a much higher rate. Hence, we argue that gender wage gap is distinct for the upper and lower quantiles, and our results illustrate that for the bottom 10th quantile, the gap rose over time. Finally, we decompose the wage gap across gender to understand the contribution of endowments and returns to these in the Turkish labor market. Between 2005 and 2017, the unexplained component of earning differences grew significantly and particularly women with low skills/low wages are discriminated more. Despite the enhancement of female qualifications, the returns to these qualifications were worsened over time and as a result sticky floor effect became more visible in Turkey.

The Success and Pitfalls of the Textile Industry in Mexico: A Cautionary Tale

Armida Concepción García, *(Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas)*
armisgarcia@uaz.edu.mx

México

This paper explores the evolution of the textile industry in Mexico. Over the last 30 years, the success of the textile industry in Mexico has been the result of the maquiladora-based model: foreign-owned assembly factories which are largely dependent on fiscal incentives and the exploitation of local cheap labor. However, most of the economic benefits are seized by foreign enterprises. In consequence, the Mexican textile industry has lost its competitive edge in global markets, particularly in the light of the increase in productivity of some Asian countries (Bangladesh, China, India, and Taiwan). Given that the industry has been unable to transition to full package production, Mexican producers, especially small-scale retailers, have to endure the massive influx (legal and illegal) of foreign garments. The situation has forced small and medium-size businesses to shift their focus to domestic markets and implementing a wide array of strategies, such as: flexible production based on low-wages, short-term jobs, and the non-payment of benefits. This has, in consequence, generated unintended socio-economic effects such as the boom of informal trade, meagre employment conditions, a rise in criminal activities, and questionable trade policies. Under these conditions the viability of the industry as a source of income for a large number of Mexican families, is under threat.

Behind the Public Buildings: The Other Roles of Ottomans Waqfs

Ayşenur Karademir, *(Gümüşhane University)*
aysenurkarademir@yahoo.com

Turkey

The Ottoman Empire, which has also known as waqf civilization, turned Islamic waqf institution into the most benefited social organization under his rule. Waqfs or pious foundations are usually known with their public buildings such as mosques, universities (madrasa) or hospitals, and their free services. However, in practice, the waqfs were much more than that. They were the main institution to income distribution to society and, the simple mechanism to regulate the social life at the same time. But how ? This presentation aims to demonstrate the less known sides of waqf application in Ottoman society. First of all, it should be said that although the waqfs were individual charity initiative, massive ones were built by the Ottoman rulers such as sultan and his family or high ranking officials. They were the waqfs which provided the main services and their income sources (akarat-ı mevkufe) such as houses, rooms or shops hired affordable prices to society. Moreover, the waqfs paid the tax debts of the districts (avarız), if needed, protected unfortunate women, even paid salaries to them, helped orphan girls to mery. We could say that it is hard to find an area waqfs did not touch in daily life. This presentation will underline wide variety of the roles played by the Ottoman waqfs in society as part of the welfare understanding.It will also make a comparison today's welfare economies to Ottomans.

Keynes ve Uluslararası Kapitalist Düzen
Keynes and the International Capitalist Order

Bahar Baysal Kar , *(Bursa Uludağ University)*
bhrbysl@gmail.com

Turkey

This paper introduces Keynes's critique of laissez faire capitalism or free market capitalism. Keynes sought to create a more efficient and more humane economic system to replace free trade capitalism and in this context, he analysed domestic and international requirements in his various studies. One of the two main emphases in his analysis is that the state undertakes primary responsibility in planning and managing of the country's economy. In the context of relations with the world economy, a more controlled openness in which political control is achieved is the second main emphasis. Thus, the purpose of this paper is related to this second aspect. In other words, it aims to analyse the relations of nations with the global system through the eyes of Keynes and purposes to provide solutions to the problems such as increasing income and wealth inequalities, trade imbalances between countries and financial instability, experienced by the global system. The relations of nations with the global system through the eyes of Keynes and it intends to offer solutions to problems such as increasing income and wealth inequalities, trade imbalances between countries and financial instability that are seen as the main problems of the global system today. In his approach to the problems of the global system, it is important that Keynes points to the policy implications of the literature of the varieties of capitalism, and in this respect is a criticism of the Washington Consensus.

İstanbul'da Kent İçi Ulaşım ve Farklılaşan Çalışma Biçimleri: Rant, Rekabet ve Çalışma İlişkileri
Urban Transport in Istanbul and Differentiating Forms of Work: Rent, Competition and Labor Relations*

Batuhan Ersöz, *(Marmara University)*
ersozbatuhan@gmail.com

Selmin Kaşka

Turkey

In Istanbul, which is a candidate for becoming a global city, urban transport displays a very dynamic structure and relationship network. On one hand, this structure takes place in a dimension that involves formal relations, large scale production and high technology. On the other hand, it is maintained by small and medium-sized actors in which informal relationship sets come to the fore. Within the scope of the study, it is aimed to evaluate differentiated working relations and business organizations in taxis, minibuses and taxi-minibuses, which are small and medium-sized urban transportation actors in Istanbul. The fact that the provision of services in taxis, minibuses and taxi-minibuses is shaped by the license ownership, license restrictions causes transportation to be a source of rent. Also, local governments and different types of profession chambers/associations play active roles in this process. In this study, the restructuring of working relations in taxis, taxi-minibuses and minibuses in Istanbul will be examined, then the effect of this transformation on working conditions will be evaluated.

Keywords: Urban Transport, Labor Relations, Transformation of Transportation, Urban Rent

*Bu çalışma, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Çalışma Ekonomisi Bilim Dalı doktora programında yürütülmekte olan tez çalışması çerçevesinde üretilmiştir.

Poverty Consequences of Economic Crisis and Austerity: The Case of Greece

Christos Papatheodorou, *(Panteion University)*
ch.papatheo@panteion.gr; ch.papatheo@gmail.com
https://christospapatheodorou.com

Greece

The economic crisis has an apparent effect on poverty and on the deterioration of the levels of living of the most vulnerable population groups. However, instead of challenging the mainstream paradigm for organizing and administrating the economy, the current crisis has led to further strengthening the neoliberal arguments for fiscal discipline, reduce of public spending, and labour market deregulation. The Greek crisis has been perceived as an individual incident for which Greeks are to blame rather than a part of the global economic crisis. In this discourse, social protection and the relevant public spending have been treated as the main demonic contributors to the huge public debt and to the economic crisis. One of the main consequences is the strong pressure for further decrease of social expenditures and for transforms, through cuts and privatisations, of the country's social protection system, transforming its traditional role, reducing social expenditures and deregulating labour market. Drawing from political economy this presentation questions the main arguments and the resulting policies of the dominant neoliberal rhetoric and discusses the consequences of the current economic crisis and of the austerity measures on poverty and social deprivation in Greece. The empirical analysis shows that poverty and deprivations increased dramatically since the economic crisis. Also, the social protection system acts as a catalyst in determining the effectiveness of social spending and the distributive role of economic growth and employment. Furthermore, the analysis reveals that dominant perspectives on crisis and poverty in public discourse, which serve to legitimise the neoliberal remedies, are not empirically sound. The devastating effects of the economic crisis on poverty and deprivation are not restricted to the increase of unemployment and the shrinkage of GDP. They are amplified by neoliberal remedies that promote fiscal discipline, reduction of public spending, particularly on social protection, and labour market deregulation.

In What Terms and at What Cost Resilient? 'Unregulated Flexibilization' in Regional 'Troubled Waters'

Dimitris Paitaridis, Stelios Gialis, Stergios Seretis, Alexis Ioannides & Anders Underthun
(Institute of Labour (INE-GSEE))
paitird@yahoo.com

Greece

This paper sheds light on the debate on regional resilience to crisis in Greece, a country long suffering from insufficient planning mechanisms and recently hit by a severe economic crisis. In the paper, we discuss the spatialities of employment flexibilization vis-à-vis the devaluation of regional productive structures between 2005 and 2016. The paper critically builds on previous accounts of regional resilience, but also seeks to develop the concept through engaging in: (i) how different employment patterns, namely part-time work, present a powerful adaptive mechanism that is related to path-dependent regional production profiles; and (ii) why regions with less favourable pre-crisis production structures and anaemic growth seem to have been less affected by recession and may witness a faster recovery in its aftermath. The paper adopts a multi-layered methodology, using a variety of measures, offering an empirically grounded theorization of contemporary labour market changes within the Southern EU. The results indicate some key reasons for radically reformulating established regulatory and planning practices in order to promote a pattern of resilience that is more friendly to good and well-paid jobs. A prerequisite for the latter is the promotion of territorially cohesive strategies that reduce regional disparities and harness 'unregulated flexibilization'.

Türkiye'de Yenilikçi Girişimciliğin Gelişimi
The Development of Innovatıve Entrepreneurshıp in Turkey

Duygu Hıdıroğlu, *(Mersin University)*
duyguhidir@hotmail.com

Turkey

This study is an evaluation report prepared as a result of Innovative Entrepreneurship Development Workshop organized by Mersin University Young Entrepreneur Center in December 2019 administrated by Dr. Duygu Hıdıroğlu with Erasmus students and coordinators at the United Nations Strategic Partnership within the scope of "youthatworkeu". The purpose of the workshop, participants shared knowledge and innovative experiments to discuss what role innovative entrepreneurship played in the development of entrepreneurship and demonstrate results and a conclusion can play to promote growth and employment in Turkey. Innovative entrepreneurship development is defined as the promotion and development of activities and processes that encourage and support productive innovative entrepreneurship in the society. At the workshop, how Turkish Economy and Turkey's new development strategy of innovative entrepreneurship "Growth and Employment" can be supported and what should be the prior strategy of innovative entrepreneurship and what could be its effective implementation and what could be the important anecdotes about innovative entrepreneurship would have been discussed. In the workshop there were twenty participants of each international organization such as development cooperation partners, private enterprises, organizations and universities in Europe. The participants have given an idea about the challenges of development of innovative entrepreneurship and employment growth in Turkey. It is expected them to discuss all questions related to main issues; entrepreneurship, innovative entrepreneurship etc. This report states key issues discussed in the workshop and ends with results and recommendations parts.

For Some Issues of Inequality in the Post-Soviet Space

Edisher Gvenetadze *(Georgian Technical University)*,
gvenetadze@mail.ru
Levan Osidze *(Georgian Technical University)*
levanosidze@mail.ru

Georgia

In the modern world, inequality is often considered as one of the major challenges. Its basis is poverty, which is deeply rooted in the whole earth, especially in the so-called third world countries. First of all, inequality relates primarily to poverty, injustice, and oppression. Most of them are economic inequalities that can persist even if poverty is eradicated and take especially serious forms. Inequality can be seen as a combination of object, subject, and perpetrator, which in its turn fuels the power of relations and political struggle. The issue of inequality is particularly acute in the post-Soviet space, where ideology was based on the doctrine of equality prior to Soviet system collapse. The ideology of universal equality changed at once in the post-Soviet space, and the idea of universal inequality was replaced. That has become so painful for the millions of people who have been very despondent by such developments. Inequality has become a way of life and the nomadic elites created and formed in the bosom of the communist system, which in the process of the Soviet regime collapsed in various fraudulent or burglary ways have seized wealth created by the generations. As a result, the rules of socio-political gambling in the world have been disregarded, and the catastrophic levels of inequality have grown even worse in post-Soviet countries.

Arafta Kalakalmak: Taşrada Kadın Akademisyen Olmak
Get Stuck in Limbo: Being a Female Academician in Periphery

Emek Yıldırım Şahin, *(Artvin Çoruh University)*
emekyildirim@gmail.com

Turkey

Today the ratio of women on the basis of academic staff at current 203 universities composed of 130 public universities and 73 private universities is approximately % 44. However, the significant detail of this percentage is about the overt decrease in number of women while their title ascending. The notable scantiness of the female academicians both within administrative and advanced academic positions demonstrates the place of women in university life in Turkey. In addition to that, this picture also shows a tough process about the daily life of female academicians besides the quantitative statements. Furthermore, having academic positions in the provincial universities after being born, grown up and/or graduated in metropolises because of being unable to find a suitable position at the central universities in big cities or spending the period of obligatory services relating to some kinds of grants or programs could cause the fact that at the same time they encounter with so many difficulties and get stuck in limbo both in their academic life and daily life. By this work, it is aimed to examine these problems and difficulties they face in the places where they live and the institutions where they work by discussing the data gathered from them about their situations.

Keywords: Periphery, women, university, academician

Discrimination Cases toward Refugees and Migrants on the Example of Asylum Seeking Package Changing and its Influence on the Social Welfare

Emilia Alaverdova, *(Georgian Technical University)*
Emily-78@mail.ru

Georgia

The growing influx of immigrants has become the most pressing challenge for the EU's migration system. The theory of world-systems shows that the constant confrontation between the north and the south will always keep the migration flows from south to north. Migration process theorists Ernest Ravenstein, developed the theory of migration canons, focuses mainly on "push" and "pull" factors - encouraging and attractive factors that have a great impact on migration processes. In this context, it is very interesting the conceptions of the conditions of migration, the detection of cross-border migration cases, the changes in the international labor market. The European Union leaders have so far failed to deal with this critical situation properly and effectively, and it has become clear that it is very tough to cope with the high influx of refugees. In response, many European countries have closed their borders and Germany changed its asylum seeker policy. In late September 2015, Germany decided to make some changes to the asylum law, which came into force later in the year. As part of this change, some Western Balkan republics, such as Albania, Kosovo, and Montenegro, are considered safe countries. Asylum applications from citizens of these countries may generally be rejected without any justification or explanation. It was intended to deny economic aid to the people who suffered financial hardship in their own countries. The hypothesis of the research is – to find the discrimination cases in the attitude toward refugees from different countries. The research question – how the discrimination attitude affects on labour market and social welfare?

Key Words: Discrimination, Migrants, Refugees, Policy, Europe, Factors, Labour Market.

Development and Transparency

Erika Torres Godinez, *(Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)*
erika_torre@hotmail.com

México

Development is a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. Focusing on human freedoms contrasts with narrower views of development, such as identifying development with the growth of gross national product, or with the rise in personal incomes, or with industrialization, or with technological advance, or with social modernization, according to Amartya Sen. These freedoms depend on other factors such as social, economic, political and human rights institutions. Fundamental freedoms are an indicator of the development of a country through the reasons of evaluation and effectiveness, since the success and development of a society are based on the freedoms of its members. The five types of freedoms are political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. Transparency as an exercise of accountability is notoriously linked to the processes of change of societies since the end of the 20th century. It is important to highlight the first transparency law of 1766 in Sweden, the right of access to information in the Human Rights Declaration of 1948 and the Code of Practice on Transparency of the International Monetary Fund of 2002. The article aims to demonstrate how the right of access to information facilitates public scrutiny, avoids opacity and reduces corruption, which would have a government that fulfills its function of protecting the public interest and allows the exercise of other rights that in together reflect the development of countries. The Code of Practice favored the issuance of legislation on transparency and protection of personal data in more countries. In democratic societies and in those that are in the process of construction, transparency is an inalienable right that allows the exercise of other rights, so transparency is an indispensable requirement for demanding better living conditions from the government. With this, transparency would have a double effect on the accountability and design of the policy that has to do with development.

Keywords: Amartya Sen, transparency, freedom, development

The Regional Geopolitical Complexities and Its Economic Impact on Iran

Farhang Morady, *(University of Westminster)*
UK

Sub-imperialism emerged as a result of capitalist development in the Middle East, especially amongst the Persian Gulf countries. With the transformation of capitalism since the 1970s, supported by the growing importance of energy, and especially income from it, new centers of accumulation had emerged. As a result, different regional powers in the Middle East, aspiring to have political and military influence in the most vital geopolitical location of the world. The regional rivalry between different states influenced by imperialist powers who have their own economic and political interest. Hence, their collaboration has added to ongoing instability and the region complexities. Sub-imperialist powers are forced to be subservience to different imperialist forces, especially the USA, or they face punishment such as the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the economic sanction on Iran. This paper assesses the Islamic Republic's foreign policy and the impact of sanction by the USA on Iran, especially amongst the poor since the 1979 Revolution.

Exploring Cultural Tourism-Based Circular Economy in Hasankeyf, Turkey

Feridun Duman *(Batman University)*
feridun.duman@batman.edu.tr

Turkey

This study aims to investigate potential drivers and barriers in cultural tourism in order to provide valuable insights for local authorities to make policies to improve sustainable tourism in cultural tourism destinations. A Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threat (SWOT) framework is used to explore the potential development in the context of cultural tourism in the new location of Hasankeyf, Turkey. Hasankeyf was moved to its new location due to the new dam called Ilisu completed in the South Eastern region of Turkey in 2019. Such an enormous project used new and innovative techniques to move its six historically important monuments to their new location. The new location of Hasankeyf has been planned to be the centre for cultural tourism in the region. Therefore, this study explores various cultural tourism policies with the context of SWOT analysis for the policy makers of Hasankeyf for future sustainable development.

Gender Inequality at the Academy: A Qualitative Research

Gülçin Taşkıran, *(Altınbaş University)*
gulcin.taskiran@altinbas.edu.tr

Gülay Aslan *(Gaziosmanpaşa University)*

Turkey

The education system plays an important role in ensuring gender equality. Because while the education system socializes the individual; it also functions to liberate the individual, reshape gender roles and transform it into equality. From this perspective, it is very important to discuss the gender inequality that women academics are exposed to in academia as a woman. Because universities play an important role in the transformation of gender roles as part of the individual's education and training process. In this study, the issue of gender inequality will be evaluated in terms of the provincial or central cities where universities are established, in-depth interviews will be conducted with female academics working in universities in order to examine the discrimination that being a female academic. In this interviews, whether the discrimination that academics are subjected to varies by sex, by being from the city that the univesity is in (or from a familiar culture), by being close to the dominant/opposite ideology will be examined in parallel with locality and the subject of being a female academic will be brought to discussion in the light of regional and spatial differences.

Understanding the Bolsa Familia Program as a Social Protection System

Hikmet Gülçin Beken, *(Gümüşhane University)*
carminomeo@hotmail.com

Turkey

Bolsa Familia in Brazil can be seen as a kind of conditional cash transfer program which has been implemented since 2003. This program has both short-term and long-term targets. In the first place, Bolsa Familia tries to combat poverty and inequality by helping the poorest. Its effect can be seen not just in poverty and income inequality but also stop the transmission mechanism of poverty as intergenerational. It is used as a way to achieve social inclusion in the country. Bolsa Familia combines social insurance and social assistance programs in Brazil by the development of the social protection system. The coverage of Bolsa Familia is wider than the previous programs and it reduces the administrative costs. It is conditional and raises the disposable income of the families. However, the disadvantages of the program can also be taken into account. This study aims to examine the effects of the Bolsa Familia program on the inequality and poverty structure of the country. As a tool of social protection, the effects of the Bolsa Familia on labor markets, human capital, and social classes will be analyzed.

Uneven Knowledge Concentration: The Global Inequality of Intellectual Property

Humberto Merritt Tapia, *(National Polytechnic Institute (IPN))*
hmerritt@ipn.mx, hmt1961@gmail.com

Mexico

Despite the crucial role that scientific and technological knowledge has played on industrial innovation, the intellectual property that stems from this knowledge is highly concentrated in just a handful of nations. This situation has become critical for many developing countries since they must pay fees and royalties for using foreign-owned patents. This global inequality in science and technology emerges from a highly organized (and expansive) R&D industry, which is often explicitly linked to military-industrial complexes. As David A. Smith pointed out almost 30 years ago, rhetoric about increased globalization notwithstanding, technology is a critical resource in the present capitalist world-economy that is very unevenly distributed, with the advanced industrial core states (and their multinational firms) controlling innovation and dissemination. Even China, which many consider a rising technology star, is currently experiencing profound commercial challenges from the incumbent power that is limiting its prospects for truly autonomous economic growth. Therefore, differential control of technology and technological innovation is emerging as a defining trait of the global inequality that will characterize the second decade of the 21st century.

A Core Issue in Economics: Income Distribution

İzzettin Önder, *(Istanbul University (Emeritus))*

Turkey

Distributional problems cover quite a large overlapping area of both economics and some sections of social science. The effects of distributional problems are so immense that they exert not only economic effects like causing economic crisis but have crucial and detrimental social effects as well. In my presentation, to begin with I concentrate mainly on the distributional problem from welfare economics viewpoint in order to show the deadweight loss of maldistribution. Secondly, taking the historical trajectory of welfare programs prevailed from the Second World War onwards in mainly developed economies into account I try to make a short evaluation of the successes and/or failures of the program, i.e. Welfare State policies. Thirdly, I make a short presentation of the case prevalent in Turkey by adding some comments on the present situation and policies being implemented in Turkey regarding income distribution. Finally I terminate my presentation by stressing the fact that in order to reach to a radical solution it is inevitable to delve into the root of income distribution with the help of analysis of market structure in capitalism.

The Challenges of Global Inequalities

Julia Dobreva, *(VUZF University)*
jdobreva@vuzf.bg

Bulgaria

Economies today are facing numerous challenges of the modern world, most of them with no direct economic nature like climate change, global terrorism, refugees, contagious diseases, food and air quality, waste accumulation, etc. Yet, non-economic aspects are tightly linked with economic ones and they both contribute to the development processes in the 21 century. This paper discusses through literature review the current global challenges facing inequalities in different parts of the world. It provides an overview of the current definitions and trends in inequalities, as well as the major problems being faced in modern economies in terms of poverty rates, distribution of income and distribution of wealth. Specific literature overview is done on inequalities both for developing and developed countries to illustrate the main points.

Gendered Aid – The Jordan Compact and Economic Inclusion

Lara-Zuzan Golesorkhi, *(The University of Portland)*
golesork@up.edu

United States

The Jordan Compact (2016) aspires to turn the Syrian humanitarian crisis into a development opportunity. The Compact shifts the focus from short-term humanitarian aid to education, growth, investment and job creation for both, Jordanians and Syrian refugees. This includes issuing 200,000 work permits for Syrian refugees. While the Compact has been praised for addressing humanitarian efforts and development efforts alike, a gendered analysis reveals that labor market participation of refugee women remains low. This raises several questions: How has the Jordan Compact affected labor market participation of refugee women? What are the specific challenges that refugee women face to access and to succeed in the labor market? How can labor market participation of refugee women be optimized? I attend to these questions by focusing on Syrian refugee women as my case study. In my analysis, I draw on empirical data from interviews that I conducted with international and local organizations in Amman, Jordan (March 2018). Based on my findings, I argue that the Jordan Compact does not adequately address specific challenges that Syrian refugee women face to access and to succeed in the labor market. These challenges include employment options, employment history, fear of harassment and government interference, working conditions, trauma, legal awareness, as well as childcare and transportation options. In the discussion of my findings, I engage with literature on migration, development, and humanitarianism.

Gender Policy in Georgia

Lela Tsiklauri , *(Georgian Technical University)*
leliko_74@rambler.ru

Georgia

Georgia, as a state in the way of its independence, recognized European and democratic values and took its route towards European integration. However, strengthening and supporting gender equality is one of the priorities of the country's development. In 1997, the Inter-Parliamentary Council drafted the Universal Declaration of Democracy and recognized the equality of women and men in social and political decision-making as one of the key principles of democracy. Georgia has recognized the Declaration and acceded to a number of international instruments in the field of human rights and freedoms. Observing women's and gender equality work has shown that in many countries there are problems with gender equality that the authorities and public sector representatives have to develop specific strategies and take certain measures to balance the situation. There are varied and individual state programs concerning these issues. Therefore state programs should have certain structures dealing with issues of equality. Georgia has undertaken a number of commitments to take effective steps to achieve gender balance in the field of women's rights and gender equality at the international level.

Key Words: Gender, Policy, Georgia, Human Rights, Democracy.

The Trickle down Economics: A New Evidence

Leyla Firuze Arda Özalp, *(Amasya University)*
leyla.ozalp@amasya.edu.tr

Turkey

It is believed that in the trickle down economics, rapid gains of wealthier class of a society would lead to increase economic growth and their accumulated income and wealth would trickle down to the lower level income groups as new economic benefits. Therefore, in this view, all policies benefiting the wealthier class simultaneously benefit the poor and this economic growth is benefical for every segment of society, even if very few benefit more. In this context this study aimed to analyze the relationship between the top income share, which is an alternative expression of inequality, and economic growth. To measure this nexus this paper employs panel data analysis covering the period 1980-2016.The empirical results show that (1) there is a long term relationship between inequality and economic growth and (2) economic growth is damaged due to more income accumulated in the upper income groups.

Equality between Man and Woman in Modern Society

Lia Metreveli, *(Georgian Technical University)*
metreveli.lia@mail.ru

Georgia

The history of human rights can mainly be divided into two directions of human development. The first is the struggle for recognizing and accessing previously perceived rights, and the second is the ongoing process of fighting for existing rights. Human rights are an essential tool for establishing social justice. If the right is not considered as a matter of importance, then the struggle for its implementation is underway. The process of universal recognition of rights leads to its better implementation, and the process of implementation promotes a growing recognition of rights. Keywords: Economic Growth, Inequality, Trickle Down , Panel Data The Charter of the United Nations is the basis of human rights obligations. On the basis of the universal recognition of the principles of human dignity, the creation of the United Nations is a special stage in the development of human consciousness. The trauma inflicted on many people and groups during World War II provided the basis for people to set certain standards for their governments' demands and requirements. The first attempt to establish these standards was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1947. The first regular session of the UN Commission on Human Rights was held in February 1947 to introduce and oversee the United Nations human rights system. The Convention has been developed by the Human Rights Commission (hereinafter referred to as the Covenants) to establish the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as mechanisms such as forms of realization of their lives, including complaints, monitoring, reporting, and other procedures.

Key words: Human Rights, Universal Declaration, Convention, Realization Forms, Complaints, Monitoring.

COVID-19 and the End of the Road for Neoliberalism

M. Mustafa Erdoğdu, *(Marmara University)*
mustafaerdogdu@marmara.edu.tr

Turkey

The viral pandemic COVID-19, which can be labeled as a black swan event, posed a global public health dilemma. The virus is singled out by scientists by its extraordinary rate of spread and death rate. More than 8.2 million people had been confirmed as infected, with over 444,000 deaths across the World in mid June. This paper suggests that one of the reasons why this pandemic could hardly be contained is very much related to the dominance of the neoliberal economic paradigm or individualistic market fundamentalism at a large part of the word. This is exactly the approach that should be avoided during a pandemic. A socially desirable outcome, on the other hand, requires an all-of-government approach to design measures to improve consistency, coordination, and communication to contain the spread of viral infections. This paper argues that the 2008-2009 Great Recession had revealed how deep the defects of neoliberalism are and COVID-19 made it clear that neoliberalism is unlikely to produce socially desirable outcomes. Therefore, there is a need for a paradigm shift.

Keywords: COVID-19, neo-liberal economics, crises, paradigm shift

Impact of EU Immigration Policy on Georgia

Madlena Kotsotsashvili, **Nino Otkhozoria** *(Georgian Technical University)*
madleinkotsotsashvili@gmail.com

Georgia

The migration crisis in the EU and its impact on Georgia have not received enough attention from the Georgian public. Given its geographical location, Georgia has had to accept relatively small numbers of refugees from the Middle East and North Africa. Accordingly, we have not considered the challenges that threaten the political order of Western Europe. On the contrary, it positively reflected on the country's aspiration to adopt a visa-free regime with the EU.Georgia has stepped up negotiations with the EU to reduce the number of asylum seekers in the EU and to avoid visa-free travel. Of the 30 countries in the EU and the Schengen area where visa-free travel applies to Georgian citizens, only six states has recognized Georgia as a safe country, and the status of a safe country will automatically signed decline for asylum seekers. To achieve the status of a safe country, people must be persecuted in their country of origin, tortured, etc. In order to seek asylum abroad. This implies that human rights are not violated, they are not prosecuted en masse. The purpose of our study is to analyze the security risk on the status of a secure country associated with the so-called security. Numerous facts of creeping occupation, borderisaton , kidnapping and torture on the occupied territories and its borders, and constant pressure and intimidation by Russia.

Key words: migration, safe country of origin, EU, deportation

Belt and Road Initiative and Mediterranean Region - Authoritarianism as an Opportunity?

Maimaiti Yalikun, *(Koç University)*
myalikun18@ku.edu.tr

Turkey

The increasing influence of China in different parts of the world has been the subject of scholarly debates. The Belt and Road Initiative is one of the most discussed projects of 21st century which is launched under the presidency of Xi Jinping in 2013. Mediterranean region is a significant part of the mega project which connects three continents and a path in which Chinese goods are delivered to the European market. This study aims to address the importance of Mediterranean region in the BRI and highlights the role of regime types in the relations of respective countries with China in different levels. The result suggests that relatively democratic countries most of whom represents the liberal core of the international order are skeptical on the Chinese expansion; whereas relatively less democratic and developing countries see the Chinese development model as an alternative to the western hegemony, being more enthusiastic towards the BRI partnership and cooperation.

Keywords: China; Mediterranean region; Belt and Road Initiative; Authoritarianism; International order; China-Med relations.

Gender Equality in the South Caucasus (Political, Socio-Economic and Cultural Aspects)

Maka Benashvili, *(Georgian Technical University)*
maka_benashvili@yahoo.com

Georgia

The article presents the research on gender equality issues in the South Caucasus. In particular, an example of each country is discussed, the conditions of women in political, socio-economic, and cultural aspects. In the progressive-minded society of the modern world, gender equality plays a key role in the protection of human rights and the functioning of democracy. Consequently, the priority issues of this article are: Defining the role of women in the life of Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani society, also, the participation of women in political processes and comparative analysis of the national mechanisms for solving the problems of gender inequality. Throughout the world, despite numerous researches on gender equality issues, also reports, based on statistics, are published periodically on Gender and the South Caucasus by various organizations, in my opinion, the problems of gender inequality in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan require more attention and in-depth research by scientists. The article is based on research methods established in political science. Particularly, from the research analysis of qualitative methods is used – content analysis. It includes research on literary material on gender equality in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, reflecting on the transformation of events and processes and drawing relevant conclusions.

Keywords: Gender Equality, Women, South Caucasus.

The Issue of Ethnic Minority Rights in Modern Georgian Politics

Manana Darchashvili, *(Georgian Technical University)*
mananadarchashvili@gmail.com

Georgia

The protection of ethnic minorities rights is one of the essential and key factors for the development of the modern democratic society. Accordingly, it applies to almost all human rights instruments. The protection of ethnic minorities by international standards is based on several important areas: the protection and promotion of identity and personality; to enjoy equal rights; equality and anti-discrimination; effective and meaningful public engagement. Georgia is traditionally characterized by ethnic and religious diversity, and therefore, caring for them in the country, establishing partnerships and collaborations between minority and majority groups is an important invitation to establish peaceful, democratic processes. Consequently, state-led policies aimed at eliminating discrimination and civil integration require the development and implementation of economic, legal and cultural approaches. Therefore, the study of the issue is very important for the Georgian reality, due to the fulfillment of its obligations locally and internationally. The paper analyses the existing situation in the country based on the research documents and empirical materials. The recommendations and initiatives developed in the work give a good opportunity to the integration of national minorities and their involvement in political life. The work answers to the research question: the situation of Georgian reality, governmental approaches to society. The goal of modern democracy - to reach the people most fundamental right - regardless of ethnicity, language, culture, religion or custom of the full-fledged member of the society. At the same time, the state's attempt to establish internationally recognized mechanisms in the country for ethnic minorities - in cultural, social and economic life, as well as in public affairs, especially in matters concerning them, to create conditions for their effective participation.

Mexican Economic Inequality and Polarization in XXI Century

Mario Camberos Castro, **Joaquín Bracamontes Nevárez** *(Research Center for Food and Development A.C)*
mcamberos@ciad.mx

Mexico

Political Economy emerged like science (Smith, 1776) when income distribution or inequality was considered as paradigm. This subject is now days very important: poors and riches income differences has been growing (Piketty, 2015): 1 percent richest people is wealthier than was at the end of XX century (Stiglitz, 2010); beside, was defined principal global economic problem (WEF, 2015 and 2017). Mexican inequality is better than World? This paper is aimed to answer the question. For the propose, Pigou, Dalton, Atkinson and Sen´s welfare theory is used and so the National Income and Spending Home Survey data (ENIGH) 2000-2016. Official decile estimations 2016 were questioned (Boltvinik, 2017, Damian, 2016, and Camberos, 2018). Alternatives own distributions, based on national accounts discrepancy, were elaborated. Results register worst levels inequality and joint polarization. Politician and entrepreneur corruption and impunity explain it anyway; there for, any country ever should not repeat Mexican income distribution model.

Key worlds: Inequality, polarization, Mexico

Visual Politics of a Mediatized Urban World Press News on the New Administrative Capital City in Egypt

Mennatullah Hendawy, *(Technical University of Berlin, Germany and Ain Shams University, Cairo)*
mennatullah.hendawy@campus.tu-berlin.de

In the current globalized/mediatized age, the popular media's image of the city hardly represents the majority of citizens' everyday city experiences or perceptions of their future. This misrepresentation of urban conditions in media on one side creates processes of visibility and invisibility for the city among not only the general public but also urban planners who get enrolled in the process of producing these city/ies (images). On the other side, this effect and facilitates marginalization, disablement as well as socio-spatial injustices and the further exclusion of vulnerable groups from services and infrastructure. In Egypt, these vulnerable groups form the majority of the population. This could be term as 'Visual justice'. The focus of my cumulative 5 Journal articles PhD is accordingly to employ a grounded theory methodology to investigate how planning knowledge is constructed and communicated in a mediatized age yet centralized planning and media context like Egypt; how urban planners are educated and how plans are communicated in order to keep (certain) political and economic agendas and ruling bodies in operation. The research aims to investigate the position of media and how it is employed in city planning in Egypt. This is to understand (communication and visualization). This is done in an attempt to understand and review urban planning theory, process and practice in the politically/economically affected context of media and academia. Using Egypt as the empirical setting for this investigation, the position of media and visualizations in planning knowledge construction, communication, and power (re)structuring is discussed with a particular focus on; (1) the education of planners and the (re)construction of the Academic City which is on one side, exclusive to large scale urban projects , on the other side, largely dependent on visual and graphic tools; (2) the public visual communication of planning through street billboards and the consequent (re)construction of the Professional City; how the public are targeted yet excluded from the planning process as well as from the process of producing these public visualizations, and what this implies for professional planners who are enrolled in the process of constructing these visualizations; (3) The state's mediatization of urban projects in a centralized/neoliberal planning/media context like Egypt and how the mediatization of urban projects in this setting has embedded visual politics which (re)constructs urban planning and the Propagated City; (4) The parallel visible cities to public versus private transportation users in this context presenting the Ordinary City versus the Mediatized City. What role can mediatization of planning play in facilitating social/spatial/visual justice within the constraints of a centralized planning system. (5) the influence of these Fata Morganas (illusionary narratives) on the perception of the general public and on the visual as well as real-estate culture(s) of Egypt's urbanization. In the end, it is aimed to interrogate and unlearn the assumptions of/in planning about urban futures to generate a planning theory driven from the role of mediatization in enabling inclusive urban development in a centralized setting.

Determinants of IMF Program Design

Merih Angın, *(Koç University)*
mangin@ku.edu.tr

Turkey

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), which is considered as "the most powerful international institution in history" (Stone 2002, 1), is frequently argued to be an agent of its most powerful shareholders. In this context, this paper will focus on a controversial aspect of the IMF's primary mission, i.e. lending to its members in need of IMF finance. The research aims to answer the following questions: What factors influence the terms (loan size, number of conditions, and conditionality waivers granted) of an IMF program, and how do those factors play into shaping the design of the programs? By creating a comprehensive novel methodology and framework for understanding IMF program design, this project aims to provide an indispensable and extensible tool for international political economy researchers, policymakers, governments and IMF staff to model the program design and implementation process with high predictive power of the outcomes.

İşletmelerin İş Jeti Satın Alma Kararını Etkileyen Faktörler
Factors Affecting Companies' Decision Making on Purchasing Business Jet

Ali Talip Akpınar, Muhammet Davut Yüce, *(Kocaeli University)*
mdyuce@gmail.com

Turkey

In conjunction with the increase in national and international commercial activities and the expansion of the sites of action, for companies, the importance of time management has increased gradually. In order to meet this need, Beechcraft manufactured an aircraft called Model-18 in 1937, with a capacity of 6 to 9 seats, which brought comfort to travel for the business people whenever/wherever they needed within the frame of technical facilities. Thus, the business aviation concept, which is defined as the transportation of the managers, employees or customers with their own or leased aircrafts, has emerged in order for the companies to continue their activities effectively, efficiently and profitably. In parallel with the development of business aviation in the course of time, the need for business jet models with various travel ranges and/or seat capacities have emerged. Decision making process has become vitally important in identifying the appropriate business jet among numerous models available to purchase. The factors affecting identifying the business jet model are determined cost range of purchasing, required flight range, required seat capacity, cabin height / width and operating costs. The factors affecting the decision making of a business jet are the costs of purchasing, operating costs which are fixed and variable, taxation advantages, chartering income, sales income and the cost of chartering other business jets instead of purchasing. The costs of purchasing a business jet are consultancy (brokerage) cost, escrow cost, technical inspection cost, business jet cost, financial cost and cost of positioning the business jet to the delivery point. The operating costs comprise fixed costs and variable costs. Fixed costs include aircraft management costs, crew costs, insurance cost, depreciation cost, bulletin / software / communication costs and hangaring cost while fuel cost, navigation cost, maintenance, repair and overhaul costs, maintenance programs cost, ground services, landing and parking, in-flight services costs, operation control & flight permissions costs and variable crew costs are listed as variable costs. The factors affecting companies' decision making to purchase a business jet and determining its model were evaluated by comparative example including benefit cost analysis of models.

Keywords: Business aviation, business jet, decision making of purchasing

State Capacity and the Role of Industrial Policy in Economic Development

Murat Yülek, *(Ostim Technical University)*

Turkey

Industrialization drives income generation and growth as Kaldor has suggested. Industrial sector production commands high productivity. At the same time, technological development as physically embedded in industrial production leads to increased productivity in non-industrial sectors. As industrialization does not occur by itself, industrial policies are needed. On the other hand, most of the world's countries are either in the low income trap or the middle income trap. Why then, while almost every country implements some industrial policy, only a few are industrialized and are rich? A major part of the answer lies in the state capacity. All states conduct policies in different areas, basically involving taxing and spending. However, policies are better in countries with better state capacity. In other words, countries with worse state capacity spends its resources in the wrong areas and are not able to drive sustained economic development let alone industrialization.

Citizenship – Narrative of Eliminating Inequality

Nana Bakhsoliani, *(Georgian Technical University)*
bakhsolianinan@yahoo.com

Georgia

Azerbaijanians, Students Restoration of independence of Georgia, together with various significant issues, put on the agenda the questions of civil consciousness, possibility of constructive solution of problems, as in the previous period a citizen of the Soviet Union was associated with an inert, conformist person, detached from the political processes. In the Soviet Union the elections were held symbolically, therefore, a citizen's involvement in the state management was impossible. In a sovereign state the process of building the civil society and democracy implies constructive relations between state institutions and ordinary citizens, which can be achieved by means of citizenship granted by the Constitution both to the dominant population and various ethnoses living constantly in the country. From ancient times Georgia was distinguished by its multiethnicity, which as a result of the social development or under the influence of external factors posed relevant political tasks before the Georgian state. Thus, formation of a certain tradition of international relations and its development were dictated by the peculiarity of the Georgia people and this tradition played an extremely progressive role in the history of Georgia. In this regard, my research is focused on the articles of the Constitution of Georgia, which are related with the elimination of inequality between various ethnoses and the dominant population in Georgia. The citizenship granted by the Constitution, allows the citizens of Georgia, regardless of their ethnic and religious affiliation or language, to maintain and develop their culture, and use their mother tongue in private and in public, without any discrimination. The identification card of the citizen of Georgia does not include the column indicating citizenship. All ethnoses living in Georgia, together with the dominant population, the Georgians, participate in the political processes – elections, economic and educational life. The present study is focused on the Azerbaijanis living in Lower Kartli and Kakheti. The observation has demonstrated that the Azerbaijanis are involved in the life of the state to the equal degree with the Georgians. This is especially clear in higher educational institutions where the Azerbaijanis, together with the Georgian youth, take an active part in the University events – scholarly conferences, seminars, students' days, sports, etc. Key words: Inequality, Citizenship,

The Role of Women in Modern Georgia

Nino Maziashvili, *(Georgian Technical University)*
nucamaziashvili@yahoo.com

Georgia

This article deals with the role of women in modern Georgia, as well as with the starting point of women's development as an equal member of society. It speaks about the reasons of women involvement in the economic, educational, and political processes and the development of the quoting system. The article highlights the privilege of gender balance and gender discrimination, which has a great influence on the segregation of the labor market and consequently, gender-based imbalance in salaries. If women's rights mechanisms can be studied separately for specific needs, this will help to overcome the problems faced by women from different vulnerable groups. The main purpose of the article is to identify the main features of gender discrimination and aims to highlight the role of women in education, the economy, the development of governance and to show a woman as an equal member of society. This paper uses research and comparative analysis methods, about the role of women in Georgia, the stages, ways, and future perspective of its development.

International Political Economy of Peace Making in Middle East: A Case Study of Syria

Lt Nudrat Bano (R) PN *(Kinnaird College for Women Lahore)*
nudrat.bano@kinnaird.edu.pk

Pakistan

The paradoxical byproducts of one another - Peace and conflict, are the key variables directly dependent over emerging dynamics of International Political Economy. In it is the newly developed status quo where conflict channelizes for mercantilism and Peace engineers new prospects of Resource Sharing: within a troubled region thus are developed new economic possibilities. Syria is such a canvas wherein the political operatives of peace making has led to a series of definitive crisis i.e. historical annihilation – identity; statism crisis – compromised sovereignty; and, mass migration – socio cultural reconfiguration of regional geo-politics. A careful view of it presents the abuse of human rights that came in the pursuit of R2P. Absolute Advantage and zero sum game are in action whereas the key global players US and Resurgent Russia in calculation of their gains form economic decisions relative to Syria. So this is IPE of peace making versus Syrian human's rights.

Key words: mercantilism, identity, statism, geo-politics

European Stability Mechanism in Managing the Crisis in the Eurozone: A Comparison of Labour Market Indicators in Bail-out Economies

Özgün Sarımehmet Duman, *(Hacettepe University)*
ozgunduman@gmail.com

Turkey

This paper focuses on the key features of European integration and financial stability in the Eurozone after the economic crisis. It evaluates the mechanisms introduced in the Eurozone for the management of the economic crisis and protection of the euro economies. It scrutinises the establishment of the European Stability Mechanism (ESM), which constituted a permanent intergovernmental institution in managing the Eurozone crisis and safeguarding financial stability in the euro area as a whole. It discusses how the ESM was designed to provide financial assistance to Euro Area countries with severe financial problems – its lending toolkit included loans within a macroeconomic adjustment programme, primary market purchases, secondary market purchases, precautionary credit line, loans for indirect bank recapitalisation, and direct recapitalisation of institutions. The paper offers a comparative analysis of ESM activities in bail-out economies, namely Greece, Cyprus, Portugal, Ireland and Spain. It compares the amounts of financial assistance, contents of financial agreements, conditions to loans, disbursements and repayment, and conditionalities included in the agreements. Based on these parameters, it examines the post-programme surveillance reports and country-specific data on labour market structures. It presents a comparative analysis of labour market indicators such as unemployment, flexibilisation, deregulation and competitiveness in the pre- and post-programme periods. The paper inquires a correlation between the scope of bail-out agreements and labour market reforms in Greece, Cyprus, Portugal, Ireland and Spain within the framework of the Eurozone crisis and the ESM.

An Essay on the Relationship between Crisis and Theater: The Crisis in 1970s and Sam Shepard's "Curse of the Starving Class" Kriz ve Tiyatro İlişkisi Üzerine Bir Deneme: 1970'li Yıllarda Kriz ve Sam Shepard'ın "Aç Sınıfın Laneti"

Pelin Vildan Kökçü Delikaya, *(Yıldırım Beyazıt Univesity)*
pelinvildankokcu@gmail.com

Turkey

"The reductionism and self-technical fields of social sciences, had an aim to train scientists and accomplished this, however these disciplines leaded to a limited production of discourse and in a sense, it constituted a control system through perpetuating the rules, as Foucault (1972:224)emphasized. But, is it possible to reach the social realities and the knowledge of the truth with an understanding of social science abstracted under the name of discipline ? In this sence, can theatre plays, which take its materials from life and which are more dependent on the concrete reality than the other arts, be used in reaching truth ? In this context, this study's purpose is to consider economics by the eyes of art, through the theatre play named " The Curse of The Starving Class" which was written in 1978 by Sam Shepard and to analyze how the play, which was written at a date, as Arrighi says, corresponding to that "last wonderful moment" of America which had already faced with 1973 economic crisis and trying to sustain its capital accumalation by financialization, reflects the economic, social and political conjuncture by a Marxist art criticism and to discover the era's class consciousness, the rule of "capitalism treats by burdening with debt" and inequalities and crisis-inherent structure as a structural feature of the World capitalism, through an American family, which they accepts themselves as a part of " a starving class" in the play. Consequently, the play is discussed in the context of the historical conditions that brought it out and is analyzed within the framework of the components determined by Eagleton for a Marxist literary relationship. In this sense, it is stated that, besides explaining the social reality, the social power relations that determine this reality can be viewed with theatre and the economic and social effects of over- accumulation crisis, resulting in dispossession and social crisis in the 1970s can be reached on the basis of capitalism and theatre relationship.

Development of Energy Resources in the Ottoman State from the Industrial Revolution to the Republic

Perihan Hazel Kaya, *(Selçuk University)*
perihaner@selcuk.edu.tr

Ning Hou

Turkey

Sources that respond to energy demand have evolved to date due to increasing needs, and technical advances especially after the Industrial Revolution have been an important turning point in this field. Depending on the role of coal in the production processes, the search for new energy sources brought oil to the global agenda in the second half of the 17th century. Improvements in development indicators resulting from the use of oil with coal have encouraged countries to mobilize these resources. However, the unbalanced distribution of these resources on a global scale pushed industrialized countries into different seeking and directed them towards regions rich in energy resources. The aim of this study is to investigate the perspective of the Ottoman Empire on coal and oil and its activities in this field through the documents of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in the process from the Industrial Revolution in Europe to the Republic. In this direction, firstly, the historical development of coal and oil in the Ottoman State is discussed, and then the legal arrangements and practices for oil resources and coal mine in the 19th century are examined. An answer is sought by way of all these examinations to the question of whether the decline and ending of the Ottoman State is also related to energy sources.

The Political Economy of Financialisation: Critical responses to the excess of contemporary capital markets

Peter Willans, *(University of Tasmania)*
peter.willans@bigpond.com

Australia

Fictionalization denotes the increasing prominence of financial practices and motives within global economies. The concept of fictionalization is multi-dimensional. International speculative trading, and the rise of an investor class, have effectively redefined contemporary financial markets. Market structures were distorted by the Global Financial Crisis, including the resultant contemporary slow-motion stagnation of global GDP growth. Politically insulated speculative international financial trades represent high level fictionalization. The City of London, and Wall Street head the globalized quasi-finance-based sectors which enable sophisticated high frequency trading, currency exchanges, and unregulated finance activities, that lead to market distortions. Distortions activate trade positions. Finance activity encourages polarization in domestic economies, and between economies. It constitutes a threat to social cohesion, disenfranchises domestic economies, and, has lowered nation states domestic capacities for decades. For nation-states, a rising share of capital income compared to total income, suggests that capital is becoming more important than citizens, and creates deepening inequality. Nation-states are already disadvantaged by hollowed out domestic economies, privatized state-based services, under-funded regional services development, and critically, provision for long-term costs associated with climate change. Decades of fictionalization has resulted in acute social consequences. This paper examines a range of detrimental outcomes for global citizens in terms of lost income, and lost prospects, as contemporary regimes of fictionalization predicate new spheres of inequality. Conversely, elite market players, in an increasing border-less economic environment, hold nation-states to account for disruptions to markets and institutions. Fictionalization creates inequalities, destabilizes the political economies of elected governments, and the societies they represent.

Islamic State of Iraq and Levant: Turkey and Russian role in Middle East

Qudsia Akram, *(Kinnaird College for Women)*
qudsia.akram@kinnaird.edu.pk

Pakistan

The threat posed by violent non state actors has added in the complexity of international system. Where they challenged the international peace and security, they have also alarmed states as their national interests met with a serious threat. Emergence of ISIL acted as an opportunity for these states to extend their influence in the region and thus generated a unique pattern of cooperation and conflict. This research study is going to analyze the patterns of conflict and cooperation that exist between Russia and Turkey in the region through the lens of realistic conflict group theory while keeping in view ISIL as a super ordinate goal. The realistic conflict group theory provides a framework to study the dynamics of conflict and cooperation considering states as rational and prudent actors.

Understanding and Framing Big Data from Political Economy Perspective

Reşide Adal Dündar, *(Ankara University, Faculty of Political Sciences)*
adal@politics.ankara.edu.tr

Turkey

Big Data now represents a new era in the global capitalist system. The cause and product of the era called cognitive, data, or digital capitalism on which the Fourth Industrial Revolution rises. Big data, which started to be talked about since 1990, has settled in our lives after 2008. Uncovering its benefits and drawbacks would be of great importance. Thus, “what is this big data, what is new and distinctive regarding big data” questions need to be explained in the first hand. Regarding the scientific area, in the relationship of data science, which has started to take shape as a field of science, a question rises whether the big data end the theory, or not. Therefore, the innovative side of NLP, discourse analysis, and other tests as the techniques and approaches of analyzing social events in data science should be explored. This accompanies another question of how is big data science and its methods used in other disciplines? As of economics, such questions should be asked how have all the methods of doing business, production, and consumption transformed in the economy? Who has big data? Who uses big data and how, for what purposes is it evaluated? Considering the changing nature of politics, “dataism” and “datakrats'” age challenge the traditional understanding of democracy and basic concepts of politics as well. Status of big data if it is public, private, or common source is great concern in the conjunction of economics and politics. Raising awareness about the individual loss of power and control, and potential threats to human rights is quite vital. Do the people whose data are received approve of this? How important is data security? Who will be punished if a machine with artificial intelligence harms people or society? Is it the algorithm that designs, manufactures, markets, sells, embraces, or all humanity? What are the epistemological, ontological, anthropological, and ethical dilemmas and limitations of big data? Briefly, asking the right questions in the social methodology is the basic stepping stone of the social science research construction. Within this paper, big data will be tried to be placed in an exploratory and descriptive framework by evaluating from the individual to communities, from companies to giant corporations, from local administrations to international and transboundary formations, from pure sciences to interdisciplinary levels with the reshaping effects of it on societies, economies, politics, international relations, and sciences.

The Collective Memory of Dysfunctional Social Capital: Using A Historical Retrospective of the Recent Past to Understand Current Events in Lebanon

Roxana Toma, *(State University of New York Empire State College)*
roxana.toma@esc.edu

United States of America

How can the study of the recent past inform a nation now grappling with issues of identity and citizenship? What forces influence public memory? This paper will explore the importance of recent history in shaping the Lebanese Revolution that started at the end of last year, and the factors that influenced the collective public memory that was in place in Lebanon on the verge of these events. In order to do that, I offer a historical retrospective of the dysfunctional social capital that was in place before the current events begun. Social capital theory will be presented first, to inform the qualitative analysis that follows, drawing on ten expert interviews that were conducted in Lebanon in 2016 and 2017. The purpose of these in-depth interviews was to gather expert opinion about the transformation and development of Lebanon after the civil war and document perceptions of corruption, social trust and the meaning of identity and citizenship for the Lebanese people. Findings of the analysis help inform current events in Lebanon, as they indicate that there was a clear need for civic ethos to be built outside sectarian lines, an ethos founded on a shared sense of identity and citizenship and of concern for the public good, which seemed to be missing at the time.

Understanding Veganism within Sustainable Tourism Context

Sebahattin Emre Dilek, **Nur Kulakoğlu Dilek** *(Batman University)*
s.emre.d@hotmail.com

Turkey

Veganism as a socio-cultural movement draws attention as an important issue related to sustainable tourism. In this study, the relationship between veganism and sustainable tourism is examined and it is emphasized how veganism can play an important role in reducing the negative effects of tourism on environment. Contrary to popular belief, veganism is not a marginal movement of the modern era, but a radical change movement and solution proposal at the point of building sustainability in every field such a tourism. Indeed, veganism, which prioritizes the socio-cultural and ecological environment and supports reasonable production and consumption in this respect, is an important philosophical approach and lifestyle in order to make tourism economically sustainable. Socio-cultural, ecological and economic environment, which is defined as triple bottom line as to sustainability, should be considered as a holistic for sustainable tourism. Considering the defenses of the philosophy of veganism, the convergence between sustainable tourism and veganism should not be ignored.

Educational Equality in Turkey: A Regional Appraisal

Seda Yıldız, **Derya Gültekin-Karakaş, Elif Garagon** *(Istanbul Technical University)*
sedayldz7@gmail.com

Türkiye

The development of educational opportunities plays a significant role in improving national competitiveness and social welfare. A higher level of education could serve to utilize the existing human capital more efficiently in a country. However, for economic and social sustainability, it is essential to establish and maintain equality of opportunity in education. This study examines educational achievements in Turkey in the period of 2008-2018 at a regional level from an equality perspective. The analysis explores to what extent both the access and quality of education received are diverged among the regions. In this context, firstly the Education Gini index and Theil index are calculated for the regions at the level of NUTS1. As well, for an evaluation of quality of education, public and households spending on education will be compared among the regions, using the data retrieved from the Turkish Statistical Institute and National Education Ministry. The findings indicate that the education level reached in a specific region is in direct proportion with the economic gains of the region in the country.

Modern İpek Yolu Türkiye'nin Yeni Ekonomi Kemeri Olabilir Mi?
Can the Modern Silk Road Be the New Economic Belt of Turkey

Sevda Mutlu Akar, **Senem Nart** *(Bandırma Onyedi Eylül University)*
sevdamutluakar@gmail.com

Turkey

In 2003, The People's Republic of China announced the new project which aims to revivify the historic "Silk Road". This project was called as "One Belt One Road (OBOR)" or "Modern Silk Road". It was planned to revive trade, cooperation, transportation, and cultural exchange between the Eastern and Western countries with this project. The six corridors have been determined in order to reach the expected targets of the project. Turkey is located in "China-Central Asia–West Asia Corridor". It is expected that this project will have positive effects on Turkey's foreign trade, logistics, and the railway sector. The aim of this study is to examine the possible economic effects of Modern Silk Road to Turkey. The SWOT analysis is used as a methodology to evaluate the possible effects. The results show that the financial and logistics sector will develop and tax revenues, foreign trade volume, and employment will increase with this project.

Key Words: One Belt One Road, Modern Silk Road, Turkey, SWOT Analysis

Labour Process Theory four decades after: A critical reappraisal

Stavros D. Mavroudeas, *(Panteion University, Department of Social Policy)*

Greece

Labour Process Theory was born after H.Braverman's ground-breaking work 'Labor and Monopoly Capital' (1974). Its major contribution was that it reinstated at the foreground the Marxist analysis of Labour Economics as a credible alternative to both the Neoclassical and the Keynesian theories of Labour Economics. Following from this a vibrant discussion was born that led to the creation of the scientific sub-field of Labour Process Theory within the academia. Notwithstanding its crucial contributions and significant advances over the previous forty years, today the Labour Process Theory is in a stalemate. This has been accurately characterized as a state of identity crisis. This paper reviews the evolution of Labour Process Theory and periodizes it in four distinct phases. The first one is marked by Braverman's seminal contribution and his deskilling thesis. The second one scrutinised several of Braverman's stylized facts (and especially the deskilling thesis) and expanded analytical and empirical studies to new issues (e.g. labour market segmentation, power and control in the workplace, designing job descriptions, cohersion and consent in the factory). The third phase attempted a generalization of the Labour Process Theory and ventured into macroeconomic projections on the basis of it (e.g. theories about Fordist and post-Fordist capitalism, Flexible Specialisation). The last phase is characterized by a distancing from the Marxist theory of the social mode of production, the Labour Theory of Value and class struggle and is being lost in interesting but limited empirical issues concerning the workplace and managerial strategies. This paper argues that a return to the foundations of Marxist economic analysis is necessary in order for the Labour Process Theory to regain its identity and explanatory power. This task is particularly pressing in the current era of rapid changes in the workplace and the labour market.

How Sticky are the Occupational Trajectories among Parents and Offspring in the South-European Countries?

Stefanos Papanastasiou, *(Democritus University of Thrace, Department of Social Policy)*
stef.pap@icloud.com

Greece

The EU countries exhibit differing degrees of stickiness in occupational trajectories across generations. The aim of this paper is to bring to the forefront the extent of stickiness among parents and offspring in occupational attainments as well as the causes due to which such stickiness persists despite the overall societal progress over the last decades. To this end, the paper employs SILC data through specific techniques (e.g. transition matrices) to answer whether stickiness patterns exist and whether they can be attributed to a single or a multitude of factors. By shedding light on family ties, social protection systems, economic models, labor markets, etc., the paper investigates what contributes most or tackles sticky occupational routes along two generations. The data refer to pairs of both fathers and sons as well as mothers and daughters. The countries under consideration are the four south European countries (Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal). According to researchers, these countries form a distinct system of social protection and welfare with deeply embedded foundations and characteristics. The outcome of the paper may be of interest to social researchers and to policymakers.

Spillover of COVID-19: Impact on the Global Economy

Thankom Arun, *(University of Essex)*

UK

How did a health crisis translate to an economic crisis? Why did the spread of the coronavirus bring the global economy to its knees? The answer lies in two methods by which coronavirus stifled economic activities. First, the spread of the virus encouraged social distancing which led to the shutdown of financial markets, corporate offices, businesses and events. Second, the exponential rate at which the virus was spreading, and the heightened uncertainty about how bad the situation could get, led to flight to safety in consumption and investment among consumers, investors and international trade partners. We focus on the period from the start of 2020 through March when the coronavirus began spreading into other countries and markets. We draw on realworld observations in assessing the restrictive measures, monetary policy measures, fiscal policy measures and the public health measures that were adopted during the period. We empirically examine the impact of social distancing policies on economic activities and stock market indices. The findings reveal that the increasing number of lockdown days, monetary policy decisions and international travel restrictions severely affected the level of economic activities and the closing, opening, lowest and highest stock price of major stock market indices. In contrast, the imposed restriction on internal movement and higher fiscal policy spending had a positive impact on the level of economic activities, although the increasing number of confirmed coronavirus cases did not have a significant effect on the level of economic activities.

Keywords: Covid-19, Coronavirus, SARS-CoV-2, outbreak, social distancing, pandemic, financial crisis, global recession, public health, spillovers, monetary policy, fiscal policy, liquidity
provision, Central banks.

Analyzing the Tourism FDI Influence on Economic Growth (In the Case of Autonomous Republic of Adjara).

Tinatin Zhorzholiani, *(Grigol Robakidze University)*
zhorzholianit@yahoo.com

Georgia

The present paper attempts to address the important issue of whether foreign direct investment (FDI) flowing into the tourism sector has served to strengthen economic growth in Autonomous Republic of Adjara for the period 2010–2019. The tourism sector has obtained significant attention by many developing countries' government since it is frequently seen as a potentially promising source of economic growth and development as well as for encouraging human development. This study adopted time series vector error correction model (VECM) approach to conduct co-integration test, stability test and stationarity test. Utilizing a dynamic vector error correction model, and catering for dynamism, the consequences demonstrate that tourism FDI has definitely contributed to fostering economic growth; although the magnitude of the coefficient being relatively smaller than FDI in the non-tourism sector. A believable explanation for such a finding can reside in the fact that large proportion of FDI flows in the non-tourism sectors while domestic investment predominates in the tourism sector in Autonomous Republic of Adjara. The conclusions also illustrate a positive relationship between economic growth and tourism development, thus supporting the tourism-led growth hypothesis. The findings indicated that, no matter in the short term or long term, tourism FDI is an important contributor of economic growth in Autonomous Republic of Adjara, and the results have also highlighted the prominent role played by the government in fostering inward FDI.

Key words: Economic growth; Foreign direct investment (FDI); Tourism Sector; Vector error correction model (VECM).

Social Cleavage After Remaking National Identity: Case of Un-Islamized Turkey and Un-Chineselized Taiwan

Ting Ya Hsu, *(Middle East Technical University)*
coldcathy@hotmail.com

Turkey

This study aims to examine the methods used to remaking national identity in the causation of huge social cleavage. National identity collection of cultural elements is continually (re)constructed or reinforced whenever the nation needs to promote solidarity among its citizens. In the case of Taiwan and Turkey, two essential elements-Chinese and Islamic culture, which has been embedded in the national culture for centuries, was eliminated from the new national identity. Thus, enormous social cleavage emerged between people who have adopted or refused to the new national identity. This research would compare the methods and ideologies of un-Chineselized Taiwanese and un- Islamized Turkish identity-making process within given epochs as a result of which the social cleavage divide groups of people who should have shared the same identity. Through the comparative analysis between the two cases, hopefully, it can shed some light on the remedy of the cleavage.

Women and Unemployment: A Qualitative Analysis on Accessibility and Employment Rights

Vibhuti Kapila, **Joel Sakhi** *(University of Delhi)*
vibhutikapila@gmail.com

India

As more and more women claim workplace - spaces every day, the question of mobility, and accessibility rise, with much focus on the unjust-unlawful exclusion from these spaces. While some studies imply otherwise, and appears to be development on the surface; one must ask and intervene: does increase in number of such participation indicates more socio-economical growth? When public spaces of Higher education are made accessible, even after tackling socio-economic, political situations, the relevant skill sets that are given for an open labour market which is supposed to make them upwardly mobile against socio-economic parameters- however the same is not reflected in the academic labour market. Class - caste struggles that are reflected majorly in women employment and category of jobs available, a lot of them are left out due to reasons concerning sexuality, socio- political issues. In most situations, Women's preference is overwhelmingly tilted towards the former employment opportunities as compared to the latter, due to flexibility of work and possibility of working from home, given certain socio-cultural constraints and poor working conditions in other sectors. Recently, with the #Metoo campaign in India, many women came out to reinforce transparency in workplaces. At the same time, The popular press and the visual media completely failed to register the gaps between promises of women's empowerment and the reality of the movement. Another failed instance comes from the implementation of NREGA, in which, according to a survey, "women prefer to work more at their house, or other daily wage sites, because women workers are, 'as a rule', paid less than their male counterparts in rural and urban casual wage work." (Reetika Khera, EPW) This paper is an in-depth study of the employment terms and conditions of various categories of injustices and designed hegemonies for women along with accessibility in other sectors for women. Due to laxity in implementing labour laws and standards, they often work for less than the minimum wages and in dismal work conditions. It is important to note, that the theme of paper deeply argues with the nature of work women are assigned with; which can range to and from Type C to limited availability of work.

Paradoxical Globalization: An Upsurge in Poverty and Economic Disparity in India

Vishal Rajput, *(Jamia Millia Islamia)*
vishal182111@st.jmi.ac.in

India

Globalization is the process of interaction and integration among people, companies, and governments worldwide. As a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, globalization is considered by some as a form of capitalist expansion which entails the integration of local and national economies into a global, unregulated market economy. Initially, it started with the inception of Bretton Wood Institutions where it laid down the framework to facilitate the economic growth by shortening the trade barriers. Moreover, under the structural adjustment program, it has compelled the 'Third World' countries to adhere by the diktats of International Monetary Fund and World Bank in order to expand the free market in particular and neo-liberalism in general. India also couldn't resist itself from the influence and shifted its macro-economic policies from socialist to the neo-liberal framework. In the backdrop of the fall of Soviet Union, India turned its closed economy around by reorienting the economic policies with the introduction of many key reforms in which Globalization is one of them. It was quite evident from the facts that country was struggling hard to accommodate itself to the 'New World Order' of Neo-Liberalism as put forward by Francis Fukuyama. With this step, private and corporate sectors were invited to invest massively in the industrial sector thus India could take the path of rapid economic growth under the pressure of 'Modernization of Chinese economy' in the neighbourhood. The Odyssey of 'License Raj' finally came to an end where India then took up all the liberal policies into its consideration while framing the public policies. Not only this, the economic reformation provided many jobs and offered overwhelming opportunities for foreign investment. However, along with these reforms it didn't perceive the prevailing poverty and the economic disparities within the nation. Somehow the elites and the wealthy class are burgeoning at the cost of the poor and deprived section of the society. With the rising unemployment, the workers and poor people aren't being paid what they deserve to get for their labour. Famous Economist Laurate, Joseph Stiglitz, propounded that Globalization didn't prove to be beneficent for poor and underprivileged from taking them out of the curse of poverty. On the other hand, the escalation of economic disparities is on the forefront where the accumulation of wealth is concentrated in hands of some bourgeoisie while the economically deprived communities are struggling hand to get the basic necessity of life. This paper examines how the Globalization came into being in the post-modern world and how it is paradoxical in nature which ushered to the rising poverty which has direct consequences on economy in toto. It will also give emphasis upon the withering away of the middle class from the society which is reflecting the economic disparity consequently due to Globalization.

PROCEEDINGS

IMPACT OF EU IMMIGRATION POLICY ON GEORGIA

Madlena Kotsotsashvili (Georgian Technical University)

Nino Otxozoria (Georgian Technical University)

Abstract

The migration crisis in the EU and its impact on Georgia have not received enough attention from the Georgian public. Given its geographical location, Georgia has had to accept relatively small numbers of refugees from the Middle East and North Africa. Accordingly, we have not considered the challenges that threaten the political order of Western Europe. On the contrary, it positively reflected on the country's aspiration to adopt a visa-free regime with the EU.Georgia has stepped up negotiations with the EU to reduce the number of asylum seekers in the EU and to avoid visa-free travel. Of the 30 countries in the EU and the Schengen area where visa-free travel applies to Georgian citizens, only six states has recognized Georgia as a safe country, and the status of a safe country will automatically signed decline for asylum seekers. To achieve the status of a safe country, people must be persecuted in their country of origin, tortured, etc. In order to seek asylum abroad. This implies that human rights are not violated, they are not prosecuted en masse. The purpose of our study is to analyze the security risk on the status of a secure country associated with the so-called security. Numerous facts of creeping occupation, borderisaton , kidnapping and torture on the occupied territories and its borders, and constant pressure and intimidation by Russia.

Keywords: *Migration, Safe country of origin, EU, Deportation.*

Introducton

The migration problem is not really new for Europe. Whether Europe is ready for this challenge. The answer is unequivocal - no. The Association agenda closely linked the current events in the European Union to the Georgian reality. Of course, the EU's internal political decisions affect Georgia as a partner country. The migrant crisis is no exception. The number of migrants in the 27 EU member states amounted to 21.8 million in 2019, accounting for 4.9% of the EU population (https: //ec.europa.eu).

While there is some skepticism about resolving the migrant crisis, this does not mean that the EU will not be able to overcome it. His unpreparedness is further exacerbated by the fact that he does not know how long the conflicts in his immediate neighborhood will continue. The EU is looking for ways to deal with this situation effectively. One such way to reduce migration is to grant the status of a safe country to countries from which large numbers of migrants seek asylum in the European Union. Among such countries is Georgia.Georgia received the status of safe country of origin. In accordance with Article 16a (3) of the Basic Law, in combination with paragraph 29a (1) of the Asylum Law, safe countries of origin are countries in which, based on an assessment of the general political situation, it can be assumed that people do not suffer from political persecution, inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment (http//ec.europa.eu/safe_country. pdf.)

From March 28, 2017, Georgian citizens have the right to stay in the EU for 90 days and 180 days. The visa-free regime has made life easier for many Georgian citizens. It has become much easier to go to the Euros on vacation, visit loved ones, attend events and participate in conferences. At the same time, Georgia is among the top ten countries in the EU In terms of deliveryof humanitarian migrants.

Peak of asylum applications from Georgian citizens was in 2017. 3459 Georgian citizens applied for asylum in Germany; 2102 - in France; 1107 - in Greece ;; 507 - in the Netherlands; 454 - in Austria; 289 - in Iceland (ec.europa.eu/eurostat/)

The government has stepped up talks with a number of EU countries in order to reduce the number of asylum seekers in Georgia from EU countries and to prevent visa-free travel. Out of 30 countries in the European Union and the Schengen area, where visa-free travel is available to Georgian citizens, only 15 countries have been recognized as safe countries, and the status of a safe country will automatically be denied to asylum seekers(http//eu.europa)

Concept of safe cauntry of origin

Many studies have examined the security logic of EU migration and asylum policies, which served as a legitimizing factor for restrictive measures and for restricting the rights of third-country nationals. The participation of the European Commission in this policy area after the entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty moved towards a more liberal immigration policy, which recognized the positive contribution of labor immigrants. However, the September 11 attacks led to a halt in the liberalization of European migration policy (G. Kariotis. 2007). Analyzing the institutional developments in the field of internal security in the EU, he shows that the events of September 11 did not cause instability, uncertainties, ambiguities and difficulties regarding migration policy; rather, they accelerated a dynamic that was already deeply rooted in the emerging European internal security regime**.**

How the SCO practice has developed in European law and practice since its inception, including the role of European courts in assessing their legitimacy? This European experience then contrasts with other country short-lived experiment with a similar Designated Country of Origin (DCO) system, which their Federal Court declared unconstitutional in 2015(Kastello K. 2016).

.However, these SOGI asylum seekers may well be the victims of persecution requiring international protection, as the information collected regarding the country of origin, the “first country of asylum” and the “third country” often does not contain elements relating to the SOGI minorities . Scientists and civil society have highlighted the shortcomings of the concept of “safe country” (Costello, 2016; ECRE, 2016). Some commentators believe that the EU’s list of “safe countries of origin” will help the EU deal with “unusual migration flows” by speeding up and simplifying asylum claims for victims. However, some countries proposed by the EU Commission as the “safest,” especially Turkey, are known for reporting homophobic and transphobic policies and violence (ILGA. Report 2017). ...

EU countries individually decide what criteria to consider for the safe recognition of another country. Developed countries are very cautious - sometimes overly cautious are toward and are very conservative on this issue.

Currently, most EU countries in one way or another reflect the BSP concept and the concepts of safe third countries in their legislation. Many countries have renewed their legislation, but have not yet compiled a list of BSPs and safe third countries. The second package of the Pan-European Migration Strategy, approved in June 2015, included the idea of creating a single European list of BSPs. Despite these efforts, there is currently no unified opinion on this issue within the European Union, nor is there a single common list of BSPs. In order to optimize the migration process, only 15 EU countries use the BSP list in one form or another.

The concept of a safe migrant country of origin (BSP) appeared in European Union Directive 2005/85 / EC in 2005 (https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content). Updated Directive 2013/32 / EC2 clarifies that a safe country of origin (SCO) implies the existence of democratic and legal procedures in which any human rights violations, including during a military conflict, can be investigated and convicted by an independent body (art. 36 of the Directive).

For migration law, the meaning of the legal construction of a "safe country of origin of migrant" is as follows: applications for asylum or some other form of international protection against this category of persons are considered in the EU countries in a simplified manner and are subject to rejection, with the exception of special cases.

It is important to distinguish the legal construction of a "safe country of origin of migrant" from "safe third countries". The latter, within the meaning of Art. 38 Directives 2013/32 / EC are countries in which asylum seekers and international protection have the opportunity to be safe. In the event that this third country refuses to accept the asylum seeker, the EU Member State is obliged to open the procedure for considering his application according to the general rules (Articles 38-4 of the Directive). The design of the BSP means the safety and sufficiency of national legal procedures to ensure the protection of citizens of these countries, while safe third countries act as guarantors of security and legal procedures for citizens of other countries. Both legal constructions - safe countries of origin of migrants and safe third countries aims to simplify migration management and optimize the provision of asylum in the EU.

This general defence of the "safe country of origin" concept would raise issues of procedural necessity and practicality. If Member States designate certain countries as safe, yet end up undertaking a rigorous assessment of all applicants' individual circumstances to assess protection needs which may arise despite a "safe country" presumption, what is the value of the "safe countries of origin" designation? To understand the implications of the concept in the asylum procedure, it is crucial to recall how the existence of a list of "safe countries of origin" affects the individual asylum seeker in practice. The "safe country of origin" concept, based on which the examination of a claim may be accelerated, is only triggered where the country's national or habitual resident "has not submitted any serious grounds for considering the country not to be a safe country of origin in his or her particular circumstances". Accordingly, for a claim to be expedited as ostensibly unfounded, both the listing of a country as safe and a failure to establish personal circumstances rebutting the presumption are required in the individual case. This, however, entails a higher burden of proof to be discharged by nationals of listed countries as opposed to other asylum seekers, as opposed to the shared burden of proof normally applicable in asylum procedures. By way of example, in the country a well-founded fear of persecution in the country of origin must "appear clearly" from the applicant's declarations for the "safe country of origin" presumption to be rebutted.

The principle of non-refoulement is widely interpreted as to what threats prevent the deport to another country through the interpretation of international human rights instruments. The institutions acknowledge that this principle does not prohibit expulsion to a safe country. In the scientific literature, the meaning of the concept of a safe third country is widely considered. This contribution aims to analyze the application of this concept in a system in which all states must be safe for all asylum seekers, and the principle of mutual trust and equivalence of protection applies. We analyzes when and why EU institutions consider that one of the states participating in the system is safe inside (S. Morgades -Hil. 2020) Some final considerations examine the impact that analysis can have on the principle of mutual trust, for example in Georgia, which underlies freedom, security and justice.

Georgia – AS safe cauntry of origin

Given the country's existing democratic standards and human rights standards, many EU member states have already included Georgia in the category of safe countries.

EU-wide common criteria a "safe country of origin" for such a designation(Article 37(1) Asylum Procedures Directive, According to Annex I to the recast Asylum Procedures Directive, "A country is considered as a safe country of origin where, on the basis of the legal situation, the application of the law within a democratic system and the general political circumstances, it can be shown that there is generally and consistently no persecution as defined in, no torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and no threat by reason of indiscriminate violence in situations of international or internal armed conflict.". For the assessment of such a general and consistent absence of persecution or serious harm, the Directive lists a non-exhaustive set of specific criteria determining "the extent to which protection is provided against persecution or mistreatment". These include: (a) The relevant laws and regulations of the country and the manner in which they are applied; (b) Observance of human rights, notably the rights that are non-derogable; (c) Respect for the non-refoulement principle; and (d) Provision for a system of effective remedies against violations of those rights and freedoms. The Directive concedes that "by its very nature, the assessment underlying the designation can only take into account the general civil, legal and political circumstances in that country and whether actors of persecution, torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment are subject to sanction in practice when found liable in that country."

In Georgia, the factors that cause emigration are complex and are related to economic, social, political changes, as well as individual decisions of people. In the recent history of Georgia, there was a period when emigration was mainly caused by the instability and security-related circumstances (eg, armed conflicts) in the country. However, later on, economic and social factors played a more important role in the growth of emigration flows. Economic reforms in the country over the past decade, along with political stability and security, have also contributed to an increase in immigration flows. However, the scale of emigration has not diminished, as unlike the main destinations countryes of Georgian migrants, the Georgian economy offers relatively limited employment opportunities, wages, social assistance or quality of life to Georgian citizens.This is accompanied by the situation in the Russian-occupied territories, which complicates the situation in the country in terms of security.

Borderization tactics serve Russia's strategy to hurt Georgia's sovereignty and hinder its democratic development. The borderization process violates not only Georgia's territorial integrity and sovereignty, but also threatens the European security agenda. IContinuing its creeping occupation and annexation of Georgian territory, Russia emphasizes the weakness of the Georgian state and questions the credibility of Euro-Atlantic institutions (k. Kakachia, t. larsen a. all..2017)

.. At the same time, this tactic threatens the security interests of NATO and the European Union by increasing the risk of conflict escalation, although the Georgian government condemns the borderization process as a provocative step towards destabilizing the region. What is borderization and when did the Russia start this process? So-called Borderization - To move wire fences, It involves the installation of a banner marking the border. This is a process of creeping occupation that began after the Russian-Georgian war in August 2008 near the occupied territories and continues to this day (k. Kakachia, t. larsen a. all..20170).

If we compare the above criteria with the current situation in Georgia in terms of security and also in terms of migration from Georgia, security will not be a serious factor in the decision of the countries that consider whether to grant asylum to immigrants. It is more of a policy tool to solve its own internal problems for the EU, to reduce the level of migration, and to regulate the criminal situation than to create a real legal framework for asylum seekers. In this regard, Georgia is considered a safe country and a country where, in terms of security and politics, a person does not have a reason to seek asylum. They may have written too many exaggerated things about Georgia in their advice to tourists, but when the immigration authorities of these countries consider the applications of those wishing to stay there from Georgia, we think that Georgia's security will not be taken seriously in some cases.

Impact of safe country of origin status on immigration situation of Georgia

Almost three years have passed since EU opened its borders for Georgian citizens within the framework of the Association Agreement with the European Union. The visa liberalization process is a hard test for a country that has taken a number of steps to prove that it is a worthy candidate for European integration.

Following the entry into force of visa-free travel in EU / Schengen countries, the number of visits made by Georgian citizens in this direction is increasing. In 2017-2018. The number of Georgian citizens holding EU residence permits has been increasing by 8.5% in 2018. Following the entry into force of visa-free travel to EU / Schengen countries, the number of Georgian asylum seekers in these countries has risen sharply. Most Georgian citizens sought asylum in France and Germany; The vast majority of Georgian citizens' applications for asylum in the EU / Schengen countries (approximately 95%) have been rejected by the relevant services on the grounds that their asylum claims are unfounded. And Following the entry into force of visa-free travel to EU / Schengen countries, the number of Georgian citizensWhich are refused to enter these countries has increased significantly. The most common reason for refusing to enter the EU / Schengen countries is the unreasonableness of the purpose and circumstances of staying in the country ; In 2018, the number of illegal Georgian citizens identified and deported in EU countries has significantly increased. https:(//ec.europa.eu/ Imigration)

The number of Georgian citizens returning from EU countries has increased significantly in 2018, and it is expected that the growth trend will continue in the coming years. This process was significantly influenced by the fact that In 2015-2018, the vast majority of Georgian citizens' applications for asylum in the EU / Schengen countries were considered unfounded and negative decisions were made. It should be noted that the recognition rate for asylum applications has fluctuated by 3-5% in recent years, which is one of the lowest rates among asylum seekers in the EU (www.easo.europa.eu/).

The number of Georgian citizens forcibly and voluntarily returning from EU countries is also increasing from year to year. It should be noted that the forced return of Georgian citizens from EU / Schengen countries, Basically, it is carried out within the framework of the readmission agreement. From EU / Schengen countries The number of applications for readmission has been growing over the last 4 years(Georgia Migration Profile. 2019)

There is no There is no danger of suspension of the visa-free travel mechanism by Georgian citizens but the European Commission's press service has said that the suspension could be enforced if the EU and Schengen countries reach an illegal migration rate of 50%. (http://ipo.gov.ie/en)The number of asylum seekers will also increase to 50%, and also if the security of member states is at risk, especially with the highest crime rate.

Conclusion

The "safe country of origin" notion presents substantial conceptual and procedural risks. The criteria and definition thereof in the Asylum Procedures Directive should be cautiously read, given that their reference to a "general and systematic" lack of persecution or serious harm seems to contradict the Refugee Convention's purpose of protecting those who may face individual risks in their home countries for reasons related to their particular personal characteristics.

Moreover, the way in which Member States conduct safety assessments with regard to countries of origin is far from homogenous in practice. Against that backdrop, the Commission proposal for a common EU list runs the risk of triggering a 'race to the bottom' in restrictive rules in the asylum procedure. Criteria such as the general ECtHR figures on rulings finding violations, the Copenhagen conditions for EU accession, or even the number of national lists comprising a particular country, in no way constitute evidence that the safety criteria in Annex I to the recast Asylum Procedures Directive are met finally, recognition rates for ostensible "safe countries of origin" such as Georgia reveal a concerning discord between general presumptions of safety and the protection needs identified for the nationals of the countries concerned in practice. Given its conceptual ambiguity and far-reaching adverse procedural consequences for the individual asylum seeker, this remains an unsafe concept in asylum procedures.

It seems that the issue is political delicacy plays a crucial role in favor of Georgia. Regardless In addition, there is no permanent political immunity that Visa-free travel to the EU has significantly increased illegal immigration and would protect against the background of security risks. Separate member of the E U States are concerned about the unfounded asylum in Georgia increasing the number of seekers and illegal migrants and Georgian due to the activation of organized crime groups. Suspension mechanism for Georgia's European future The European Passenger Information and Authorization System (ETIAS), which violates visa-free travel rules, is under threat will be able to prevent systemic.

References

Policy European Migration after September 11. G .Kariotis. 2007

https: //ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/pdfscache/1275.pdf

K. Kakachia, t. larsen a. all. Borderization in Georgia: Russia's Policy Retention Strategy. 2017

Georgia's 2016-2020 migration strategy http://migration.commission.ge/files/.pdf

The Migration Crisis: A Stress Test for European Values. European Policy Brief .

D 'Oultremont 2015

Safe Country? Who says? C. Costello 2016

Georgia Migration Profile 2019

file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/%E1%83%9B%E1%83%98%E1%83.pdf

Asylum Procedures of EU https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/common-procedures_en

https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=CELEX:32005L0085

Internal "dimension of the concept of a safe country: interpretation of the concept of a safe third country in the Dublin system by international and domestic courts. S. Morgades-Gil 2020

https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32013L0032

https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_en.pdf

https://ec.europa.eu/home_affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/00_inform_safe_country_of_origin_final_en_1.pdf

http://ipo.gov.ie/en/IPO/SI%20No%20121%20of%202018.pdf/Files/SI%20No%20121%20of%202018.pdf

DISCRIMINATION CASES TOWARD REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS ON THE EXAMPLE OF ASYLUM SEEKING PACKAGE CHANGING AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIAL WELFARE

Emilia Alaverdov (Georgian Technical University)

Abstract

The growing influx of immigrants has become the most pressing challenge for the EU's migration system. The theory of world-systems shows that the constant confrontation between the north and the south will always keep the migration flows from south to north. Migration process theorists Ernest Ravenstein, developed the theory of migration canons, focuses mainly on "push" and "pull" factors - encouraging and attractive factors that have a great impact on migration processes. In this context, it is very interesting the conceptions of the conditions of migration, the detection of cross-border migration cases, the changes in the international labor market. The European Union leaders have so far failed to deal with this critical situation properly and effectively, and it has become clear that it is very tough to cope with the high influx of refugees. In response, many European countries have closed their borders and Germany changed its asylum seeker policy. In late September 2015, Germany decided to make some changes to the asylum law, which came into force later in the year. As part of this change, some Western Balkan republics, such as Albania, Kosovo, and Montenegro, are considered safe countries. Asylum applications from citizens of these countries may generally be rejected without any justification or explanation. It was intended to deny economic aid to the people who suffered a financial hardship in their own countries.

***The hypothesis of the research is** – to find the discrimination cases in the attitude toward refugees from different countries.*

***The research question** – how the discrimination attitude affects the labor market and social welfare?*

***The study mainly uses** an analysis method based on the study of modern, documents and empirical material. The basis of source – scientific articles, the press materials and documents published on official websites in the field of migration policy. Papers dedicated to the migration process; papers that present the problems of immigrant integration and the implementation of multicultural policies; studies criticizing approaches in this field; papers dedicated to migration processes in EU countries.*

***Keywords:** Discrimination, Migrants, Refugees, Policy, Europe, Factors, Labour Market.*

Introduction

The growing influx of immigrants has become the most pressing challenge for the EU's migration system. At present, the situation is complicated by the flow of numerous refugees from the Middle East and North Africa. The theory of world-systems shows that the constant confrontation between the north and the south will always keep the migration flows from south to north.

Conflicts in many parts of the world have dislocated many from their homes and forced them to seek protection in foreign countries. During the last decade, the number of refugees reaches its peak and caused certain political and social crises.

There are different forces driving migration for instance poverty, wars, famine, and repression are certainly among the major causes of migration, but there are other factors as well. Mass migration brings its negative consequences for receiving countries, since receiving societies have to cope with the migrants from different ethnic origins, whose values certainly differ considerably from their own. This leads to negative reactions, sometimes taking the form of open racism and xenophobia, due to which it becomes almost impossible to integrate the migrants into hosting society. And this, in turn, brings serious and dangerous hatred from newcomers toward the native society. While migration brings about certain tensions between migrants and natives the outcomes are tended to differ, depending on a country's politics and attitude toward the newcomers. At this point, the most important role is played by the mediating effects of the state policy. While coping with a large number of migrants the policy-shaping authorities have to consider a few different levels of migration policy: local, national, regional and international levels. As for Germany, it appears so that it considered mostly the national level of migration policy.

Conceptual Approaches to the Study of Migration Issues

There are 4 main groups to study migration issues: 1. Papers dedicated to the migration process; 2. Papers that present the problems of immigrant integration and the implementation of multicultural policies; 3. Studies criticizing approaches in this field; 4. Papers dedicated to migration processes in EU countries

Papers dedicated to the migration process - Migration Process Theorists starting with Ernest Ravenstein, who developed the theory of migration canons, focuses mainly on "push" and "pull", (Абылкаликов, Винник 2012) that is, encouraging and attractive factors that have a great impact on migration processes. The prevalence of these foods has an impact on the economy and the country (Everett, 1966). In this context, it is very interesting the conceptions of the conditions of migration, the detection of cross-border migration cases, the changes in the international labor market (Todaro, 1969).

Migration within international relations has traditionally been seen as a global process. For example, the theory of world-systems shows that the constant confrontation between the north and the south, when basic wealth is stored in the north, will always keep the migration flows from south to north. In this regard, the concept of "center-periphery" is discussed, which points to the impact of the economic and technological advantage of the migration-center on the periphery (Hegemony, 2005).

This approach enables us to look at migration research within the context of the interdependency system and predict their changes.

Overall, the growing influx of immigrants has become the most pressing challenge for the EU's overall migration system. At present, the situation is complicated by the flow of numerous refugees from the Middle East and North Africa. The Treaty document regulates asylum standards and procedures. The Lisbon Treaty of 2009 also emphasizes the need for common procedures for IDPs, though each country reserves the right to control and quota overseas. Besides, the issue of equitable distribution of refugees remains open.

Framework documents for readmission and similar programs aimed at improving visa policy, enhancing the exchange of information between the Member States are used against specific illegal immigration, specific levers are used to regulate border crossing procedures and the procedure for returning migrants to their homeland, etc. These methods represent the EU's strategy against illegal immigration.

Thanks to these works and documents, it has been possible to establish and strengthen the EU External Border Cooperation Agency (Frontex). This agency conducts detailed monitoring in the field of migration and analyzes existing risks and threats. Therefore, the communication and inter-migration migration policies in the field of migration have been systematically developed, though mainly limited to the development of standards for the reception of refugees and the prevention of illegal immigration. As for Brussels, it is not empowered to make independent decisions on this matter, but it supports actions and agreements between member states.

The refugee crisis, and in particular the arrival of more than one million asylum seekers in Europe in 2015, has sparked controversy among EU institutions and organizations. The EU and its leaders have so far failed to deal with this critical situation properly and effectively, and it has become clear that the current frameworks cope with the high influx of refugees. In response, many European countries have closed their borders. Hungary closed the Serbian border and built a wall (Schmid, 2016).

Within the closed-door policy, some European countries have refused to accept tolls, while some have been divided into two camps, for example, Germany expects a coordinated European response and Sweden is developing a more independent national policy (BAMF, 2016b; Bundesregierung, 2016e)

To further improve the application procedures provided by the Federal Agency for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), the German government has decided to strengthen and add to the BAMF workforce and has hired 4,000 new staff for this purpose and introduced new asylum procedures which are aimed to deny the help for the people which need it.

New Measures

The increased number of refugees between 2014 and 2016 caused policymakers to take certain measures at the federal level and the level of the Federal States to arrive at a more orderly and reliable reception and management procedure. Numerous new laws and legal amendments were adopted and included in the Residence and Asylum Acts, for example:

- The Act on the Acceleration of Asylum Procedures (Asylum Package I); in force since 24 October 2015 „
- The Act on Improving the Housing, Feeding, and Care for Unaccompanied Minors; in force since 1 November 2015 „
- The Data Sharing Improvement Act; in force since 5 February 2016 „
- The Act on the Faster Expulsion of Criminal Foreigners and Extended Reasons for Refusing Refugee Recognition to Criminal Asylum Seekers; in force since 17 March 2016
- The Act on the Introduction of Fast-Track Asylum Procedures (Asylum Package II); in force since 17 March 2016

- "The Integration Act; in force since 6 August 2016 „ the Act on Combating Child Marriage; in force since 22 July 2017"

- The Act to Improve the Enforcement of the Obligation to Leave the Country; in force since 29 July 2017

- Third-country nationals usually need to apply for a visa at a German diplomatic mission abroad before they are allowed to enter the country. After their arrival, the local foreigners' authority is responsible for all residential and passport matters and decisions. Foreigners usually need to meet certain requirements before they may be issued with a residence title. For example, their livelihood must be secured, their identity and nationality must be established, there must be no reasons for expulsion or objections to granting them a residence title, their residence must not entail risks to national interests, and they must hold a valid passport or another travel document. Residence titles are granted for a specific purpose and a limited period. They may be issued for work, family reunification, education or study and self-employment or reasons of international law or humanitarian or political reasons. Depending on the purpose of stay, the foreigner may need to meet specific conditions. While a residence permit is valid only for a limited period 2 of time, a settlement permit or an EU long-term residence permit is granted for an unlimited period. The issuance or extension of a residence title may depend on the foreigner's fulfilling certain integration criteria. Third-country nationals born abroad may be naturalized under certain conditions (EMN, 2018).

As I mentioned above, due to a large number of asylum applications, the German government decided in the summer of 2015 to shorten and simplify the application process. The point of this accelerated and shortened application is to exempt from impoverished peoples quickly and easily. Indeed it was done to refuse to accept them and not to grand the asylum seeker statement. The changes were aimed specifically at several countries in the Western Balkans, such as Albania, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia, as well as Ghana and Senegal thus declaring them as safe countries. As a result, asylum seekers in this country had to initially get their places to stay. (Pro Asyl. 2015; Riemer, 2015; Spiegel Online, 2015c) Moreover, asylum applications from citizens of these countries may be rejected without any explanations. For these reasons, the applications from the citizens of the above-mentioned countries were expedited to receive a negative response earlier, and make them abandon their initial place of arrival and acceptance. They were allowed to remain in their original place for up to 6 months without any benefits. (Pro Asyl. 2015; Riemer, 2015; Spiegel Online, 2015c; Tagesschau, 2015)

It was intended to deny economic aid to the people who suffered a financial hardship in their own countries. To prevent a rejected asylum seeker from hiding in Germany, his/her deportation was not announced in advance. Another amendment to the law has been adopted by the German government to promote integration: asylum seekers who wish to obtain a living permit to be integrated into the society will be offered German language courses, as well as access to the labor market, jobs, and internships.

It is noteworthy to say that these new procedures suffer refugees from such countries as Syria and Iraq, whose applications had likely to have a positive response (BAMF, 2016b; Bundesregierung, 2016e).

Rise of Islamophobia in Germany

At the same time when Germany opened its borders to a large number of refugees and accepted these people, the rightists protested and demanded that Germany be protected from Islamization. The number of attacks on migrant shelters has increased and anti-migrant propaganda has spread throughout the country. These incidents of intolerance and violence have fueled German radicalization and anti-refugee sentiment. Several politicians have called for a change in the refugee policy to make the situation even worse.

Some politicians have said that receiving such many refugees threatens national security as they are followed by internal or inter-ethnic conflicts, and most importantly, Islamic State fighters or other terrorists may enter the country and at least try to influence the Muslim community living there and fuel the radicalization. Experts also suggest an increase in crime rates as people of different cultures will find it difficult to obey German laws and they even predict the increasing crime rate. To change these dynamics or at least ease the situation, these politicians are demanding tighter control and changing policies (Schmid, 2016). While the whole of European civilization is waiting for the Islamic threat, which was born in 2011, it is worth to recall the words of US President Bill Clinton, "The activities of fanatics do not define the whole Islamic world," then we can safely say that Islam itself is not a religion of evil. It is characterized by tolerance, in other words, elemental indifference. As for the fanatical groups, of course, their members are Muslims, but they do not interpret and apply the norms of Islam in their evil ways. It is also noteworthy that incidents of extremism and fanaticism include not only Muslims but also representatives of other religions.

Some politicians said that Germany should stop accepting refugees and migrants because there is a risk of a cultural problem. Moreover, the majority argues that refugees endanger the values, norms, and laws of the West and German identities. They point to the fact that most of the applicants coming to Europe have different cultures and normative backgrounds. So it will be very difficult and practically impossible to integrate them into European norms, standards, and values.

These politicians are expecting negative results, such as neglect and disruption of European and German culture, resulting in violent cultural conflicts, total social divisions, and general diffusion. They claim that the refugee crisis will not only be quite a challenge for the country but will also become a difficult problem to solve. Moreover, some politicians said that they do not expect social integration from these people because they are used more to wars and chaos and they do not know such things as peace, tolerance, order, and prosperity.

While some public figures still believe that refugee assistance and shelter are necessary, there is growing skepticism about the future scenario about the peaceful co-existence of mix cultures. And as a result in the East German thousands of people went to the streets with the anti-refugee protests, which was named the "Islamization of the West."

However, according to the survey conducted by EU-MIDIS II, Four in five Muslim respondents have friends with other ethnic minority backgrounds (79 %) and from the majority population (84 %). Almost nine in 10 have friends of a different religion (88 %) – that is, non-Muslim friends. Those with friends from different religious backgrounds tend to feel slightly more attached to their country of residence. The Muslims surveyed in EU-MIDIS II are generally open towards other groups of people in the sense of feeling comfortable with having neighbors of different religions, other ethnic backgrounds, or persons with disabilities. However, the level of acceptance is lower regarding lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or transsexual people. Respondents were asked to indicate how comfortable they would feel with different groups of people being their neighbors, on a scale from 0 to 10. There is a very strong acceptance of people with a different religion, the same ethnic or immigrant background, people with another or no ethnic minority background, and disabled persons – with average values of 8.8 regarding people with another ethnic minority background and 9.0 regarding people with a different religion. Some 92 % tend to feel comfortable with having neighbors of a different religious background, meaning they selected value of six or higher; only 2 % tend to feel uncomfortable, with values between 0 and 4 (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017).

Discriminating Changes in Asylum Seeking Procedure

Thus, in early February 2016, Merkle's government had to introduce the tightening asylum-seeking procedures, with the further changes in the asylum law (called Asylum Package II), which came into force in March of that year. The Asylum Package II would accelerate the asylum application process; suspend family reunification for refugees with subsidiary protection status for two years; decrease asylees' monthly cash benefits; facilitate deportation; establish a new Federal Police unit to help procure replacement documents; improve the safety of refugee minors; and designate Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia as safe countries of origin. To implement the asylum package II it was necessary to establish several reception centers that would be built nationwide. Other changes included the creation of further provisions to ensure a shorter and faster application procedure. This would make it easier to deport refugees who had health problems, and as well as those who refused to cooperate and integrate. Besides, the government also cut benefits for those who refuse to cooperate and integrate into society. Here we have to highlight that the asylum seekers had to partially cover the language course fee and since they suffer from shortage they experience difficulties to pay for it.

It was caused by a large number of migrants, According to the monthly statistics of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, Germany received 52,103 asylum applications in January 2016, representing an increase of 108.1% compared to January 2015. Most of the applicants in January 2016 came from Syria (27,306), Iraq (6,636), and Afghanistan (4,949). The applications of Syrians were approved in 99.1% of the cases, whereas the success rates for Iraqis and Afghans were 88% and 47.2%, respectively. Of the total number of January 2016 applications, 64% were approved (Gesley, 2016).

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that in early 2016, the German government developed new measures to facilitate and continue the integration of refugees and asylum seekers into the country. This planned integration act will be the first federal law on integration aimed at integrating as many people as possible into the labor market and society. In addition to the educational program, the government planned to create several thousand "one-euro jobs" to allow new arrivals to enter the German labor market (Bundesregierung, 2016c; Deutscher Bundestag, 2016e; Tagesschau, 2016b). Also, refugees and asylum seekers who have the prospect of staying in a good country will receive additional educational assistance. They will have the opportunity to start their education programs after 3 months of their arrival in Germany. Moreover, the government's goal was to provide displaced people with safe housing.

Conclusion

Based on the above-mentioned documents and laws we can conclude that new asylum-seeking regulations bear discriminating character and were aimed to refuse to accept refugees and not to grand them the asylum seeker statements. Obviously, it is very difficult to cope with such a multitude number of migrants and asylum seekers, especially when they differ from the native residents culturally, religiously and have a specific world view. One of the key reasons besides the financial approach of the German government introducing new tightening procedures is islamophobia. Some politicians doubted about national security since they think that welcoming such a high number of refugees threatens national security, increase a crime rate and lead to inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts. However, if we approach the situation from the other side we can see that according to some certain researches the refugees and asylum seekers are not so radical as they are consumed. The research showed that the migrants from Muslim countries have friends of other ethnic backgrounds and different religion, they also feel comfortable having neighbors of different religions, other ethnic backgrounds, or persons with disabilities.

It worths pointing that the regulatory aspects of this new definition are linked to Christian and Western values and cultural ideals, have had a major impact on the refugee crisis debate and have therefore been linked to the government's refugee policy. But it needs to have a specific attitude and see the situation not only from the islamophobes side but from the refugees and asylum seekers as well, especially when these people have fled the war and found themselves in a foreign country in search of security.

References

Agnew John. (2005). Hegemony: the New Shape of Global Power. Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Abylkalikov S. &Vinnik M. (2012). (Economic Theories of Migration: Labour Force and Labour Market) // Bizness. Obschestvo. Vlast,, No.12, p. 1

BAMF, 2016b; Bundesregierung, 2016e

BBC, 2015a; BBC 2016b; BBC, 2016c; Hill, 2016

Beitzer, 2015; Deutscher Bundestag, 2015b; Hewitt, 2015b; Nye, 2015; Severin & Copley, 2015;

Bundesregierung, 2016c; Deutscher Bundestag, 2016e; Tagesschau, 2016b

Copley, 2016b; Elitz, 2016

Chetverikova O. (2005). Islam in Modern Europe: the strategy of a "voluntary ghetto" against the policy of integration. Россия XXI. № 1. P. 54-87;

Deutscher Bundestag, 2015d; 2016a; Martin & Barkin, 2015, Adler, 2016

Deutscher Bundestag, 2015d; Deutschlandfunk, 2015; FAZ, 2015; Bundesregierung, 2016; 2016g

Eremina N. (2008). Immigrants and the fight against xenophobia in European society (on the example of the United Kingdom) // Bulletin of St. Petersburg State University. -. - Ser. 6. - Issue

Eremina N. & Chikhachev A. (2016). From "Open Door Policy" to Migrant Crisis: the Reforming of Migration Policy in European and International Dimensions (the Examples o Great Britain and France). ResearchGate.

Everett Lee. (1966). A Theory of Migration // Demography, Vol. 3, No.1

European Migration Network (2018). Germany Institutional Framework for immigration and asylum policies, Federal Office for Migration and Refugees

https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/docs/pages/11a_germany_organogram_2018_enversion.pdf

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2017). Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey Muslims – Selected Findings EU-MIDIS II, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union

Gesley J. (2016). Germany: Proposed Tightening of Asylum Rules. Global Legal Monitor. Library of Congress.

International Labour Conference (2004). 92nd Session, Report VI Towards a fair deal for migrant workers in the global economy Sixth item on the agenda, International Labour Office Geneva, ISBN 92-2-113043-6 ISSN 0074-6681

Pro Asyl. 2015; Riemer, 2015; Spiegel Online, 2015c

Schmid C. (2016). Germany's "Open-Door" Policy in Light of the Recent Refugee Crisis An Interpretive Thematic Content Analysis of Possible Reasons and Underlying Motivations, Linköping University

Selipsky R. (2019). Anti-refugee sentiment in Germany. The Brookings Institution. Washington, DC.

Todaro M. (1969). A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries // The American Economic Review, Vol. 59, No.1

Tsourdi E. & De Bruycker P. (2015). EU asylum policy: in search of solidarity and access to protection. Migration Policy Center. EUI.

MEXICAN ECONOMIC INEQUALITY AND POLARIZATION IN XXI CENTURY

Mario Camberos C. (Regional Development Area, Center of Research for Food and Development)

Joaquín Bracamontes N. (Regional Development Area, Center of Research for Food and Development)

Abstract

Political Economy emerged like science when Adam Smith (Schumpeter, 1973) considered value theory and income distribution, or inequality, like paradigms. This subject is now days very important: poor and riche income differences has been growing (Piketty, 2015): 1 percent richest people is wealthier than was at the end of XX century (Stiglitz, 2012); beside, was defined like principal global economic problem (WEF, 2015 and 2017). Mexican inequality is better than World? This paper is aimed to answer the question. For the propose, Pigou, Dalton, Atkinson and Sen´s welfare theory is used and so the National Income and Spending Home Survey data (ENIGH 2000-2016). Official decile estimations 2016 were questioned (Boltvinik, 2017; Camberos et. al, 2018). Alternatives own distributions based on national accounts discrepancy, were elaborated. Results register worst levels inequality and joint polarization. Politician and entrepreneur corruption and impunity explain it anyway; there for, any country ever should not repeat Mexican income distribution model.

Keywords: *Inequality, polarization, Mexico.*

Introduction

Political Economy was born as science with Adam Smith in 1776 (Schumpeter, 1973) and joint inequality like one of most important economic paradigm through larger 2 century, aside Paretos' personal income distribution theory (1900), in now days, no doubt, because poor-riche growing income differences (Piketty, 2015) recorded to the extent that it has been documented that the richest 1% concentrate a greater proportion of wealth than at the end of the 20th century (Stiglitz, 2012), which is why the World Economic Forum (WEF, 2015 and 2017) has considered inequality as the central problem facing the capitalist economy. What has happened in Mexico in the course of the 21st century? Is Mexico today a country with a fairer income distribution than in the recent past? Did the recently ended administration of President Peña apply a social policy that would reduce inequality? Or on the contrary, he tried to change reality with makeup figures.

According to recent research results, Mexico has seen levels of inequality rebound in the current decade (Oxfam, 2017) and National Council Social Policy Evaluate (CONEVAL, 2017), sufficient reason to seek explanations and solutions, under the expectation that inequality when diminished will improve social welfare. Therefore, the objective of this work is to explain the changes in inequality in Mexico throughout the first decades of the 21st century and to show one of the greatest limitations of the neoliberal model: increasing inequality in Mexico, which we will corroborate throughout this work.

In this work we will refer to the distribution of personal income as inequality due to the inequitable way in which the majority of Mexicans have participated in the distribution of current income and which has given rise to one of the most serious problems: inequality, aggravated in the second decade of the 21st century with the polarization between rich and poor.

The results of this investigation are set forth as follows. First in welfare theory and social welfare functions; Then, in the official sources of information used: National Household Income and Expenditure Survey (ENIGH) 2000-2016) prepared by the National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Informatics (INEGI, 2017a) and the National Council for the evaluation of the Social Policy (CONEVAL 2017), we immediately make a critical discussion and controversy based on recognized Mexican authors on the subject such as Boltvinik (2017), Cortés (2013) and the alternative distribution proposed by the author (Camberos, *et. al*. 2018a) adjusted for discrepancy with the National Accounts. We continue with the inequality estimates with 2 recognized measures such as the Gini coefficient (Foster and Sen, 1996) and the range to measure polarization, from the decile distributions. Then we stop to check the years of greatest inequality and polarization. At the end we give conclusions and recommendations.

Dominance analysis

In the study of inequality, it is essential to understand the concept of dominance, which two of the most conspicuous authors on this topic refer to (Atkinson 1970; Atkinson and Bourguignon, 2003; Sen, 1972 y 2003), as the superposition of a Lorenz curve (CL) that represents a distribution A over another B. It should be said that this idea is based on the theory of well-being (Pigou, 2016 and Dalton, 1920), who start from a social welfare function (CL), which can be improved through money transfers.

Wellness functions

Illustrated by the average profit function ∫U (x) f (x) dx, the social welfare function has the following form:

W (x) = ∫U (x) f (x) dx

from which it follows that the properties of the utility function of the class F (y) = ∫x or f (y)] dy must be specified, as increasing functions, strictly concave with equal income means. From the above, the following proposition known as Atkinson's theorem results:

One distribution f (y) is preferred to another f * (y), ¥ U (y) (U´> 0, U´´≤0), yes and only yes

∫ z0 [F (y) -F * (y)] dy ≤ 0, for all z, 0 ≤ z ≤ ỹ

F (y) ≠ F * (y) for some y.

The distributions to which the theorem refers configure the Lorenz curves, considered as the best known form that represents the income distribution. From this it also follows that the necessary and sufficient condition to establish an order between two distributions, is only to know that they are increasing and strictly concave functions, because one of them can be obtained from the other by means of transfers from the richest to the poorest (Atkinson, 1970).

Lorenz curve

To better illustrate the theorem, consider a Lorenz curve that represents the Lx distribution that is completely within another Ly distribution (Figure 1a), from which we can establish the order xLy. Let the income be the same for both distributions, so, without knowing what is the precise form of the utility function U, only that it is strictly concave, we can say that W (x)> W (y); if the chosen individual function is strictly concave, then xLy. Thus, xLy implies W (x)> W (y).

Conversely, when the Lorenz curves overlap (or intersect, Figure 2b), a distributive order cannot be established. It means that, in the new situation, some income groups win, those that are below point E that correspond to Ly; while they lose the income groups that are above point E, but that also belong to the same Ly distribution. If this were the case, the conclusions about the intertemporal changes in inequality would be ambiguous, because there is no dominance between the L curves. When this is the case, conventional measures do not reflect the changes in inequality of the entire distribution, therefore, measures derived from well-being are suggested, such as Gini coefficient (G).

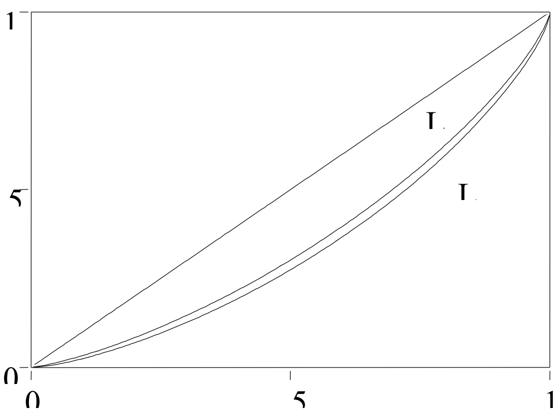


Figure 1a: dominance of the Lx distribution

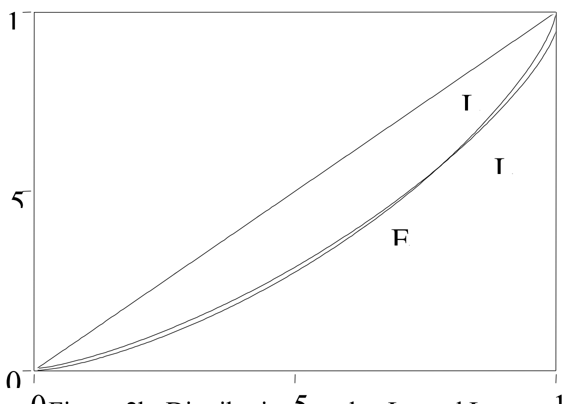


Figure 2b: Distribution overlap Lx and Ly.

It is important to note that the conditions indicated by Atkinson's theorem also comply with the Pareto principle through the property of the increasing utility function and with the transfer principle, which is ensured by the concavity of the function (Cowell and Feser, 1999).

The information used

As important as the estimates is the information used, therefore it is necessary to highlight the sources used. Firstly, the data from the ENIGH's applied by INEGI in Mexico throughout the 21st century, a reliable source for studies of inequality, recognized by the World Bank (2015), by the United Nations (UNDP, 2010); as well as by outstanding authors such as Boltvinik and Hernández (1999), Szekely (2005), Lustig (1999), Hernández and Vázquez (2003), Cortés (2013), Camberos and Bracamontes (2015). However, Coneval Income inequality data 2016 are doubtful, because present strong discrepancy with national accounts (NCs), in source distribution, cause biased results, that was register years ago by Cowell and Mercader-Pratts (1999), Denninger and Squire (1996), Altimir (1987) and for Mexican inequality study, Lustig (1995), Boltvinik and Hernández (1999), Cortés (2001), Camberos (1994) and now days by Boltvinik (2017).

A proposed correction to the 2016 distribution

For the year 2016, we made the estimate considering the value of the quarterly income collected by ENIGH-16 for a value of 1.56 billion (INEGI, 2017), annualized to 6.24 billion. On the other hand, the NCs indicate the value of the 2016 GDP equal to 20.75 trillion (INEGI, 2017b), but do not record the disposable income of households; however, based on a World Bank report (2016) on consumption for Mexico of 0.663 of income, it is considered as an approximate household disposable income; therefore, the disposable income of households in Mexico from the CN would amount to 13.76 trillion, that is, 2.25 times the income of the ENIGH-2016 (INEGI, 2017a). Where did the difference lie?

Reviewing the share of income by sources, regard owns estimation, the property income registers a large discrepancy: 651,856 million in the CN and 136,797 million in the ENIGH-16, a CN / ENIGH = 4.76 ratio, more than double that registered by 2.19 on average for the entire ENIGH-16, an indication of high under-declaration, which is why we add to the X decile an income that is at least double that registered in the ENIGH-16. Under these considerations, we made an alternate distribution, which we compared with the one presented by ENIGH-16, to which the INEGI (National Institute of Statistic Geographic and Informatics) arbitrarily added 18% to income in decile I and only 4% to decile X; therefore, we will have 2 distributions for the year 2016 (table 1, two last columns) for compare inequality results.

Table 1
México XXI Century Income Distribution

Share in Income	Year of obtaining information 2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016*	2016**
By deciles	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	(%)	%
I	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.03	1.03	1.46	1.29
II	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.9	2.27	2.40	2.68	2.24
III	3.2	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.7	3.6	4.0	3.4	3.49	3.63	2.98
IV	4.2	4.6	4.6	4.5	4.7	4.6	4.9	4.46	4.53	4.56	3.72
V	5.4	5.6	5.7	5.6	5.7	5.7	6.0	5.66	5.58	5.63	4.54
VI	6.7	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.3	6.99	6.91	6.87	5.49
VII	8.5	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.7	9.0	8.70	8.5	8.44	6.69
VIII	10.9	11.0	11.0	11.1	11.1	11.2	11.3	11.25	10.94	10.67	8.41
IX	15.7	15.8	15.8	15.7	15.7	15.8	15.9	15.87	15.37	14.47	11.37
X	41.9	39.3	39.3	39.9	39.3	39.1	37.0	40.37	41.22	41.57	53.26
TOTAL	100.00	100	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Inequality Measures											
Income Ratio (X/I)	32.23	26.13	26.2	28.5	24.56	26.1	23.16	39.19	40.01	20.59	41.29
Gini (G) Per capita	0.543	0.515	0.523	0.526	0.515	0.522	0.495	0.523	0.503	0.476	0.560

*1)*Own estimations 2008-2014 based Table 2.4, INEGI 2016; *2)*2000-2006, F. Cortés "Medio Siglo de desigualdad en el ingreso en México", Seminario Las desigualdades y el progreso en México: enfoques, dimensiones y medición, COLMEX/INEGI, Mexico, D.F., 20 y 21 de marzo, 2013; *3)* 2016* Coneval estimation **own estimations based on Boltvinik (2017). Source: INEGI. Home Income and Spending National Survey.

Results and discussion

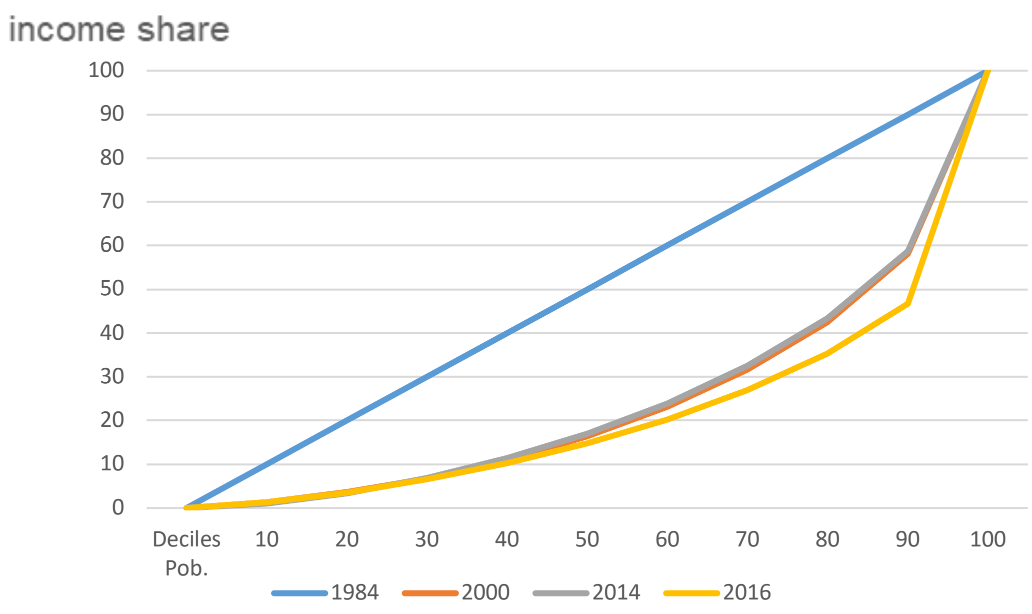
We use two measures of inequality, the range and the Gini coefficient (G) for their simplicity of interpretation and for being accepted by international organizations such as the World Bank (2016) for comparisons among countries and in Mexico by official board INEGI (2017a) and CONEVAL (2017). We measure range as the ratio between deciles (X/I) and the Gini for personal income earners. The results are presented in Table 1 (last lines).

Range, polarization, and inequality

The range indicates extreme inequality, a measure that can be considered as income polarization, results from the comparison between the richest and poorest deciles. In this regard, it is observed in Table 1 that the range decreased throughout the first decade, going from 32.23 in 2000 to 23.16 in 2010; however, in the middle of the second decade in 2014 and 2016 it underwent strong increases to exceed the value of 40, the lowest decile obtained just over 1% of income; while the tenth 53%, polarization also found, although in a different way, but that is equally illustrative of the problem by Oxfan (2017), who estimated that the richest 1% of the population of Mexico concentrated 40% of wealth and Magaloni (2018) found that the richest 10% owns 64% of wealth in Mexico.

Regarding inequality, measured with the Gini coefficient, it generally registers high levels of inequality in personal income during the period, above 0.5 and only in 2010 it remained slightly below that value, but then rebounded in 2014 and reached its highest level of the XX1 century, G = 0.5602 in 2016; as can be seen more clearly in the figure 2, it is only comparable with those registered in 2000 year, as a result of the crisis that occurred in 1980s y 1990s decades (Camberos & Bracamontes, 2015).

Figure 2. México. Lorenz Dominance. Most Inequality years



Notes: 1984 distribution is assuming perfect, because was year minor Mexican inequality, but actually is not zero. Source: own elaboration based on table 1.

Although there is no standard value that indicates what an acceptable G would be, we can go to distributions registered by different countries and groups according to the World Bank (WB, 2015). In this regard, the Nordic countries have the lowest G, less than 0.3; most Western European countries less than 0.4; while most Latin American countries register a G around 0.5. Mexico 0.48; however, as we were able to prove, whatever the measure used, the years 2014 and 2016 register the greatest inequality in Mexico in the 21st century.

To what to attribute it? Perhaps to the wrong economic policies, to the unimplemented social policies, to the truncated taxs reforms, to the simulation that they have been applied, to the corruption of politicians, businessmen and high officials of the federal and state administration; as well as impunity, or all of them. Another explanation is shortage human capital investment (Camberos & Bracamontes, 2018b), against Theodore Schultz recommendation: “invest in people”. Mexican result is the same, greater inequality, but with the novelty that income distribution has become polarized.

Conclusions

The increase in inequality in the world in this second decade of the 21st century has increased interest in studies on the subject. Therefore, based on of Pareto, Atkinson, Sen modern version theory of unequal distribution of personal income, we set ourselves the objective of estimating inequality and polarization in Mexico; as well as analyzing the changes observed during the period 2000-2016. We use the decile distributions reported by the ENIGH every 2 years and Coneval estimations plus its own alternative for 2016 and we found an increase in inequality, in the most recent measurements the Gini index (G) once again exceeded 0.5, as those registered since the decade of the 1990´s; while the range between reached 40.

These results should be reason to rethink social and economic policy, to increase the participation of the lowest deciles in an accelerated way through monetary transfers, investment in higher quality educational and health infrastructure for poor people. As well as eliminating corruption and impunity in the administration and application of public resources, which has been a constant conflict between politicians, businessmen and high-level officials, who undoubtedly contributed to the increase in inequality and polarization, a path that should not take it other nations.

References

Altimir, O. (1987). Income distribution in Latino America in their reliability, Review of Income and Wealth, New Haven CT, pp. 111-155.

Atkinson, A. (1970). On the Measurment of Inequality, Journal of Economic Theory,

2, pp. 244-263.

Atkinson, A. & Bourguignon F. (Edits.) (2003). Handbook of Income Inequality, North-Holland, Amsterdam, London, San Diego.

Boltvinik, K. J. (2017). Pobreza y Desigualdad Crecientes bajo el neoliberalismo: de MMH a Peña Nieto, unpublished text, El Colegio de México.

Boltvinik, K. J. & Hernández L.E. (1999). Pobreza y desigualdad en México, Siglo XI, México.

Camberos C.M., Salcido G. & Carrera A.B. (2018a). Impacto de la desigualdad en el bienestar y la pobreza en México durante el siglo XXI. Las consecuencias del neoliberalismo, en Calva J.L. (Coord.), Políticas de Empleo Digno y Superación de la pobreza, Volumen 11, Juan Pablos Editor, ISBN de la obra completa: 978-607-711-474-1, ISBN del volumen 11: 978-607-711-479-6, México, pp. 265-290.

Camberos, C. M. & Bracamontes N.J. (2018b). Exogenous or Endogenous Economic Growth: a Mexican State Convergence Research, Journal of Business and Economics, ISSN: 2155-7950, ORCID: 0000-0002-3271-2980, March 2018, Volume 9, No. 3, pp. 256-265, San Francisco State University, USA.

Camberos, C. M. & Bracamontes N.J. (2015).Las crisis económicas y sus efectos en el mercado de trabajo, en la desigualdad y en la pobreza de México, Contaduría y Administración 60 (S2) 219-249, UNAM, México.

Camberos, C. M. (1994). El Crecimiento y la desigualdad en el Largo Plazo en México, Análisis Económico, UAM-I, México, Núm 24/25, pp. 113-141.

Consejo Nacional de Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social (2017). Informe sobre la medición de la pobreza en México con base a la ENIGH 16, Consejo Nacional Para la Evaluación de la Política Social en México, México, en línea http://www.coneval.org.mx/Medicion/MP/Paginas/Pobreza_2016.aspx, accesado 9 de Marzo 2018.

Cortés, F., (2013). Medio siglo de desigualdad en el ingreso en México, PUED, UNAM/PEI, COLMEX. Seminario "Las desigualdades y el progreso en México: enfoques, dimensiones y medición", COLMEX/INEGI, México D.F. 20 y 21 de marzo.

Cortés, F. (2001).El cálculo de la pobreza en México a partir de las encuestas de ingresos y gastos, Comercio Exterior, México, octubre, pp. 879-894

Cowell, F., Pía M. & Feser V. (1999). Distributional Analysis: a robust approach, LSE, in Putting Economics to Work.

Dalton, H. (1920). Measurment of the Inequality of Income, the Economic Journal, September, pp. 348-361.

Denninger, K. & Squiere L.(1996). A new data set measuring income inequality, The World Bank Economic Review, Num. 3, pp. 565-591.

Hernández, L. E. & Vázquez J. (2003).Globalización, Desigualdad y Pobreza, Lecciones de la experiencia mexicana, UAM y P y V, México.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática (2017a).Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014 y 2016, México.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática (2017b). National Account System, México.

Lustig, N. (1999). Pobreza y Desigualdad: un desafío que perdura, Revista de la CEPAL, Santiago de Chile, num. Extr. pp. 297-313.

Lustig, N. (1995). Poverty in Mexico: the effect of adjusting survey data for under reporting, Estudios Económicos, COLMEX, num. 1, pp. 3-28.

Magaloni, A.L. (2018). Un sueño en el despeñadero, Revista Nexos, 1 de enero, México.

Oxfam (2017). LSE, Inequality in Mexico, Latin America´s Annual Seminar, London.

Pareto, V. (1900).The new Theories of the Economics, Journal of Political Economics, vol. 5, en http://.socsi.mcmaster.ca/~econ/ugcm/3113/pareto/theories

Pigou, A.C. (1916). The Economic Welfare, MacMillan, London.

Piketty, T. (2015). El Capital en el siglo XXI, FCE, México.

PNUD (2010), Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, ONU, NY

Schumpeter, J.A. (1973).Historia del Análisis Económico, FCE, México

Sen, A.K. (2003).Social Justice and the income distribution, in Atkinson A.B. and Bourguignon F. Handbook of Income Inequality, North-Holland, Amsterdan, London, pp. 59-85

Sen, A.K. (1972). On Economic Inequality, Clarendon Press, Oxford

Stiglitz, J. (2012). Inequality Price, Taurus, Madrid.

Szequely, M. (2005). Pobreza y Desigualdad en México entre 1950 y 2005, Serie Documentos de Investigación, SEDESOL, México.

The World Bank (2015), World Development Report, Washington, D.C.

The World Bank (2016), Final Expenditure on Household Consumption, Washington, D.C.

The World Economic Forum (2017). Insecurity of Inequality, Davos, Suiza.https://www.weforum.org/es/agenda/2017/04/la-inseguridad-de-la-desigualdad, accesado 9 de Marzo 2018

The World Economic Forum (2015). The five risks, Inequality in the World, Davos, January y Empoderar a la mujer y abordar la desigualdad del ingreso, en línea https://www.weforum.org/es/agenda/2015/10/empoderar-a-la-mujer-y-abordar-la-desigualdad-del-ingreso/ accesado el 9 de Marzo del 2018

GENDER EQUALITY IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS (POLITICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ASPECTS)

Maka Benashvili (Georgian Technical University)

Abstract

The article presents the research on gender equality issues in the South Caucasus. In particular, an example of each country is discussed, the conditions of women in political, socio-economic, and cultural aspects. In the progressive-minded society of the modern world, gender equality plays a key role in the protection of human rights and the functioning of democracy. Consequently, the priority issues of this article are: Defining the role of women in the life of Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani society, also, the participation of women in political processes and comparative analysis of the national mechanisms for solving the problems of gender inequality. Throughout the world, despite numerous researches on gender equality issues, also reports, based on statistics, are published periodically on Gender and the South Caucasus by various organizations, in my opinion, the problems of gender inequality in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan require more attention and in-depth research by scientists. The article is based on research methods established in political science. Particularly, from the research analysis of qualitative methods is used - content analysis. It includes research on literary material on gender equality in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, reflecting on the transformation of events and processes and drawing relevant conclusions.

Keywords: *Gender Equality, Women, South Caucasus.*

Introduction

Gender equality is a kind of controversial concept dealing with a certain aspect of the importance of the topic and concerns about the following issues such as the problem of gender equality, the way to solve them, and gender balance (Verloo, 2007).

In the modern world, gender inequality remains a topical issue. This is clear from the 2020 UN report, according to which at least 90% of men around the world are gender-biased against women, moreover, according to the report, most either developed or developing countries experience gender inequality (UN Human Development Report, 2020).

Certain studies reveal that even in the modern world the point of view remains atavistic, which is far from objectivity and leads males to the privileged position. Theoretically, the gender imbalance in modern society is not approved; however, often theory does not coincide with practice. To eliminate the problem and improve the situation so that it works on both: practice and theory there are required certain effective steps. Here, the main step can be considered the harmonization of Georgian legislation so that it can fit the framework of universally recognized human rights and freedoms.

The Aim and Research Methods

The study aims to assess the situation of women living in the South Caucasus countries (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan), investigate the problems of gender imbalance in the region, discuss the works of existing international organizations, scientific papers, and various sources, as well as to assess the work of the National and Regional Statistics Centers; to use the results of the analysis of various relevant institutions, referring to both: qualitative and quantitative methods, investigate the problems of gender imbalance in the region and seek for the solutions and give appropriate recommendations.

Legislative Framework

The equality between men and women is recognized de jure in the countries of the South Caucasus. This is evidenced by Article 11 of the Constitution of the Republic of Georgia – "All persons are equal before the law. Any discrimination on the grounds of race, color, sex, origin, ethnicity, language, religion, political or other views, social affiliation, property or titular status, place of residence, or on any other grounds shall be prohibited" (Constitution of Georgia, 1995). As well as the Law of Georgia on Gender Equality developed following this Constitution (Law of Georgia on Gender Equality, 2010), which discusses all aspects of gender balance protecting in detail. Article 25 paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan states that men and women possess equal rights and liberties (Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan, 1995). The main guarantee of equality between women and men in Armenia is the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia, particularly, according to Article 30: which states the following "Women and men shall enjoy legal equality", and according to the Article 86 paragraph 4, one of the main objective of state policy is "Promoting actual equality between women and men" (Constitution of the Republic of Armenia, 1995).

It is worth mentioning that Georgia and Armenia have signed the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention), which obliges states to take a comprehensive set of measures to tackle all forms of violence against women and domestic violence, and includes the effective promotion of equality between women and men, the empowerment and the protection of women from all forms of violence, the prevention of violence against women and domestic violence. In response to violence against women and domestic violence, it calls on governmental agencies, central, regional and local legislatures and government officials, human rights organizations in the country, and civil society organizations to take action and eradicate it. Special attention is paid to its preamble which recognizes the structural nature of such violence, which is both a cause and a consequence of unequal power relations between women and men, and which hinders the advancement of women. Georgia has already ratified the Istanbul Convention, as for Armenia the issue is still a matter of discussion.

To develop gender equality in the country, Azerbaijan has joined international conventions on the development of gender equality. Thus, in 1995, Azerbaijan became a member of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and signed the Conditional protocol of the Treaty in 2000. Azerbaijan has signed the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention on Equal Opportunities and Equal Treatment for Men and women workers and the Convention on International Labor Standards on Maternity. In 2018, the Azerbaijani representative of The State Committee for Family, Women and Children Affairs (SCFWCA) was elected a member of the CEDAW Committee for the years 2019-2022 (Asian Development, 2019).

The given legislation allows states to effectively implement equality policies. However, it is worthy to say that despite several legislative reforms to promote gender equality, women living in the South Caucasus still face discrimination throughout their lives, especially in the families, due to the inherited and embedded social norms and practices. To give deep analysis the existing situation it is worth referring to the concept of the "paradox of possessions", the case when, a person is robbed, but remains the owner of the subject. The same applies to human rights; a person is granted a certain right without the possibility of exercising it (Sabedashvili, 2007).

Key Challenges and Progress in the South Caucasus

In the South Caucasus countries: Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, gender discriminatory stereotypes based on traditional and cultural practices have a significant impact, which hinders women and girls to exercise their fundamental human rights such as the right to health, education, marriage and family life, employment and economic opportunities.

- Women`s discrimination in the family

The most important bargain in family affairs is the housework done by a woman. According to the study of the United Nations Women in 2018, 40% of the reason for women unemployment in Georgia is considered family obligations. Moreover, 54% of South Caucasus residents think that children suffer when their mothers work since due to the lack of time a mother does not spend enough time with her children (UN Women and SDC, 2018). However, women in the South Caucasus spend much more time doing housework.

In terms of gender equality in the region, we can see the progress in the fact that women have the same rights to inheritance as men, and the laws adopted in this regard have been successfully implemented in practice in Georgia and Armenia (OECD, 2019).

- Economic discrimination against women

The study reveals that discrimination against women in Azerbaijan is caused both by the presence of restrictions imposed by men and the willingness of women to be engaged in relationships that are traditional in the social environment of their families, relatives, and acquaintances (Biol Foundation, 2011).

In Armenia, according to a survey, 56% of women believe that in times of lack of job the preference should be given to men's employment. We have to highlight that in the country, by 2019, most employers and employees were men (The Statistical Committee of the Republic of Armenia, 2019). A similar trend is observed in Georgia, the 2018 study conducted by the United Nations Women, states that in addition to the family obligations impacted women to become a housewife, there persists also the influence of a husband, who does not allow his wife to work. According to the study, one in five unemployed women refers to the mentioned reasons and is in similar positions. For most Caucasian women the marriage is assumed as one of the main economic prospects, after marriage, she lives on her husband's expenses (UN Women and SDC, 2018). Unfortunately, there are also observed such cases when women are unable to receive education and due to it has no chance to be involved in the labor market or, conversely, do unpaid work, in her family. All this leads to economic inactivity and the unproductiveness of women.

However, there are positive features in the family codes of the South Caucasus: women and men have granted equal rights in case of divorce, moreover, compared to other regions of the world, 26% of homeowners in the South Caucasus are women, while in this aspect; the world average percentage is 21% (OECD, 2019).

- Physical discrimination

The rights to reproductive autonomy are particularly important and protected concerning unwanted pregnancies. Abortion is legal in all three countries upon the request; however, legal discrimination continues to undermine women's rights efforts. Sexual harassment, domestic violence, and rape by a spouse are not criminalized at the very time when 17% of women experience physical and/or sexual abuse by their sexual partners at least once in their lives. Studies show that embedded social norms remain the most problematic issue. It should be noted that according to the National Statistics Center of the Republic of Armenia, in 1990-2018 there were born more boys than girls in the country, which means that the boys are given the privilege. Moreover, a regional study reveals that couples are less likely to give birth to girls in the South Caucasus and it led to an alarming gender imbalance: 170,000 girls aged 0-4 were not born in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia (OECD, 2019).

- Women's participation in politics

There is a growing number of female presidents and prime ministers around the world, where women are deeply involved in social movements as well as in political parties. It worth mentioning that the number of women elected to the national parliamentary elections is increasing, which indicates that women have made significant progress in the political arena. It should also be noted that this positive trend and success is due to the introduction of gender quotas (Krook & Childs, 2010).

The main obstacle to women's political representation in the South Caucasus is the stereotypical views and perceptions of their role in society. 65% of the population in the South Caucasus says that men are better political leaders than women (OECD, 2019), which naturally affects the position of women in the economy and the labor market, and as well as in politics. The presence of such kind of stereotypical reduces the desire of women to be presented as candidates, be elected in the parliament, and appointed to leading positions.

Although more women in the region have higher education than men, there are still fewer places for them to hold in central administration. Women, unlike men, are mostly employed in low-paying jobs. The lack of finances caused by this fact creates a big obstacle and hinders or limits the ability of women to be elected in parliament or manage effective and successful campaigns.

Women's representation in the parliaments of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia is gradually increasing, and female candidates became more successful in municipal elections. However, most of the women have been and still are in the low or middle level of public service, and are less represented at high levels.

In this regard, we can highlight the fact that in 2019, Georgia has elected a woman president for the first time of its history and that in the Parliament of Georgia, in 2018, compared to 2012, the number of women MPs has significantly increased: from 16 to 22. Here we have to say that it is due to the amendment in the Organic Law of Georgia, which was made in 2011. Since according to the mentioned amendment, political parties will get 10% more financial support in case if in the first top 10 lines they will have presented female candidates;

it means that the number of women will constitute about 20% of candidates (Bagratia, Bagashvili, Jejelava, Khmalazde 2012).

In 2020 the first female speaker was elected in the parliament of Azerbaijan, and in the same year, 25 out of 125 deputies were women. Also, according to the latest data, 32 places out of 132 are occupied by women in the parliament of Armenia; we have to note that in the previous years the number was 18.

We can see that using the quota system shows its positive results and gives women a chance for promotion in the sphere. It is well known and acknowledged that the quota system is a temporary mechanism developed by the countries to ensure the increase of women representatives in parliament and balance the electoral systems. We have to admit that the quoting system is a proven mechanism and has gained the international support and that the General Quotas of the Venice Commission and the Council of Europe can be seen as a means of increasing the parliamentary representation of women and their legitimacy (OSCE/ODIHR, 2011). In this regard, we can claim that political parties must maintain an intra-party gender balance too.

The main goal for equal participation of men and women in the political life could be achieved by Cooperation with political parties to increase the information and knowledge about them and gender, and to consider the aspects of gender equality in the political parties programs (Darchashvili, Alaverdov, 2016).

It should be noted that the role of projects implemented with the support of various international organizations is focused on gender equality and women's rights. The mentioned projects have greatly contributed to the formation of public organizations working in this direction.

Conclusion

Based on the research, we can state that despite the recognition of gender equality and women's rights in the countries of the South Caucasus and the development of state strategies to combat the existing problems, women's rights in the region are still being violated. It is worth mentioning that Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, have experienced radical changes that have been implemented almost in all spheres, however, it is evident that the countries and societies need a longer period to change embedded social stereotypes. The conservative society of the whole South Caucasus has fundamental ideas about the social roles of women and men, both in family and public life. As a result of such stereotypical perception, we find gender segregation in almost every sector. Thus, men and women have contrastive roles depending on their gender differences: political, social, and public life spheres.

The action of both sexes is determined by the inherited stereotypes and impressions, which later become a model of their behavior in adulthood. It leads to cases of domestic violence which, unfortunately, is less spoken in the region. If due to the traditional upbringing the cases are not hidden and gain public awareness the chances to the solutions will increase.

Certain studies revealed that economically disadvantaged women are less likely to succeed and are often discriminated against. However, the vast majorities of women realize it and are eager to change their social status for the better.

It is clear that civil society, organizations, and private companies are playing a major role in eliminating gender imbalances in the states; however, there is still much to be desired (Aikman, Unterhalter, 2007). I think international and domestic governmental and non-governmental organizations and the state's structures of the relevant services have to implement joint practical projects to raise awareness of the problem and to strengthen and protect women's rights. Everyone should realize that gender-based discrimination is already considered as a crime and from discrimination to violence is only a step.

A strong and proper political approach, both from the state structures and the non-governmental sector, will enable to create self-realized strong women, who are aware of their rights and can establish the positions in the family and society, and this in its turn can be considered as a precondition for a strong state.

References

Asian Development Bank. (2019). Assessment of the Gender of the Country of Azerbaijan.

Aikman Sh. Unterhalter E. (2007). Practising Gender Equality in Education, Oxfam GB.

Bagratia, T. Bagashvili, M. Jejelava, D. Khmalazde, I. (2012), Inter-partial Democracy and Local Elections. Tbilisi.

Biol Foundation. (2011).Gender as a Topic of Academic Debate in Azerbaijan.

Constitution of Georgia. (1995). Article 11 Equality.

Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan. (1995). Article 25, Paragraph II.

Constitution of the Republic of Armenia. (1995). Article 86, Paragraph VI.

Darchashvili, M. Alaverdov, E. (2016). The Compatibility of Women's Involvement in Politics and the Process of Euro-integration in the Modern Georgian Reality. Journal of Liberty and International Affairs, 2(2), 65-73.

Krook, M. Childs S. (2010). Women, Gender, and Politics: A Reader, Oxford University Press.

Law of Georgia on Gender Equality. (2010). Georgia.

Sabedashvili, T. (2007). Gender and Democratization: Georgia 1991-2006, Heinrich Boell Foundation

The Social Institutions and Gender Index, (2019). Regional Report for Eurasia.

The Statistical Committee of the Republic of Armenia (2019). Armenia.

United Nation Human Development Report, 2020.

UN Women and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (2018). (SDC). Economic Activity and Informal Sector Involvement in Georgia.

Verloo, M. (2007). Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe, Central European University.

CITIZENSHIP – NARRATIVE OF ELIMINATING INEQUALITY

Nana Bakhsoliani (Georgian Technical University)

Abstract

Restoration of independence of Georgia, together with various significant issues, put on the agenda the questions of civil consciousness, possibility of constructive solution of problems, as in the previous period a citizen of the Soviet Union was associated with an inert, conformist person, detached from the political processes. In the Soviet Union the elections were held symbolically, therefore, a citizen's involvement in the state management was impossible. In a sovereign state the process of building the civil society and democracy implies constructive relations between state institutions and ordinary citizens, which can be achieved by means of citizenship granted by the Constitution both to the dominant population and various ethnoses living constantly in the country. From ancient times Georgia was distinguished by its multiethnicity, which as a result of the social development or under the influence of external factors posed relevant political tasks before the Georgian state. Thus, formation of a certain tradition of international relations and its development were dictated by the peculiarity of the Georgia people and this tradition played an extremely progressive role in the history of Georgia. In this regard, my research is focused on the articles of the Constitution of Georgia, which are related with the elimination of inequality between various ethnoses and the dominant population in Georgia. The citizenship granted by the Constitution, allows the citizens of Georgia, regardless of their ethnic and religious affiliation or language, to maintain and develop their culture, and use their mother tongue in private and in public, without any discrimination. The identification card of the citizen of Georgia does not include the column indicating citizenship. All ethnoses living in Georgia, together with the dominant population, the Georgians, participate in the political processes – elections, economic and educational life. The present study is focused on the Azerbaijanis living in Lower Kartli and Kakheti. The observation has demonstrated that the Azerbaijanis are involved in the life of the state to the equal degree with the Georgians. This is especially clear in higher educational institutions where the Azerbaijanis, together with the Georgian youth, take an active part in the University events – scholarly conferences, seminars, students' days, sports, etc.

Keywords: *Inequality, Citizenship, Azerbaijans, Students.*

Introduction

Georgia is a multinational state, over the centuries different ethnic groups migrated to its territory for various reasons. In different eras, they set corresponding political tasks for the Georgian state. Thus, Georgian state has a certain tradition of inter-ethnic relations and its further development is dictated by the historical experience of Georgian people. For example, today the Azerbaijanis (Turkish oriented) live compactly in Tbilisi, Rustavi, Marneuli, Bolnisi, Gardabani, Dmanisi, Sagarejo, Lagodekhi, Telavi, Tsalka, Mtskheta, Tetritskaro, Kaspi, Kareli and Dedoplistskaro district of Georgia (Sarjveladze, Shushania, Melikishvili, Baliashvili, 2009) and according to the 2014 census, their number amounts to 6.3% (census.ge. 2016).

According to historical sources, the nomadic tribes living on the territory of Kvemo Kartli are known as 'Eli' (*Eli* means tribe, people in Turkish). As early as the first quarter of the 17th century, Shah Abbas I of Iran brought large number of nomadic peoples to Georgia from central and southern Iran; they are known as Javanshir, Keshaluh, Najbadiluh, Arakhluh, Demurchi hasanluh, Ahmadluh, Sialuh, Sarajluh (Zurabashvili, 1989). According to some scholars, these Turkic-speaking nomadic Kizilbash tribes did not have Iranian national consciousness, even though they had migrated from the central and southern regions of Iran. Their descendants consider themselves Azerbaijanis (Sarjveladze ..., 2009).

It should be noted that the Azerbaijanis never faced the danger of losing their nationality in Georgian state. Traditional culture, which was the basis of their ethnic self-consciousness, was passed down from generation to generation unconditionally in time and space. The life of the Azerbaijanians studied by Georgian ethnologists in the prism of traditional culture fully reflects long historical formation process of their national self-consciousness. This is especially evident on the example of households, public buildings (trade area, where people flocked to chat), agricultural activities (increased share of agriculture at the expense of livestock), and social relations (family, marriage, funeral rites, Azerbaijani clothing, and traditional food) (Sarjveladze... 2009).

Conceptual Approaches to the Study of Citizenship Issues

There are main groups to study citizenship issues: 1. Papers dedicated to the citizenship process; 2. Constitution; 3. Papers that present the projects of integration and the implementation of multicultural policies.

A new geopolitical monolith formed in the 1920s – the Soviet Union, which incorporated over a hundred nationalities and ethnic groups in the artificial process of forming unified Soviet nation, of course, created artificial obstacles to prevent the nations from striving for self-determination. A person was registered in the passport as a citizen of the Soviet Union, with the indication of corresponding nationality (Georgian, Azerbaijani ...). Intentional obstacles became apparent immediately after liberation from the totalitarian regime, when the situation aggravated with the restoration of Georgia's independence and the issue of civic sense was raised along with a number of problems (national integration, relations between nations).

Given the fact how foreign and inert the sense of citizenship was for a Soviet man, it is easy to imagine how difficult and slow the civic consciousness is being built in independent Georgia. In this regard, philosopher M. Mamardashvili wrote: "Citizenship is not a concept or mental state, but our effort, our power born in the bosom of an idea: the knowledge as power or effort, or a means of presenting a thought that can transform itself into a real state. Tautologically we can say that this is a potentiated opportunity. It condenses time and space. In this sense: no point in time and space is full. There is always room for human presence, participation in what is actually happening. The same civil society is a manifestation of the fact that individuals themselves are citizens and their reflexive images are involved in their actions. His own deeds either prove that a person has been formed as a citizen, or do not prove, and therefore he is not acceptable as a citizen (M. Mamardashvili, 1992).

In order to understand the depth of the issue, it is necessary to consider ethno-psychological aspects of the society. Studies have shown that main form of communication within society is cooperation, as organized human social activity is impossible without cooperation (S. Nadirashvili, Social Psychology of Personality, 1975). Social psychology of human relations, especially distinguishes four types: human relations with themselves, with one another, with one's own product of labor, with nature. Human relations with each other determine existence or absence of the connection with societies, countries (L. Melikishvili, Traditional Culture and Society, 2019).

Cooperation between dominant and national minorities to overcome high rate of cooperation, in my opinion, became possible via involving different ethnic groups into the communication field "Citizen of Georgia" by the State. The column of nationality was extracted from official documents, which was Soviet heritage, made distinction between 'nationality' and 'citizenship', to integrate all citizens of Georgia in the space of a united state. On the example of European countries – France, Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, practical experience showed, that the stronger the sense of civic identity of a country's population, the more success it achieves. The state succeeds to form national identity through the introduction of compulsory education, unified state language, universal service in the army, promotion of secular symbols (flag, national anthem, coat of arms) (G. Burroughs Z. Abashidze K. Mukhiguli, S. Dondua, T. Karaia, Democracy and Citizenship, 2017). It`s also important to consider that the citizen has obligations defined by law. A citizen of Georgia is must follow the requirements of the Constitution of Georgia, pay taxes, take care of the natural and cultural environment. According to the Constitution of Georgia, the duty of every Georgian citizen is to protect Georgia. Citizens should take responsibility for their own rights and responsibilities - respect and consider the interests of others, take care of public property, strive for their improvement (to plant a tree, or to clean it). This role is voluntary.

Universal document in which Georgian residents take themselves via their ethno-cultural features is the Constitution, and it (the Constitution) brings the population under the umbrella of citizenship granted by the Constitution. The Constitution reads: “In accordance with the universally recognized principles and norms of international law and the legislation of Georgia, citizens of Georgia, regardless of their ethnicity, religion or nationality, have the right to maintain and develop their culture without any discrimination, to use their mother tongue in private and in public.

The state provides equal rights and opportunities for men and women. The state takes special measures to ensure substantial equality between men and women and to eliminate inequality (Constitution of Georgia, 2018).

To eliminate inequality, the Constitution provides for the basic measures provided by international law. These are: the right to free development of an individual, human freedom, the rights to personal and family life, personal space and inviolability, freedom of religion, belief and conscience; freedom of thought, information, mass media, freedom of the Internet; fair administration, access to public information, the right to informational self-determination and compensation for the damage caused by public authorities; the right to property, the right to vote, the right to unite, the right to assembly, freedom of creativity, cultural heritage .... the right to education, health care, marriage, the rights mothers and children….…..

The above-listed correspond to the attitudes associated with democratic citizenship: recognition of the need for the individual to take personal, political, and economic responsibility as a citizen, respect for individual values and human dignity, respect and trust in the authorities, respect for the rule of law, tolerance for dissent and lifestyle, informed, thoughtful and effective participation in civic activities (G. Burroughs Z Abashidze …. 2017).

Considered should be the results of studies conducted in this direction, according to which, the framework of civic identity can overcome the resistance arising on the basis of technical identity, if it does not deny, but recognize it (Sarjveladze, 2009). The development of such a civic identity in Georgia is based on historical experience. This is well illustrated by the implemented and ongoing projects, which contribute to the formation of the Azerbaijani population as an active society.

Thus, for example, in 2005-2008, the project was implemented with the support of the Office of the High Commissioner for National Minorities in the Organization of European Relations and Cooperation. It served two purposes: stimulate tolerance for different nations and sensitivity to inter-ethnic relations, and develop norms for the Bank of Ideas and the National Code of Ethnic Relations for the projects aimed at improving the country's international climate. Observations showed that citizenship and nationality have significant impact on modern man. A person is a citizen of his country and at the same time remains a carrier of his own nationality. The Constitution is the document that ensures elimination of inequality among the citizens in our country (N. Sarjveladze, 2009).

The Constitution is the construction of civic identity, which creates a solid foundation for the population of Georgia, regardless of their ethnicity, to feel like full members of the society and to take active part in various events. On this basis, for example, civic identity of the Azerbaijanis is being formed and strengthened in higher education space, which is achieved through their involvement in university life. For example, at the Georgian Technical University (GTU) selected for my research, where the majority of students, along with Georgians, are Azerbaijanis, the rate of inequality is quite low. Azerbaijani students are actively involved in student days, in the activity of spring, winter, or summer schools, annual student scientific conferences. For example, one of the Azrebaijan participant, a bachelor student of Technical University, is actively participated in the student days of the University and won a gold award in several categories: bowling among girls 2017, among pairs 2017, street football 2017, basketball 2018, mini football 2018, volleyball 2019, basketball 2019 and was named the best athlete of 2018-2019; Also One of the Azerbaijan student is among the best students of 2019 at the Faculty of Law and International Relations of the same University. Relations between members of the society in various fields, of course, contribute to the deepening of civic identity, which is confirmed by the afore-mentioned, there are many such examples. But it should also be said that language barrier is still main problem of inequality, which is observed only at the initial stage.

Absolute majority of ethnic non-Georgian population in densely populated areas does not know the state language. Knowledge of Georgian language became necessary for all citizens to eliminate inequality and fully integrate into the society. It can be said that this was politically significant, although difficult to handle, but Georgia overcame this stage. All citizens of Georgia understand that they need to know the state language. They need to learn the language not only to communicate, but to be able to speak freely in order to be harmonious in Georgian society (National Democratic Institute, 2018; N. Bagration-Davitashvili, 2016).

Conclusion

As we have seen, Russian language lost its position after the collapse of the USSR. The Azerbaijanis can not get full information about the processes going on in the country. This was also confirmed by the recent message about the current epidemic first in Georgian, and later in Azerbaijani language. Even though young generation can read and write Georgian, they find it difficult to speak the language due to the lack of communication with the Georgians. Azerbaijani students themselves realize that the language barrier is main obstacle in their densely populated Azerbaijani villages, where no Georgian families live. Writing and reading in Georgian, which is taught in schools today, helps the Azerbaijanis overcome this problem in order to get enrolled in a higher educational institution and integrate into Georgian Bachelor stage. Azerbaijani students succeed to integrate mainly from the second and third years.

In addition, it is noteworthy that Citizenship of Georgia is acceptable and desirable for the interviewed Azerbaijani students at the GTU, together with Georgians, they actively participate in social life, elections, referendums, plebiscites, and public activities organized by the Technical University. In future, Azerbaijani students (male) plan to pass compulsory military service in Georgian army.

Citizenship granted by the Constitution of Georgia is solid legal basis for the residents of Georgia. The process is irreversible even though it is slow. In my opinion, educational space is one of the important spheres, where elimination of inequality between Georgian citizens - dominant and national minorities - is irreversible.

References

Bagration-Davitashvili N. (2016). Important Aspects of Studying the State Language in a Multicultural Environment, Modern Tendences of Forming the Global Community, Tbilisi, p.101.

Burroughs G. Abashidze Z. Mukhiguli K. Dundua S. Qaraia T. (2017). Democracy and Citizenship, Second edition, International Foundation for Electoral Systems, p. 40, 28.

Census. ge (2016). National Statistics office of Georgia.

Constitution of Georgia, (2018). Tbilisi, p. 15.

Mamardashvili M. (1992). Conversations about Philosophy, Tbilisi, p. 150.

Melikishvili L. Traditional Culture and Society, 2019, p. 6.

Nadirashvili Sh. (1975). Social Psycology of Personality, Tbilisi, p. 178.

National Democratic Institute, (2018). A Study of the Partisipants of Ethnic Minorities in political Life, Open Society Foundation.

Sarjveladze N. Shushania N. Melikishvili L. Baliashvili M. (2009). Tolerance in Multi-ethnic Georgia, Tbilisi, p. 14, 17, 121, 59

Zurabashvili L. (1989). Inter-Ethnic Relations in Georgia, Tbilisi, p. 38.

Global Inequalities
11. ICOPEC 2020: International Conference of Political Economy
June 24-26, 2020, İstanbul, Turkey | **www.icopec.org** |
Abstracts & Proceedings
Edited by: Orkan Köyağasıoğlu

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN MODERN GEORGIA

Nino Maziashvili (Georgian Technical University)

Abstract

This article deals with the role of women in modern Georgia, as well as with the starting point of women's development as an equal member of society. It speaks about the reasons for women involvement in the economic, educational, and political processes and the development of the quoting system. The paper highlights the privilege of gender balance and gender discrimination, which has a great influence on the labor market segregation and consequently, gender-based misbalance in salaries. If women's rights mechanisms can be studied separately for specific needs, this will help to overcome the problems faced by women of different vulnerable groups. The main purpose of the article is to identify the main features of gender discrimination and aims to highlight the role of women in education, economy, and development of governance and to present a woman as an equal member of society. The paper uses research and comparative analysis methods, about the role of women in Georgia, the stages, ways, and future perspective of its development.

Keywords: *Georgia, Gender, Discrimination, Misbalance, Politics, Education.*

Introduction

We cannot imagine the sustainable development of the country without gender parity, as it helps to overcome many existing problems. For example, harmonious development of society, political humanization, gender discrimination, etc. To study and eliminate the obstacles and barriers and have a developed society the gender equality must be paid great attention. Though, the importance of gender topics in our reality is considered only as a taken commitment to the international community.

However, it is well known that Georgia is an Orthodox Christian country and women are universally recognized and respected since the ancient times, here we can mention Saint Nino, who brought the Christianity to the country, the Virgin Mary, a symbol of Christianity, and Queen Tamar, whose period of reign is known as a Golden Age for Georgia and is considered as a symbol of a woman in Georgia (Kiknadze, 2006). However, from the historical parts, we also can found the facts which makes it clear that women had relatively fewer rights and more obligations than men, associated only with the family business and the rights to give birth and raise children, as for the other rights she was just deprived. Unfortunately, the situation in some aspects remains the same even nowadays.

According to the reports of such organizations as the Human Rights, the United Nations, and certain scientific researches the role of women in the modern life of Georgia, as well as in the world's either developed or developing countries, remains a topical issue.

Ilia Chavchavadze, a well known Georgian writer and public figure said: "In the nearest future the second half of the humanity will occupy its deserved place, sit at a round table and defend its rights" (Chavchavadze, 1028).

Georgia and International Agreements

It is noteworthy to say that in 1994 Georgia joint the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. According to it, every State is obliged to prepare a report about the fulfillment of undertaken commitments in the framework of Conventional provisions about the existing situation of women in the country and present it to the Committee of the mentioned commission. On December 18, 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (UNHCR) became an important part of the International Convention on Human Rights, since it derives its spiritual origin from the goals of the United Nations: to strengthen the belief in fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, and the equality of women and men. Therefore, the Convention is not only an international program on women's rights but also a program of member States

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979). The idea of gender mainstreaming originated in the 1970s, was processed and developed in the 1980s, mainly on the base of international organizations dealing with the issues of development, for instance, USAID, World Bank, International Labor Organization. Beijing's action platform has clearly defined gender mainstreaming as the goal of practical policy (Khomeriki, 2006).

The Role of Women in Education

As for the role of women in education, further study is required to determine whether women perform less qualified jobs than men, for instance, they work in the families occupying the positions of assistants, or in the same law level positions at education and health spheres. The studies can reveal the facts of their occupations by the disproportionate number of technical and professional workers for men and women (Bendeliani, 2012).

Georgia promotes and ensures equal rights for women and men in political, economic, social, and cultural life (Law of Georgia on Gender Equality, 2010). The rules of law are based on the idea of justice, which in turn cannot exist without the right to freedom and equality (Kublashvili, 2005). It is very important to note that the legal status of women in ancient Georgia was much better than in the world. Comparing it with other European countries we can observe the obvious facts, for instance, in Georgia, women enjoyed the right to inheritance, received a dowry, and were the subject of property and not the object of the slave-owning peasantry (Nadareishvili, 1965).

Women and men have equal rights to receive general, vocational, and/or higher education. Everyone, regardless of gender, has the right to choose a profession and to receive a relevant education. The right to gain general, vocational, and/or higher education is granted to the both sexes with the equal access. Women and men should be equally involved in all the educational processes, moreover, there must be created equal conditions in the Georgian educational institutions, which ensures the acquisition of education at the same level in the equal conditions and environment (Law of Georgia on Gender Equality 2010). After an overview of domestic or international policy and the legislative framework related to gender equality, for the effective implementation of the principle of non-discrimination, is necessary to separate the legal mechanisms by which the right of women and men will be equally guaranteed in practice (Kereselidze, 2014).

Even political parties of Georgia in there in the pre-election programs mainly were focused on the country's political and social background and paid great attention to the gender equality; they highlighted the country's existing political and social-economic situation and draw a gender parity picture. For instance, in 2012 and 2016, political parties present their electoral program documents, discussing the issue of education, their point of view, plans, and comparative analyses of presented initiatives. They pay great attention to education and gender balance in it, since the development of an educational system is considered as one of the key issues in the country's prosperity and the development of education without gender parity is almost impossible (Darchashvili, Alaverdov, 2017).

The Role of Women in Politics

If we look at the historical perspective about the woman involved in politics a century ago, we can see such strong women as Eleonora Ter-Parsegov-Makhviladze, Minadora Toroshelidze, Kristine Sharashidze, Elisabeth Bolkvadze, and Ana Sologhashvili, which to win the elections of parliamentarians Constituent Assembly in 1919. At that time, the founding council of Georgia had a multiparty system. In the elections, the Social Democratic Party had 109 mandates 5 of them were for women. The high quality of democratic elections in the country was expressed by the "diversity" of political parties. Particularly, the ethnic minorities of Georgia participated in the elections together with the Georgians. It should be noted that in the founding council's elections, out of 130 Social-Democrats nominees 6 women were not Georgian by ethnicity. We have to highlight that apart from Georgians, almost all the national minorities living in Georgia were elected as deputies (Darchashvili & Alaverdov, 2019). It is worth to highlight that totally for the Constituent Assembly elections 1919, there were twenty registered women and five of them were elected as members of the Constituent Assembly (Chanishvili, 2015).

Most of the half world's population assumes that men are better leaders than women, and more than 40 percent thinks that men have the privilege of starting a job (UN report, 2020). In this regards scientists and experts, use the modern established term "glass ceiling", most often analyzing gender discrimination in the workplace. The term was first used in 1986 by two Wall Street Journal journalists in the United States (Corporate Woman, 1986). According to the earliest explanations, the "glass ceiling" is a "transparent barrier hinting women's career advancement" (Northauz, 2010). However, the Association Agreement between Georgia and the European Union signed in 2014 highlights the labor policy of ensuring gender equality at the workplace in accordance with the framework of EU and International Labor Organization standards (Georgia-EU Association Agreement; Article 239, H).

According to the general hypothesis of the "glass ceiling", the issue is not only about the fact that women face more obstacles in career advancement than men, but also the barriers faced by women to achieve positions in high hierarchical positions. Gender discrimination related to the promotion simply does not exist at all hierarchical levels, it is more intense in higher positions (Morrison, 1987).

Human rights declaration is an essential foundation of the modern democratic order. It creates the scope of individual freedom of the subject of law, and prohibits any kind of interference. It is universal in nature and acts equally for all people (Schrittwieser, B., Gleichbehandlung im Arbeitsrecht, AR 7, 2011, S. 5). However, there is a bad vicious practice in Georgia and gender-based employment is poorly established. Women often find it difficult to gain recognition and success in the field of their choice: education, politics, healthcare, etc. Despite the facts that either man or woman can become a subject of manipulation and controlled by a certain person or even groups, gender factor must not be a matter of importance. There is no evidence where women can be controlled more easily than men (Chanashvili, 2015).

Women's state policy is part of the overall social policy embodied in the state's programs and practices. In its turn, social policy depends on the economy, which main task is to harmonize public relations. State policy on women's issues has a historical character and depends on the political regime, the level of democracy, the subjects of the state policy, and, most importantly, the political elite's understanding of the essence of women's issues and their position. In this regards, it is worth mentioning that certain amendment has been made to the second article of the Labor Code of Georgia, which prohibits sex-based discrimination about the pre-contractual regulations, which can be considered as a very positive sign (Labor Code of Georgia, 2010). Discrimination is not a special or and temporary measure designed to encourage or achieve actual equality, especially in matters of gender, pregnancy, and motherhood, as well as in the case of a person with a disability (Law of Georgia on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination, 2014). It is also noteworthy that the success of state policy on women's issues is determined by the existing cultural traditions of the whole society, as well as by the level of awareness and activities (Kiknazde, 2006). Given the cultural specifics, women's involvement in labor relations is problematic, as is evidenced by the statistics of unemployed women; the number is quite high, about 75 %. In the field of regulation of the Labor Code of Georgia, which prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sex (among other signs), pre-contractual relations have been added to the Paragraph II, which can be considered as the essential and positive fact.

Here also we have to highlight the work of the European Network of Gender Equality Experts, since in 2010 it conducted a study on the legal prospects of Pay Gap in EU member states and as well as in six additional countries, reiterating the importance of the issue and the goal of strengthening the principle of equal employment (European Network of Gender Equality Experts, 2010).

Introducing Quoting System in Georgia

The experience of the parliaments of different countries confirms that the percentage of women in parliament has an impact on the legislative process. When women are involved in policy-making processes, it directly affects the activation of issues in which men due to lack of relevant experience can be less qualified then women. This reaffirms the importance of informed participation in the policy-making process and the synthesis of different perspectives and experiences, which ultimately affects the content (Kufunia, 2015). The Social Institutions and Gender Index series offer gender transformation actions at the international, regional, and national levels. It identifies the main driver of gender inequality and offers access to the entire community to create more inclusive communities and opportunities for all (SIGI, 2019).

It is important for Georgia's European integration process to discuss gender equality with the latest strategic acts, which reflect EU policies and approaches, and equality between women and men here is one of the common values on which the European Union is based (European Commission Women's Charter, 2010).

Almost the majority of the political sector in Georgia does not agree with the the quota introduction principles, (which is the main way to improve the existing situation) since they assume that the places in the parliament will be occupied by non-professionals. However, there is good practice in many countries, about the gender quota, which increased the number of women in parliament.

The quoting system first was introduced to the parliament in April 2008, with the aim to make amendments to the Organic Law of Georgia. However it was not supported, the second attempt was again in vain 2010. A year later on December 27, 2011, the Organic Law of Georgia has been amended and according to it, the political parties will get 10% more financial support if in the first top 10 lines there will be female representatives (Bagratia, Bagashvili, Jejelava, Khmalazde 2012). The aim of the Organic Law of Georgia is to ensure the development of more effective tools for gender equality and the revision of discriminatory legislation together with the State Gender Equality Action Plan, and as well as to introduce the mandatory nature equality and create a monitoring system (Paichadze, 2011).

According to the quoting system, 38 seats in the Georgian Parliament must be occupied by women (it is 25% of all parliament members). According to the NDI survey, the idea of a mandatory gender quota has found support in a large part of society - 68% of the Georgian population supports gender quota. This figure is even higher among respondents who say they will run in the next election - 72%.

In order to see the effects of the quota system, we have to see the picture of the parliamentary elections and the percentage of women candidates of the previous elections. Thus, in 2008, it constituted only 9%, in 2012 11.3% and 2016-16%. So according to the given percentage we can see a positive trend in the process of women's involvement but it is not enough for democratic standards. As for the next elections they will be held in 2020 and the results will be seen soon (Darchashvili, Alaverdov, 2016).

Conclusion

According to the above-mentioned facts, we can claim certain analyses has been done in the bases of the Georgian legislation regulations, as well as the strategic directions of the European Union and the International Labor Organization, is considered the United Nations approach to gender-based discrimination, and the policies pursued by domestic or international organizations.

We have to highlight that despite several successful legislative reforms in Georgia, it is still necessary to take additional measures aimed at changing the real picture, which exists due to the traditional patriarchal attitude and embedded social perceptions. It is also important to note that it is practically impossible to build a modern state without introducing human rights and their values into society.

It can also be said that it is necessary to conduct more researches and analyze all gender-related issues, raise awareness about the existing situation, adequately respond to the foreign practice, and introduce them in the Georgian reality. All these will reduce labor market inequalities and promote gender employment, which in turn will lead to equal involvement of women and men in social and economic life and help to build a strong state.

As a recommendation, we can consider the creation of appropriate norms of real equality and additional legislative normative acts, development of an action plan to regulate a policy of gender equality and, most importantly, the abolition of firmly established in Georgian society customs called gender-based discrimination.

References

Bendeliani N. "Gender Equality Assessment in Georgia by International Indices and Ratings". Center for Social Sciences, Tbilisi 2012.

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. (1979). Ratified by Georgian Parliament on September 27, 2002 by the Resolution N 2774.

Chanishvili, M. (2015). With or without Quota. Forbes Woman.

Chavchavadze, I. (1928). Essays Volume VIII, Georgian Book Edition.

Darchashvili M. Alaverdov E. (2017). The Issue of Education in Georgia's Politics (according to the documents of political parties 2012-2016 electoral cycles. International Conference Proceedings, Challenges of Modern Education. The University of Patras.

Darchashvili M, Alaverdov E. (2016). The Compatibility of Women's Involvement in Politics and the Process of Euro Integration in Modern Georgian Reality. Journal of Liberty and International Affairs / Vol. 2, No.2.

Darchashvili M, Alaverdov E. (2019). Main Features of Georgia's Founding Council Elections. 7th Mediterranean Interdisciplinary Forum on Social Sciences and Humanities. Proceedings. Barcelona.

European Commission Charter for Women, 2010.

European and National Human Rights Systems, Collection of Articles, 2007. Tbilisi, gtz

Georgia-EU Association Agreement (2016). Article 239 (H)

Kiknadze, T. (2006). Gender Social and Political Teachings, Center for Social Sciences, Tbilisi.

Khomeriki, L. (2006). Gender and Politics. Center for Social Sciences. Tbilisi.

Kublashvili, K. (2003). Fundamental Rights. p. 9.

Kereselidze. T. (2014). Analysis of Georgian Labor Legislation, Discrimination on the Basis of Gender at the Place of Employment and its Legal Consequences. Georgian Young Lawyers Association. Tbilisi.

Kufunia, T. (2015). Gender Quota for Better Polics. Feminism and Gender Democracy. South Caucasus.

Labor Code of Georgia. (2010). Article 2.

Law of Georgia on Gender Equality (2010). Chapter II, Article 4, Paragraph 1.

Law of Georgia on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination. (2014).

Morrison et al. (1987). 13 (as Cited in Baxter, J. Wright E. The Glass Ceiling Hypothesis. Gender & Society, Vol. 14 No. 2000.

Nadareishvili, G. (1965). From the History of Georgian Family Law. Publishing House "Science". Tbilisi.

Northhouse, P. (2010). Leadership, SAGE Publications, California.

Public Attitudes Towards Gender Equality in Politics and Business. (2013). Research Report. Conducted by the financial support of the United Nations Joint Program.

Paichadze, G. Mchedlishvili, S. Khomeriki, L. Nadaraia, L. Rusetski, E. (2011). Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women CEDAW Enforcement Study in Georgia, Final Report, Part Two.

Programming Essentials, Monitoring & Evaluation. (2010). Fast Facts: Statistics on Violence against Women and Girls. Virtual Knowledge Center to End Violence against Women and Girls. UN Women.

Regional Report for Eurasia (2019). Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI).

Schrittwieser, B. Gleichbehandlung im Arbeitsrecht, AR 7, 2011, S. 5.

The Gender Pay Gap in Europe from a Legal Perspective (2010). Including 33 country reports. European Commission on Gender Equality.

UN, Human Development Report, 2020.

VIOLENCE IN THE FAMILY AS AN UNCHANGING SOCIAL PROBLEM

Lia Metreveli (Georgian Technical University)

Introduction

Georgian writer Shota Rustaveli expressed the opinion of Georgians about the equality of women and men in the XII century. He said, "Gender equality was understood differently by our ancestors, they called a woman a "mother-man", I think it's an equal part of the whole human being – which was divided into two parts according to their abilities, however, no one was allowed to violate each other's rights." Violence is one of the most common and acute social problems, which threatens and disrupts public safety. In most cases violence stems from the nature of the human ego. The realization and implementation of violent actions have a social tinge and is considered a universally dangerous problem.

Unfortunately, violence is an integral part of humanity. In a broad sense, social violence can be seen in the context of "good and evil", and in the terms of "fighting for social justice and human solidarity."

Everyone knows that in the history of human development, various institutions have emerged and collapsed. However, violence, as a private case of deviant behavior, has arisen in archaic society and is still "relevant." It is worthy to note that very often the violence is ignored in most sociological studies, and only in some cases, it is considered as a pathology, or as a special case of deviant behavior, such as a crime related to physical violence, or even considered in the prism of a conflicting paradigm.

When discussing violent content, the issue of the aesthetics of nonviolent action is also raised. We have to highlight that those nonviolent ideas have deep religious and moral roots and as Galtung points out it is just empathy based on creativity. Thus to combat violence we have to oppose it by non-violence actions.

The non-violent language was spoken by Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, Vaclav Havel, Martin Luther King Jr., Merab Kostava, and many other prominent figures who gave us the examples of possibilities to tackle the problem and defeat injustice (Kakabadze, 2015).

Nonviolent action is above the violent action, thus, man can "subjugate even the beast" in both cases: into himself and his opponent, and give the way to the dialogue of mutual understanding and common actions.

Literature Review

The paper is based on Georgian and foreign literary sources, statistical and factual materials, and internet resources, which led to the formulation of specific problem-solving principles.

Erin Pizzy in his book Scream Quietly or the Neighbors Will Hear describes the recognition of domestic violence problems and publically discussed it. The problem of the definition of "domestic violence" is approached differently; each scientist has its view about a certain case. According to E. Pizzy's the formation of personality starts from childhood and takes roots in the upbringing process. Therefore, the author considered domestic violence is a major crime, which is subject to the public and requires governmental assistance.

Interesting opinions were expressed – by such scholars as Max Weber, Friedrich Engels, Sigmund Freud, and other field experts. They recognized the reproductive function of a woman and the upbringing of a child as an unchanging phenomenon. Durkheim and S. Freud in his work "Totem and Taboo", expressed the thoughts that culture is created by men and that women do not influence culture or civilization. Sigmund Freud suggested that the source of human aggression is the individual's appeal to the external object of self-destruction, the hidden, unconscious longing (death instinct) for death (Durkheim, Freud, 1949).

Konrad Lorenz, who studied animal behavior, saw aggression as the dictatorial behavior toward adaptation rather than self-destruction. Lorentz also thought that the instinct or mechanism of aggression would not calm down until it is "exploded" or released. At the same time, they believed that a person does not have the mechanism to stop aggression and that he/she is not able to control it. The authors gave a certain ground to the problem of domestic violence and its theoretical understanding.

Marin Hude - Nolan and Tracey Giulio, in their fundamental work, Theoretical Foundations of Domestic Violence, explain psychological theories of the domestic violence and discussed it from the modern point of view, highlighting the psychodynamic, social, cognitive-behavioral of family and systems theories of domestic violence.

Family Transformation as a Factor Provoking Violence

Sociologist and domestic violence researcher, E. Polyakov, thinks that great importance is the violence in the socialization of people. In his opinion, there is one very important institution in the social structure of the society, which ensures the stabilization and integration of various forms of public action: it is called violence. However, most sociologists ignore the idea undeservedly.

The most dangerous source of modern violence is systemic violence: it refers not only to physical violence but also to more sophisticated forms of its manifestation that help maintains attitudes of power and exploitation (threats, intimidation, etc.) (Zizek, 2010).

The phenomenon of social violence is manifested differently not only in different historical epochs but also in existing simultaneously societies with a different background.

It is noteworthy that domestic violence became a subject of study in the 1960s, but it should not be forgotten that family science has a much longer history than the phenomenon of domestic violence. Therefore, we try to discuss the concept of family, its changes, and, most importantly, the purpose of the family.

In normative and scientific practice, the concept of the meaning of the word "family" is unsustainable. It can be assumed that before the 13th century, there was no term in any European language to denote a group consisting of a father, mother, and children. At the same time the boundaries of the family were broken and not clear, the core of the spouses neither existed as a small unit, as it is today, nor did had a special name.

The fact that domestic violence draws the attention of the international community is evidenced by the fact that it is a matter of discussion at the UN Congress, World Assembly for Women (WAW) (Elimination of Violence against Women, UN Declaration 1993).

Despite that the data on domestic violence, with its various forms, and manifestations, is very scarce; however, the existing information is sufficient to draw attention to this problem (Rodina, 2007).

Substantially changed the dynamics of the family, and the strict hierarchical violent attitudes characteristic toward the traditional, patriarchal family, as defined by the family model - multiple children and large families it is replaced by a nuclear family based on the couple and their children.

In nuclear families the importance of religious and cultural values of traditions is weakened and gives a start to violence and egalitarian attitudes.

We discuss two concepts of post-industrial development of the family, which have authors from many countries such as Georgian, European and Russian, who give different assessments to the post-industrial factors and their impact on microstructures, including families.

For example, the liberal-technical approach focuses on the processes of integration (globalization) and the development of its structures and the formation of an "open society". In this case it deals with democracy, pluralism, individual initiative, human rights, tolerance, quality of life, principles, norms, etc.

Thus, the proponents have been working to make the actual transcript of this statement particularly:

- Reducing the size of the family, based on the increased numbers of divorces.
- Liberalization of sexual morality before marriage, including premature sexual relations (under 16).
- Bigamy- having a second family and giving birth to and raising desirable children.
- The emergence of a new, unconventional type of family, where a woman consciously is ready for maternity without marriage (Neverov, 2003). According to several sociologists, a modern family shifts from a patriarchal and traditional model to a European model – relations between the couples (Golod, 1998).

These changes are caused by the transformation (modernization) of the personal characteristics of each member in family or couples (Golod, 2008). However many scholars have different opinions about the problem and think that the basis for the harmonious society lays in close families. They also think that such changes in the family structure cannot be considered as positive direction; moreover the crisis of the family is being simply demonstrated (Sofromadze, 2017). The freedom and mobility reduce the responsibilities and feelings of a modern man towards the families. They emphasize the negative consequences of transformation, such as declining birth rates, increasing the number of a divorced, single person, the increase of incomplete families, births without marriage, the number of homeless children and, leading it to the escalation of domestic violence.

It is worth saying that, the causes of domestic violence should be assumed not only as of the consequences of the above-listed factors but also as the failure of social structures in protecting against violence. Since the structures represent the important social factors for the prevention of domestic violence (Galetsky V. 2005).

In this regard "Familyism" a combination of three normative beliefs that emphasize the unity of the family, where the members are obliged to support each other either economically or emotionally (Ingram, 2007).

The perceptions of family obligations represent the source of support, they must be united and have a close relationship, and finally trust each other, which means that family members must meet the expectations family as the referent. However, studies revealed that in a case of domestic violence family members fail to fulfill their obligations Sabogalf (1987).

History of Domestic Violence its and Concepts

The study of domestic violence has a long history. It began in the 1960s when children's problems draw attention: in 1962, Dr. Henry Kempe published an article "Beaten Child Syndrome," describing the cruel treatment of children and defined it as a clinical condition. He became the first who introduced the term "cruel treatment" into scientific terminology.

The publication drew public attention to child abuse; however, H. Kempe would not be able to make his conclusions about the infamous findings if not pediatric radiologist John Kefey (Kempe, 1962).

If the history of such child treatment gave rise to the notion of "cruel treatment", violence against women has led to the term of "domestic violence", however, some authors started to wring about domestic violence only in the early 1970s, calling it a "social deviant act" or "Physical violence."

In 1971, Erin Pizzi founded the first women's shelter in England for violated and abused women. The movement that led to the establishment of the shelter began in the suburbs of London - in Ceskevik, when residents marched in protest to stop state funding for the supply of milk to schoolchildren. As a result of this event, the sense of solidarity that was further enhanced by the Cheskevik feminist Pizzi led to the establishment of a local neighborhood center that offered homeless women - childcare and shelter.

Pizzi supplied mass media with a continuous stream of stories about the violent treatment of women, which raised social awareness. Thus Chesapeake became a shelter for a large number of abused women.

The idea of the shelter was so successful that Pizzi began to study the problem of domestic violence and became the founder of the women's protection movement in Europe and America. As a result there were opened many shelters for domestic violence victims: in 1974, the first American "St. Paul's Minnesota Shelter", in 1976, the number of shelters rose to 20, and by 2008, there were already functioning 2,000 shelters for violated and abused women.

Also, there were established many women rights defender organizations in Britain and the United States, such as the British - beaten women's movement that emerged from community-based orientations; it emphasis housing and social service, which emerged from the concept of equal rights in liberal feminism, focused on reforming criminal law.

American sociologists Richard Gelles and Murray Strauss are considered to be the founders of the modern definition of violence. Matt's views were based on a large-scale national study of domestic violence in the United States, based on which the authors conducted a study of the phenomenon of violence and its causes (Gelles R. 2006).

However, this social phenomenon of family violence is multidimensional and is appeared in various forms. Even though family violence has existed since ancient times it has only gained serious attention in recent years. It is worth saying that the issue of domestic violence is tabooed and evermore it is fueled not only by the existence of a patriarchal system but also by the social stigma and shame, it is the case when the victim of violence blames himself or herself. Taking into account the specific characteristics of the victim and the victim protection policy will give a chance to effectively combat domestic violence.

The interest in the scientific understanding of the problem of domestic violence is drawn from the side of philosophy and sociology, psychology and pedagogy, jurisprudence, and criminology. There are two types of domestic violence, which are related to the introduction of research and corrective propaganda, and there is a difference of opinion.

The first typology is based on forms of violent action, such as physical, sexual, and emotional violence. Some authors assume that sexual violence is a form of physical violence, while others perceive it as a different form of mental and emotional violence. The second typology is characterized by the nature of the object of violence, distinguishing the following forms of violence: gender-based violence (between partners, spousal violence); kindred violence (violence against close relatives, including sisters, brothers, children or the elderly) (Soshnikova, 2015).

The most recognized forms of violence include physical, psychological (emotional), sexual abuse, in this regards it is necessary to mention “Georgia's Law on Prevention of Violence, Assistance in Protection of Victims of Domestic Violence”, which explains the concept of domestic violence and the following forms of its detection: physical, psychological, sexual, economic and coercive.

According to the generally accepted definition, physical violence implies a purposeful, forceful physical impact on one person against another, harming the health and even life of another person (Rodina, 2008).

As for physiological (emotional) violence it is defined as a violation of human dignity and honor, threatening, isolating, harassing, etc. The same type of violence includes coercion of a person through blackmail, endangers the life and health of another, and violates the rights and freedoms of the victims of any age: either infants and underage or adults.

Sexual violence involves not only the violation of sexual inviolability of human freedom but also the depravity of underage, which disrupts their normal mental development. Apart from the above-mentioned violations, their typology, unfortunately, does not end there. It is multifaceted by its character, directions, and forms of attitudes toward multiple destructive actions.

It is true that the definition of "domestic violence" includes many acts of violence; however, there occurs a consensus on general definitions and differences in specific meanings.

For example, Rodina distinguishes three levels of domestic violence; 1) the level of legal definition that determines the level of domestic cruelty and crime; 2) the level of research definitions given in conceptual and empirical work to identify the boundaries of family aggression and prevalence; 3) the level of family customs that determines a case of domestic violence, for instance, whether the participant is assigned the role of victim and abuser (Rodina, 2007).

Domestic Violence as a Social Problem and its Consciences

The violence against women is a problem that involves a complex set of relationships with the social environment and can be one of the factors in its formation. Studies suggest that the family should play a fundamental role in bringing traditional gender norms. We can claim that the problem of domestic violence belongs to several social problems. This is evidenced by the statistical opinions and data of researchers, which confirm its existence and severity.

A World Health Organization (WHO) study report about the prevalence of domestic violence states that:

- 35% of women in the world experience physical or sexual abuse. Compared to other forms of violence, these forms are experienced by the vast majority of women.
- Most cases of violence are committed in a close partnership, one-third (30%) of women experience violence in close relationships. In some parts of the world, the figure is as high as 38%.
- About 38% of female homicides are committed by partners.
- 102 countries still do not have special legal mechanisms for domestic violence problems.

The report also provides global indicators of the prevalence of violence against women by region, which is based on data from 79 countries.

The results of a survey conducted by the European Union show the percentage of domestic violence and violence against women. In many European countries, the scale of the violence is as follows: Austria - 13%, Germany - 22%, Denmark - 32%, Ireland - 15%, Italy - 19%, the United Kingdom - 29%. (this is an incomplete list) (WHO 2013).

According to statistics on the consequences of violence, 5.3 million cases of domestic violence (25% of women) occur in the United States each year.

Violence against children is the most brutal and unacceptable form of domestic violence. Because in several cases they find it difficult not only to defend themselves, but also to adequately assess the event. The worst is that it is done by the elders whose hope and protection they have always hoped for. Unfortunately, this problem persists all over the world.

As for sexual violence statistics, it remains a taboo subject; people prefer to avoid talking about it. We only can assess the situation from the recorded data of criminal offenses.

For example, according to statistics, child sexual abuse by close relatives is about 35-40%. Cases of pedophilia in Russia are almost a daily occurrence that increases every year. According to an anonymous survey, every fourth girl and boy under the age of 18 are sexually abused.

The following countries have been named as the world's 11 countries with the highest rates of domestic violence: 1. Chad. 2. Afghanistan, 3. Congo, 4. Sudan, 5. Guatemala, 6. Mali, 7. Somalia, 8. India, 9. Pakistan, 10. Iraq, 11. Russia (Rodina, 2007).

The above data not only indicates the urgency of the situation but also the need to perceive it as a social problem.

Determining the causes and roots of domestic violence will help to predict the severity and trends of domestic violence; develop further levers for managing it and elaborate innovative formations for social protection and support.

Conclusion

The hypothesis presented in the paper shows that one of the most effective ways to deal with domestic violence is social support. As for the cognitive-behavioral theories (social learning, genetic reinforcement of behavior, reactive aggression, acquired helplessness) they are the theoretical basis for such an approach. Here, we can claim that a psychological condition that develops into a victim of domestic violence in the absence of social support.

According to the hypothesis, the ineffectiveness of the mental characteristics of victims of domestic violence contributes to the poor state policy toward domestic violence.

Therefore it is possible to conclude that the main inefficiency of effective state policy against domestic violence is that, it is more focused on inter-agency relations than on the interests of victims of domestic violence based on the psychological characteristics. Therefore, to prevent and combat domestic violence, the relevant state agencies should plan certain strategies according to the all characteristics and features of domestic violence.

References

Global and regional estimates of violence against women. Geneva, Worlds Health Organization (WHO) 2013.

Golod S. (2008). Socio-demographic Analysis of Conditions and Family Evolution. Case Studies,

Golod S. (1998). Family and marriage: historical and sociological analysis. Petropolis Publishing House.

Galetsky V. (2005). Will the institute of the FIAC family meet the century? Journal of Friendship of Peoples.

Gelles R. StrausM. (2006). Behind Closed Doors: Violence in American Family. New Jersey, Transaction Publishers.

Ingram E. (2007). A Comparison of Help-Seeking between Latino and Non-Latino Victims of Intimate Partner Violence. Journal, violence against women, 13 (2).

Kempe C. (1962). The Battered Child Syndrome. Journal of American Medical Association, Pizzy E. (1974). Scream Quietly or the Neighbours will Hear. Harmondsworth Battimore: Penguin.

Kakabadze I. (2015). Cultural and Structural Violence. Georgian Press. http://georgianpress.ge/com/news/view/10398?lang=1

Kaltipina M. (2003). Ordinary cruelty: studies of domestic violence. Editorial Publishing House, Gorbachev Foundation, Moscow.

Neverov F. (2003). Nothing is wanted. Publishing House, Business Quarter.

Petrenko, A. Yaroshevsky M. (1998).Brief psychological dictionary, Rostov-on-Don, Phoenix.

Rodina I. (2008). Domestic violence: theoretical understanding and key concepts. Social Policy and Sociology, # 2.

Rodina I. (2007). Domestic violence: Moscow, Russian State. Social University.

Rodina I. (2007). The social problematization of domestic violence in modern Russia.

Sopromadze P.(2010). Stable family - the basis of a harmonious society. Journal Ganatleba. Georgian Technical University. Tbilisi.

Sabogal F., Marin G., Otero-Sabogal R.., Vanoss- Marin B., &Perez-Stable E. (1987). Hispanic Familisim and Acculturation: what changes and what doesn't. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science, 1087, 9(4).

Soshnikova I. (2011). Domestic violence in modern Russia. "The social structure of social institutions and processes" Ekaterinburg.

Sigmund F. (2015). Totem and Taboo. Publisher: Geo AuthorTranslation: Nina Turmanidze. Pages, 207. Tbilisi.

UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 1993, 41.

Zizek S. (2010). About Violence. Moscow. Publishing house "Europe".

DETERMINANTS OF IMF PROGRAM DESIGN

Merih Angin (Koç University)

Introduction

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an international financial institution (IFI) established in 1945, which has 189 member countries as of 2016. The IMF, usually simply called as the Fund, is responsible for a) monitoring the global economy and the member states' economies, b) providing loans to economies with balance of payments issues, and c) giving advice to all its member countries. Whether the Fund fulfills the said mandates successfully has been a debated issue, particularly in academia, however. In this context, this research focuses on a controversial aspect of the IMF's primary mission, i.e., lending to its members in need of IMF finance. The research aims to answer the following questions: What factors influence the terms (loan size, number of conditions, and conditionality waivers granted) of an IMF program? And how do those factors play into shaping the design of the programs? This paper outlines an extensive research project that aims to answer these questions by employing mixed methods— including machine learning (ML), natural language processing (NLP), statistical analysis and process tracing— which will be explained more thoroughly in the following sections.

The overarching objective of the research is to create a comprehensive novel methodology and framework for understanding IMF program design, shedding light on the processes leading to variation in IMF lending. Through creating this framework, this research aims to provide an indispensable and extensible tool for both international political economy (IPE) researchers and policymakers to model the program design and implementation process with high predictive power of the outcomes. There are four specific objectives to achieve this:

Creating a comprehensive ML model for predicting the loan size, conditions in different categories and waivers during program implementation, complementing traditional statistical models to integrate a larger number of variables and provide high accuracy of prediction.

Creating an NLP tool for automated, fast analysis of Executive Board meeting minutes, which is able to capture elements including individual board member sentiments, alliance between representatives of different countries and G5 stance with at least 85 percent accuracy when cross-checked with manual analysis.

Creating a comprehensive dataset covering IMF programs between 1978-2015 on the various factors influencing IMF program design to the benefit of researchers and practitioners to advance the state-of-the-art through further studies employing ML techniques.

Examining IMF behavior when it cooperates with European Union (EU) institutions, by conducting process tracing on case studies, which will illuminate the causal mechanisms at play.

To the extent of my knowledge, this will be the first study on IMF lending that jointly considers the impact of all actors and factors determining the terms of an IMF program. Longer chains of delegation that lead to more principal-agency (P-A) issues to be examined give us the opportunity of a more thorough analysis. The findings of this research are expected to have significant implications for IPE scholars, paving the way for further empirical research especially on decision-making processes in international organizations (IOs). The employment of ML and NLP techniques in the research are innovative aspects of the project, which will create a new avenue for IMF and IO studies, relieving researchers from the burden of manual analysis and enabling informed decision-making for policymakers with the ability to grasp the full picture of program design. The research will also make a significant contribution to computational social science through developing techniques not explored in the context of IMF studies before and pave the way for future advanced studies in the field.

State of the art on IMF lending and a novel approach

Why does the IMF favor some countries over others? The variation in IMF program features has been the focus of academic and policymakers' debates considering the massive economic, political and social impact of IMF lending. Although the Fund has been criticized for its "one size fits all approach" (Stiglitz 2003),) a rich body of literature reveals that the IMF's lending policies vary across time and space (Kang 2007, 685). While some scholars consider the variation in IMF conditionality as an illustration of the Fund learning from its previous mistakes (Broome 2010, 37), other scholars perceive them as reflections of powerful states' interests.

These studies with a state-centric approach emphasize the preferences of the powerful G-5 states, particularly the US, in explaining the variation in IMF conditionality. While some argue that countries of strategic importance receive softer conditionality (Dreher, Sturm, and Vreeland 2015), others highlight US influence via "informal governance" within the Fund (Stone 2008). In contrast to the state-centric views, according to public choice approaches, the IMF staff is a highly independent actor; bureaucratic politics rather than the interests of the major shareholders are the main political factor in the Fund lending policies (Copelovitch 2010, 54). Chwieroth argues that "the Fund staff by and large adopted, interpreted, and applied the norm on their own." (Chwieroth 2008, 155).

IMF conditionality has always been the most controversial aspect of the programs designed for countries borrowing from the Fund. As mentioned above, there is a rich body of literature examining the main factors explaining the variation in the loan size and conditionality shaping IMF programs. Nevertheless, the growing empirical literature on IMF lending has so far, to a large extent, neglected the impact of the negotiations between the IMF staff and borrowing country bureaucrats in explaining how IMF programs are designed. Most of the previous work on the analysis of IMF lending focused on the decision-making at the international institution level, however, it is known that IMF programs are designed not only by the IMF staff; borrowing-country bureaucrats play a significant role in negotiations and therefore in shaping the programs. In some cases, reform-minded bureaucrats of the borrowing country also use an IMF program as an excuse to push for reforms to be implemented in a country facing a severe economic crisis. Moreover, although there has been much controversy over the involvement of the Troika in IMF decisions at the time of the financial crises in Europe, scholars have not yet systematically analyzed this issue. The IMF has been collaborating with European Union institutions to lend to EU member states, which is a partnership that needs to be analyzed thoroughly.

As mentioned previously, to the best of my knowledge, this will be the first study of IMF lending using ML and NLP together, forming a comprehensive model that takes into account all actors and factors determining the terms of an IMF program. One important factor that contributes to the ambitiousness of the project is the introduction of new methods from the computer science discipline into the analysis of the IMF lending process. By creating highly accurate NLP models for automated processing of meeting minutes and accurate ML models for outcome prediction in IMF programs, the research will make a significant contribution to the study of not only the IMF, but also other IOs, facilitating analysis tasks and helping decision-making by various actors involved. The section below summarizes the research design of the project.

Research Design

This research will take on board data and methodological triangulation. I will first employ appropriate statistical regressions to test the hypotheses. Statistical methods may have explanatory power, however, using ML techniques with high predictive power will strengthen our model. Undoubtedly, answering the research question requires more than quantitative analyses. In this context, we need to move beyond the generalizations a large-N study can provide in order to uncover the causal mechanisms at play. Process tracing will be used to shed light on the existence of causality vs. spuriousness in the differences between the outcomes of marginally different cases, as well as provide insights for the study of cases that lie outside existing theories (George and Andrew Bennett 2004, 7).

Dependent Variable(s)

To test the hypotheses of the research, I will utilize new data on IMF conditionality from Kentikelenis, Stubbs, and King (2016). This comprehensive database allows us to disaggregate IMF conditionality by targeted policy types—a relatively new practice in the literature. As mentioned previously, the empirical analysis will focus on three outcomes of interest. The first dependent variable is the size of the total loan disbursement divided by the total population of the recipient country, and the second dependent variable is the number of different types of policy reforms imposed by the Fund. The state-centric approach expects borrowing countries that are strategically important for G5 countries to receive larger loans with fewer conditions attached. The research will look at the factors determining the number of condition waivers granted to a country during program implementation. Though the purpose of condition waivers is supposedly to maintain policy flexibility, waivers may also be granted as political favors to borrowing countries (Pop-Eleches 2009).

Statistical Models

Because the logged measure of IMF loan size is continuous and normally distributed, while conditions and waivers are count variables, the research will test each of the hypotheses using different econometric methods. For the analysis of IMF loan size, the project will first estimate the following ordinary least squares (OLS) model with standard errors clustered on country. Since conditions and condition waivers are count variables, estimating an OLS model would yield biased and inefficient estimates. In this regard, a negative binomial model will be used to estimate both conditions and condition waivers if there is overdispersion in the data, and if goodness-of-fit tests of Poisson models suggest that the Poisson distribution is a poor modeling choice.

Machine Learning

This research will take an ML approach to understanding the design of IMF programs by discovering how various economic and political variables and processes play together into shaping the program design outcomes in terms of conditionality. As opposed to statistical approaches taking a hypothesis-driven approach to discovering correlations between independent and dependent variables, ML models take a data-driven approach, which enables us to more effectively build models with high predictive power. The data-driven nature of ML models allow for discovery of latent structures in large data, which could go unnoticed by humans and facilitate integration of many independent variables into the prediction process, whose relative importance for the predicted outcome is revealed by the ML model itself.

Although the complete mechanism depends on the specific algorithm chosen, at a high level, the ML process starts with the acquisition and cleaning (pre-processing) of data to make it ready to serve as input into the algorithm. For this research, this step will involve formatting IMF program data including the economic and political variables, as well as data extracted from EB meeting minutes at a high level of granularity according to the requirements of the specific algorithms ML chosen. After the data cleaning stage, a training set and test set are formed from the data, where care is taken to separate the data into distinct subsets with the training set containing sufficient samples for each class/category to prevent biased predictions.

In this research, I will employ supervised machine learning techniques, where each sample in the training dataset has a class label attached to it, and the label indicates whether a specific conditionality category existed in a specific IMF program, whether a waiver was granted for a specific conditionality and within what range the total loan size granted in an IMF program was.

Process Tracing

This brings us back to the main focus of this research. How are IMF programs with various conditionality designed and why do some programs have more strings attached while others are sweeter deals? For methodological triangulation purposes, we will focus on two country studies, where we get variation in the dependent variables over time. If a country was getting favorable conditions from the Fund due to its strategic importance for the G-5 countries, then how do we explain the variation in loan size, conditionality and/or waivers across programs implemented in the same country? The variation over time in a single country study, in this regard, allows us to seek an explanation the state-centric approach fails to deliver.

The country studies chosen for this purpose are the cases of Romania and Greece. I will trace the causal processes that explain the variation in number and scope of conditionality of the IMF programs implemented in Romania between 1994-2015, and in Greece between 2010-2015, based on the analysis of the interviews and the recorded minutes of the Executive Board meetings that provide significant insights into the views of the executive directors. Apart from the said primary data, secondary sources (including the data collected with an extensive archival research of the daily newspapers) will also be used to present a clear picture of the two cases. Unlike cases like Turkey, despite having numerous IMF programs the case of Romania is not over-studied, therefore, applying our framework to this case will be a significant contribution to the literature in various ways, and exploring the ways in which IMF programs were designed will shed light on how IMF programs with different conditions are formed. The second country case that will be studied is Greece. Unlike Romania, Greece was not an ardent borrower of the Fund until 2010, when the turmoil of the global financial crisis of 2008 triggered an economic crisis in the country. One of the reasons making the case of Greece interesting is the number of actors involved in the design of the programs; Greece had to negotiate with a quadriga of lenders involving the IMF, European Commission, European Central Bank and European Stability Mechanism, and the program design is much more complex with multiple actors.

By way of conclusion

The contributions of this research to the literature on the IMF and study of IOs will be four-fold:

First, this research will develop a comprehensive theoretical model for understanding IMF program design and implementation that integrates all explanatory variables from the existing literature as well as novel ones to be introduced through the analysis of Executive Board meeting minutes.

Second, the research will develop ML-based models of the IMF lending process to provide high predictive power for the outcomes of program design under various macroeconomic and political conditions, providing a new methodological contribution to the field, which has traditionally used statistical prediction models.

Third, the research takes on board an eclectic approach, using mixed methods involving Machine Learning, Natural Language Processing, statistical analyses, as well as process tracing of in-depth case studies to account for the variation in the terms of IMF programs. To the best of our knowledge, this will be the first research using the said methods together.

Last but not least, by developing a tool for automated analysis of Executive Board meeting minutes to extract data for EB views on IMF program design, the research will greatly facilitate future research on IO document analysis. The ML framework to be developed is also expected to be an important tool for political scientists to apply ML-based modeling to different problems in IOs and other domains alike.

The interdisciplinary nature of this research requires collaboration between political science/international relations, economics and computer science disciplines. Through bridging the gap between these disciplines by introducing the applications of machine learning and natural language processing to the study of international organizations, this project aims to lay the ground for further interdisciplinary research and make pioneering contributions to computational social science.

References

Broome, André. "The International Monetary Fund, Crisis Management and the Credit Crunch." Australian Journal of International Affairs 64, no. 1 (2010): 37-54.

Chwieroth, Jeffrey M. "Normative Change from Within: The International Monetary Fund's Approach to Capital Account Liberalization." International Studies Quarterly 52 (2008): 129-58.

Copelovitch, Mark S. "Master or Servant? Common Agency and the Political Economy of IMF Lending." International Studies Quarterly 54 (2010): 49-77.

Dreher, Axel, Jan-Egbert Sturm and James Raymond Vreeland. "Politics and IMF Conditionality." Journal of Conflict Resolution 59, no. 1 (2015): 120-48.

George, Alexander L. and Andrew Bennett. Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004.

Helleiner, Gerald K. "Stabilization, Adjustment and the Poor." World Development 15, no. 12 1987): 1499-1513.

Kang, Seonjou. "Agree to Reform? The Political Economy of Conditionality Variation in International Monetary Fund Lending, 1983–1997." European Journal of Political Research 46 (2007): 685–720.

Kentikelenis, Alexander E., Thomas H. Stubbs, and Lawrence P. King. "IMF Conditionality and Development Policy Space, 1985–2014." Review of International Political Economy 23, no.4 (2016): 543–582.

Killick, Tony. IMF Programmes in Developing Countries: Design and Impact. London: Routledge,1995.

Martin, Matthew. The Crumbling Facade of African Debt Negotiations: No Winners. London: Macmillan, 1991.

Pop-Eleches, Grigore. From Economic Crisis to Reform: IMF Programs in Latin America andEastern Europe. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. Globalization and Its Discontents. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003.

Stone, Randall W. Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Taylor, Lance. Varieties of Stabilization Experience: Toward Sensible Macroeconomics in the Third World. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Woods, Ngaire and Domenico Lombardi. "Uneven Patterns of Governance: How Developing Countries Are Represented in the IMF." Review of International Political Economy 13 (2006): 480-515.

AKADEMİK TEŞVİK SİSTEMİ: NEREDEN NEREYE? ACADEMIC INCENTİVE SYSTEM: FROM WHERE TO WHERE?

Alaeddin Bobat (Kocaeli University)

Necmi Cemal Özdemir (Kocaeli University)

Abstract

*The law enacted on November 14, 2014 and the regulation enacted in 2015, the "A**cademic Incentive Regulation**", which entered into academic life, have brought with it many controversies. For academic incentive, separate regulations were issued for the first two years, no different regulations were issued in 2017; assessments were made for 2017 according to regulation issued at the end of 2016. In 2018, the system was again updated by the Council of Ministers on 14 May 2018 with the academic incentive Regulation No 2018/11834. The rates and contributions initially proposed in the incentive scoring calculations were amended again in accordance with the President's Decree No. 2043 dated 16.01.2020 published in the Official Gazette No. 31011 dated 17.01.2020. Both the 2018 and 2019 regulations reforming the academic incentive system have caused both legal and economic and ethical polemics. This study specifically aims to examine the problematic changes in terms of time and conditions in 2018 and 2019, and to question where the system is going.*

Keywords: *Academic incentive system, Legal-economic and ethic controversies.*

Giriş

Türkiye'de akademisyenlerin uzun zamandır özlük haklarının, görevlerini etkin biçimde yerine getirmelerine olanak veremediği yönünde tartışmalar sürmekte ve bu yönde araştırmalar yapılmaktadır. Kamu ve vakıf üniversitelerinde çalışan binlerce akademisyen hem yeni kurulan üniversitelerin akademik açıklarını kapatmaya çalışmakta hem de kendilerine yaraşır bir gelire kavuşmak istemektedir. Bu da ancak akademik anlamda akademisyenlerin özlük haklarının iyileştirilmesi ile mümkün görünmektedir (Küçükkan ve Gür, 2009; Karadağ ve Yücel, 2018; Bobat ve Yılmaz, 2018).

Türkiye'de Akademik Teşvik Sistemi 14.12.2015 tarihli Bakanlar Kurulunun 2015/8305 karar sayısı(RG,2015) ile yayınlanan Akademik Teşvik Ödeneği (ATÖ) Yönetmeliği ile üniversitelerde ilk kez 2016 yılında uygulanmaya başlandı. ATÖ yönetmeliği 14 Kasım 2014 tarihli Resmi Gazete(RG)'nin 29175. sayısında yayımlanan 6564 sayılı(RG,2014) yasaya dayandırılarak çıkarıldı.

2014 yılında çıkarılan yasa ve ardından 2015 yılında yayımlanan ATÖ yönetmeliği ile "akademik performansı" yüksek olan akademisyenlerin özlük hakları düzeltilmeye ve daha fazla çalışan/üretenlerin teşvik edilmesine olanak tanınmaya çalışıldı.

2015 ve 2016 yılları için ayrı yönetmelik çıkarılan akademik teşvik için, 2017 yılında farklı bir yönetmelik çıkarılmadı; 2017 yılı için 2016 yılı sonunda çıkarılan yönetmeliğe göre değerlendirmeler yapıldı(RG, 2016). Hiç beklenmeyen bir zamanda, 2018 yılı Mayıs ayında, çıkarılan 11834 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu kararı ile akademik teşvik sistemi bir kez daha değiştirildi (RG, 2018).

Son olarak ise, aslında 2018 yılı sonunda ya da 2019 yılı başında çıkarılması gereken ATÖ yönetmeliği oldukça geciktirilerek ve bir bakıma ihmal edilerek 17.01.2020 tarihli ve 31011 sayılı Resmî Gazete'de(RG, 2020) yayımlanan 16.01.2020 tarihli ve 2043 sayılı Cumhurbaşkanı Kararı ile tekrar gündeme oturdu.

2015 yılından bu yana yapılan dördüncü değişiklik ile Akademik Teşvik Sistemi, başlangıçta belirlenen kural ve koşullara 2020 yılında çok daha ağırları eklenerek 2019 yılı için uygulanmaya başlandı. Bu da çıkarılan yasa ve yönetmeliklerin geriye dönük işletilemeyeceği evrensel hukuk kuralına ters düştü.

Kısacası, ATÖ sistemi uygulamaya başlandığı 2015-2016 yılından bugüne hukuksal, yasal, yönetsel ve etik pek çok tartışmayı gündeme taşımış ve sistem kendini yenileme adına birçok değişikliği beraberinde getirmiştir.

Bu çalışmada, ATÖ sisteminin geçirdiği değişim ve dönüşümler sistematik olarak ele alınmakta ve yapılan son değişiklikler ile getirilen yenilikler eleştirel bir yaklaşımla irdelenmektedir.

Son Değişiklikler Kapsamında ATÖ Sistemi

Devlet üniversitelerinde çalışan akademisyenlerin başarımlarını değerlendirmek üzere 14.05.2018 tarih ve 2018/11834 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı ile çıkarılan Akademik Teşvik Ödeneği Yönetmeliği'nde değişiklik yapılmasını içeren yönetmelik 17 Ocak 2020 tarihli Resmi Gazetede yayımlandı.

Yeni yönetmelikle;

Madde 3-(1)'in l maddesinde yer alan tanınmış uluslararası yayınevi tanımına "Türkçe dışındaki dillerde" ibaresi eklendi.

Madde 3-(1)'in m şıkkında yer alan tasarım tanımına "özgün" ibaresi eklendi.

Madde 3-(1)'in p şıkkında yer alan ULAKBİM tanımına "TÜBİTAK" ibaresi eklendi.

Madde 3-(1)'in r şıkkında yer alan "yayınlanmış" sözcüğü "yayımlanmış" olarak değiştirildi.

Madde 3-(1)'e ş şıkkı eklenerek "*Proje maddesi kapsamında olmamak koşuluyla; bilim, teknoloji ve sanata katkı sağlayıcı nitelikte, kurum dışında görevlendirme ile yurt içinde veya yurt dışında en az dokuz ay süreyle yeni bilgiler üretilmesi, teknolojik problemlerin çözümlenmesi/analiz edilmesi, yenilikçi ürün, süreç, eser veya tasarımlar geliştirilmesi amacıyla bilimsel esaslara uygun olarak yürütülmüş ve sonuç raporu ilgili kurumların yetkili mercilerince başarılı bulunarak sonuçlandırılmış sistematik çalışmaları*" araştırma tanımı içine konuldu.

Madde 5-(3) değiştirilerek "*Birim akademik teşvik komisyonlarının faaliyetlerin ilgili yönetmelik hükümlerine uygun olarak değerlendirilmesine yetkili olduğu*" yönetmeliğe eklendi.

Madde 5-(4)'e ek yapılarak '*Yeterli öğretim elemanı bulunması durumunda; birimlerce akademik teşvik başvurularını incelemek ve değerlendirmek üzere kurulan komisyonlarda görevli olanların Rektörlüğe bağlı Akademik Teşvik Düzenleme, Denetleme ve İtiraz Komisyonunda görevlendirilmeleri*' **engellendi**.

Madde 7-(4) kapsamında "*Kongrelerde sunulan bildiri kitapları teşvik kapsamının dışında*" tutuldu. Dergilerde editörlüğün değerlendirilmesinde, farklı dergilerde de olsa sadece bir editörlük dikkate alınacak ve çok editörlü dergilerde sadece baş editör teşvik kapsamında değerlendirilebilecek eki getirilerek Editör Kurulu üyelikleri teşvik kapsamından çıkartıldı.

Madde 7-(9) kapsamında "*Uluslararası etkinliklerin uluslararası olarak nitelendirilebilmesi için bildirilerin yarıdan fazlasının ülke dışından gelen katılımcılar tarafından sunulması; ayrıca, etkinliklerin ödemeye esas teşkil etmek üzere uluslararası nitelikte olup olmadığı hakkında üniversite yönetim kurulu kararı alınması*" zorunlu kılındı.

Madde 8-(6) kapsamında SCI, SCI-Expanded, SSCI ve AHCI kapsamındaki dergilerin akademik teşvik ödeneğine esas faaliyetlerde hesaplanmasında "*ULAKBİM puanının yerine Web of Science (WoS) tarafından yapılan dergi sınıflamasının esas alınmasına*" karar verildi. Buna göre; Q1, Q2, Q3 ve Q4 çeyreklik grupları yeni katsayı değerleri olarak belirlendi.

Madde 13-(1) kapsamında Yönetmelik hükümlerinin **Cumhurbaşkanı** tarafından yürütüleceği kayda geçirildi.

Son olarak Tablo 4 ile akademik faaliyet hesaplama oran ve puanları değiştirildi.

Yeni Yönetmeliğin Olumlu ve Olumsuz Etkileri

17.01.2020 tarih ve 31011 sayılı Resmi Gazete'de yayımlanan "**Akademik Teşvik Ödeneği Yönetmeliğinde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Yönetmelik**" ile 27.06.2018 tarih ve 30461 sayılı Resmi Gazete'de yayımlanan "**Akademik Teşvik Ödeneği Yönetmeliği**"nin bazı maddeleri değiştirilerek akademik teşvik ödeneğine hak kazanma ölçütlerinde yapılan oynamalar, elbette geçmiş deneyimlerden ve uygulamada karşılaşılan sorunların ele alınmasından ders çıkarılarak yapılmıştır.

Öncelikle 2016 yılından başlayarak uygulanan teşvik sistemiyle birlikte, Türkiye kökenli makalelerde artış olmasına karşın bilimsel kalite ve h-index açısından bir gerileme söz konusu olmuştur. Yeni ATÖ yönetmeliği ile bu duruma engel olunmaya çalışılmıştır.

2015 yılında çıkarılan teşvik sistemi ile birlikte kongre, konferans ve sempozyum gibi bilimsel etkinlikler oldukça artmış, ancak bu artış kaliteyi beraberinde getirememiş ve ülkemizde yapılanlar yetmiyormuş gibi yurtdışında düzenlenen bilimsel etkinliklerde bir patlama yaşanmıştır. Yeni ATÖ yönetmeliği ile bu kalitesizliğin önüne geçilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Tüm bu olumlu değişikliklere karşın, "**yeni**" iddiasında olan YÖK başkanlığı yeni ATÖ yönetmeliği ile akademik teşvik ödeneğini deyim yerindeyse "**kuşa**" çevirmiştir.

Bu değişiklikler kapsamında bakıldığında 2020 tarihli ATÖ yönetmeliğinde yapılan değişikliklerin yarattığı olumsuzluklar aşağıdaki gibi sıralanabilir:

A-3(1)-l) Tanınmış uluslararası yayınevi: Uluslararası yayınevi koşuluna "*Türkçe dışındaki dillerde yirmi kitap yayınlamış olmak*" ibaresinin eklenmesi, onlarca yıl yayın hayatında olan, eserleri dünyanın sayılı kütüphanelerinin koleksiyonlarında yer alan, piyasa koşullarına karşın bin bir zorlukla ayakta kalmaya çalışan Türk yayınevlerini mağdur etmiştir. Adeta yabancı hayranlığı algısını oluşturan bakış açısı, uluslararası olmanın yabancı dilde yayın yapmakla ilgisinin olmadığını görememiştir. Bu yaklaşım, aksine Türk akademisyenlerini yurt dışında yüksek ücretlerle yayın yapan yayın evlerinin kucağına itecektir. Bu değişiklik farklı ücretlerle dünyanın değişik ülkelerinde kitap basan yayınevlerinin değer kazanması ve Türk yayıncıların zarar görmesi ile sonuçlanacak niteliktedir. Aynı zamanda ülkemiz açısından sadece saygınlık kaybı olarak değil, aynı zamanda ekonomik olarak kayıp olarak sonuçlanacak bu süreçte birçok Türk yayınevinin bu koşulları sağlaması oldukça zor olacaktır.

B-MADDE 7- (4) Değiştirilen bu maddeye göre; kongre, sempozyum, konferans gibi bilimsel etkinliklerde sunulan bildiri kitapları teşvik kapsamının dışında tutulmuştur. Tematik konularda düzenlenen kongrelerde belirli bir konu ile ilgili bildiriler titiz editörlük değerlendirmelerinden geçirilerek ve nitelikli yayınevleri tarafından basılarak önemli bir kaynak kitap olarak koleksiyonlarda yerini almasına karşın, bu değişiklik bu tür çalışmaların yapılmasına engel olacaktır.

Editör kurulu üyelikleri teşvik kapsamından çıkartılmıştır. Dergilerde editörlüğün değerlendirilmesinde, farklı dergilerde de olsa sadece bir editörlük dikkate alınacak ve çok editörlü dergilerde sadece baş editör teşvik kapsamında değerlendirilebilecektir. Nitelikli dergilerde alan editörü olarak görev yaparak ciddi emek harcayan akademisyenleri cezalandıran bu süreç, üniversitelerimiz ve akademik yaşam bakımından nitelikli alan editörlerinin şevkini kırarak bilimsel üretime ciddi zarar verecektir.

C-MADDE 7- (9) Bilimsel etkinliklerde katılımcıların yüzde ellisinin yabancı olması koşulunun getirilmesi ülkemizde ve üniversitelerimizde tematik kongre düzenleyen, alanında seçkin bilim insanlarını bir araya getirerek akademik hayata bir buluşma ve ortak sinerji oluşturma noktasında katkı sunan çalışmaları da sekteye uğratacaktır. Üniversitelerimize ve kurumlarımıza yabancı sayısını sağlayabilmek için daha fazla davetli konuşmacı çağırma yükü dolayısı ile ekonomik zorluk doğuracaktır. Bunun yanında bu koşulları sağlasın diye akademisyenlerimizin yabancı ülkelerde bu türdeki etkinliklere katılması yönünde tercih kullanmasına neden olacak, bu da yolluk ve yevmiye ödemesi yapan kurumlarımıza gereksiz maliyet doğuracak ve üniversiteler tarafından bu giderlerin karşılanması durumunda kamu zararı meydana getirecektir. Sempozyumun niteliğine üniversite yönetim kurulları neye göre ve nasıl karar verecektir. Bu konuda düzenlemede eksiklik bulunmaktadır. Kaldı ki üniversiteler kendi yapısal sorunlarını gidermede keyfiyet işletirken, bu konunun esasları mantıklı ve denetlenebilirliği mümkün değildir.

Bildiri kitapları da bilimsel kitap niteliğindedir. Bu sebeple bildirilerde yapılan atıfların kabul edilmemesi mantığa ve bilime aykırıdır.

D-Madde 8 : Akademik Teşvikin Hesaplanması : 2015 yılında çıkan yönetmelikte akademik teşvik ödeneğinin hesaplanmasında Prof., Doç., Yrd., Doç., Arş. Gör ve Öğr. Gör. kadroları için farklı katsayı kullanılmakta buna karşın da puan katsayıları da 1, 1.5 ve 2 olarak uygulanarak görece bir dengeleme gözetilmekteydi. 2018 yılında yapılan değişiklik ile puan katsayı sistemi kaldırılmış ama ödemede yine farklı oranlama devam ettirilerek adaletsizlik ortaya çıkmıştır.

E-Alan İndeksleri Netliği : Mimar Sinan, Ege vb bazı üniversiteler uluslararası alan indekslerini tanımlayıp listeler yayınlamışken pek çok üniversitenin buna dönük bir listesi bulunmamaktadır. YÖK'ün tescillediği alan indeksleri güncel ve eşit değildir. Teşvik başvurularında çoğunlukla üniversitelerin kişisel tasarrufları işletilmekte; bir üniversitenin alan indeksi olarak kabul ettiğini diğeri kabul etmemektedir. Eşitlik esaslarına aykırı bu durum akademik personele yapılan ödemelerin sorgulanır hale gelmesine neden olmaktadır. Sayıştay, bu ve benzeri nedenlerle teşvik hesaplamalarında üniversitelere eleştiriler yöneltmekte, verilen desteğin geri ödenmesini isteyebilmektedir.

Bunun dışında uluslararası yayınevlerinin yeni tanımlamasında yer alan "*ilgili alanda yabancı dilde asgari 20 kitap yayınlama*" koşulundaki "*ilgili alan*" ibaresi belirsizdir. Çünkü Sosyal Bilimler de ilgili alandır, Filoloji de ilgili alandır, onun alt şubeleri de ilgili alandır. Burada da üniversiteler farklı uygulamalar ortaya koymaktadır.

Atıf yapılan derginin de yayın bölümünde, istenen dergilerde olduğu gibi asgari 5 yıldır yayınlanıyor olması genel ve özelde bilimsel mantığa aykırıdır. 5 yılını doldurmayan ancak indeksleri olan, kurulları aktif olarak işleyen, yayın periyodu ve değerlendirme süreçleri şeffaf olan dergilerdeki makalelerin hem yayın hem de atıf puanından azade tutulması eski dergiler lehine tekelleşmeye ve süreli akademik yayıncılığın sekteye uğramasına sebep olmaktadır.

Atıf yönetmeliğinde alınan atıf puanının, sempozyum bildirisi olması durumunda teşvik kapsamında kullanmamaktadır bu da çifte standart oluşturmaktadır.

F-TÜBİTAK projeleri yapanlara puan adaletsizliği: TUBİTAK projelerinde yürütücülere daha önce 30 tam puan verilirken düzenleme ile bu puanın 18'e düşürülmesi yıllar süren proje sürecinin teşvik edilmesi noktasında engel taşımaktadır. Ayrıca daha önceden danışmanın da teşvik kapsamında değerlendirilmesi mümkün iken, yapılan düzenlemeler ile sadece yürütücü ve araştırmacılar teşvik kapsamına alınmıştır. Bu da gerçekten emek, zaman ve kaynak ayırıp bilimsel katkıda bulunan akademisyenleri olumsuz olarak etkilemiştir.

Tüm bu teknik düzenlemelerin yanında hukuksal açıdan 17.01.2020 tarihli yeni yönetmeliğin yürürlüğe girdiği tarihten itibaren uygulanması Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin hukuk devleti ilkesi olan belirlilik, açıklık ve şeffaflık ilkesi ile çeliştiği gibi hukuk devleti ilkesine, hukuksal norm ve yasaların geriye dönük yürütülmemesi ilkesine de açıkça aykırılık oluşturmaktadır.

Danıştay İdari Dava Daireleri Kurulu (DİDDK)'nun 2015 yılında "*..idareler, normlar hiyerarşisine aykırı olmayacak şekilde, hizmette etkinliğin sağlanması için gerekli önlemleri alma, bu kapsamda mevzuat değişikliği yapma hususunda takdir yetkisine sahiptirler. Kamu hizmetlerinin hangi koşullar altında ve nasıl yürütüleceğini önceden saptamak her zaman mümkün olmadığı için, gelişen durumlara ayak uydurmak ve ortaya çıkan ihtiyaçları karşılayabilmek amacıyla düzenleyici işlemler gerekli değişiklikleri yapma hususunda idarelerin takdir yetkisi bulunmaktadır. Ancak idareye tanınan bu takdir yetkisinin, idarenin keyfi olarak hareket edebileceği anlamına gelmeyeceği de açıktır. Çünkü takdir yetkisi ile idareye ancak hukuk kuralları içinde hareket özgürlüğü tanınmış olduğundan, yasa koyucu tarafından idareye tanınan bu yetkinin başta kamu yararı olmak üzere hizmet gereklerine, hukuk devleti, hukuk güvenliği ve kazanılmış haklara riayet ilkelerine uygun olarak kullanılması gerekmektedir. Hukuk güvenliği ilkesi, hukuk normlarının öngörülebilir olmasını, bireylerin tüm eylem ve işlemlerinde devlete güven duyabilmesini, devletin de yasal düzenlemelerinde bu güven duygusunu zedeleyici yöntemlerden kaçınmasını gerekli kılmaktadır*" şeklindeki verdiği bir kararda hukuk devleti ilkesi, hukuk güvenliği ve belirlilik konuları belirleyici olmuştur (DİDDK, 2018).

Anayasa Mahkemesinin 2005/128E 2008/54K sayılı ve 07.02.2008 tarihli kararında ise "*Hukuk devletinin gereği olan hukuk güvenliğini sağlama yükümlülüğü, kural olarak yasaların geriye yürütülmemesini gerekli kılar. Yasaların geriye yürümezliği uyarınca yasalar, kamu yararı ve kamu düzeninin gerektirdiği, kazanılmış hakların korunması, mali haklarda iyileştirme gibi kimi ayrıksı durumlar dışında ilke olarak yürürlük tarihlerinden sonraki olay, işlem ve eylemlere uygulanmak üzere çıkarılırlar. Yürürlüğe giren yasaların geçmişe ve kesin nitelik kazanmış hukuksal durumlara etkili olmaması hukukun genel ilkelerindedir*" diyerek kanun koyucunun buna uygun davranması gerektiğine işaret etmiştir (RG, 2008). Yine Anayasa Mahkemesinin 2009/39E ve 2011/68K sayılı ve 28.04.2011 tarihli kararında "*.. hukuk normunun kazanılmış hak ve/veya tamamlanmış işlemlere geriye dönük olarak uygulanması, bireylerin hukuki güvenliklerini hiçe sayacağından, bazı istisnai durumlar dışında hukuka aykırı olacaktır. Zira hukuki güvenliğin amacı ve hedefi, bireylerin temel hak ve özgürlüklerinin güvence altına alınmasıdır..*" ifadelerine yer verilmiştir(RG, 2011).

Bu bağlamda 17.01 2020 tarihinde yayımlanan yeni ATÖ yönetmeliği hem yasaların geriye yürümezliği hem de hukuk güvenliği ilkelerine göre hukuk devleti olmanın gerekleri ile örtüşmemekte; böylesi "de facto" bir uygulama, alanında emek veren akademisyenleri mağdur etmekte ve akademik çalışmaları teşvik etmeyi amaçlayan kanun koyucunun amacına da ters düşmektedir.

Sonuç ve Öneriler

İster ihracatı teşvik, ister üretimi teşvik ve isterse istihdamı teşvik olsun tüm teşvik sistemlerinde önce ölçütler ve kurallar belirlenir, daha sonra bu kapsamda yapılan faaliyetler bu ölçüt ve kurallara uygun olarak yürütülür. Bir anlamda bilimsel üretimi teşvik etme amacı güden ATÖ yönetmeliğinde YÖK'ün yapmış olduğu bu değişikliğin ise mantıklı bir açıklaması ve kabul edilebilir bir yönü bulunmamaktadır.

Yeni olduğu iddiasındaki YÖK ve MEB öncelikle üniversitelerimizin akademik ve idari sorunlarını çözüme kavuşturmalı, nitelikli bilginin üretilerek ülkemiz lehine kullanıma sunmak üzere teşvik edici çalışmalar yapmalıdır. Bu misyon ve vizyon ile hareket etmesi gereken kurumun, akademisyenlerimizin özlük haklarına ciddi zarar verecek ve kısıtlı da olsa bir ekonomik katkı sunacak olan akademik teşvik sürecini çıkarmış olduğu yönetmelikle tahrip edecek bir duruma düşmesi yükseköğretimin amaç ve ilkeleri olduğu kadar teşvik sisteminin özüne de aykırılık oluşturmaktadır.

Diğer yandan yine hukuk devletinin gereklerinden olan "hukuki belirlilik" ilkesi gereği bireylerin hangi durumlarda hangi hukuki sonuçlarla karşılaşacaklarını önceden bilmeleri ve ona göre hareket edebilmeleri gerekmektedir.

Normalde YÖK'ün üniversite çalışanlarının akademik ve özlük haklarını savunmak, rahat ve huzurlu bir ortamda akademik bilgi üretmelerini sağlamak, üniversitelerin yaptıkları çalışmalar ile dünya üniversiteleri arasında rekabetçi bir düzeyde var olmaları için destek olmak gibi bir görevi var iken, görev kapsamı içindeki personele çeşitli yöntemlerle zorluk çıkararak onları adeta çalışmamaya sevk etmek Yeni YÖK'ün görevi olmasa gerektir. YÖK'ün, akademisyenleri koşmaya, üniversiteleri atılım yapmaya talip olduğu bir durumda ülkemizin milli ve yerli kalkınmasında üniversitelerimizi teşvik etmek öncelikli görevi olmalıdır.

Bu bağlamda 17.02.2020 tarihinde yayımlanan yeni ATÖ yönetmeliği hem yasaların geriye yürümezliği hem de hukuk güvenliği ilkelerine göre hukuk devleti olmanın gerekleri ile örtüşmemekte; böylesi "de facto" bir uygulama, alanında emek veren akademisyenleri mağdur etmekte ve akademik çalışmaları teşvik etmeyi amaçlayan kanun koyucunun amacına da ters düşmektedir.

Yeni YÖK "ben yaptım oldu" mantığıyla yaptığı değişiklikler ile hem hukuk mantığına hem de akademik yaşam biçimine ters düşen işlerden daha çok akademisyenlerin maaş ve kadro gibi önemli meselelerini çözmekle uğraşmalıdır.

Kaynakça

Bobat, A., Yılmaz, S. (2019). Akademik Teşvik Sistemi Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler, Uluslar arası Fen ve Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi, p. 1922-1928, 23-25 Kasım 2018-Kocaeli.

DİDDK (Danıştay İdari Dava Daireleri Kurulu) (2018). Danıştay İdari Dava Daireleri Kurulunun 20.07.2018 tarihli ve 2015/1146 YD İtiraz nolu kararı.

Karadağ, E., Yücel, C. (2018). Devlet üniversiteleri ve fakülteleri sıralaması [DÜS] 2018, Üniversite Araştırmaları Laboratuvarı Yayınları. doi: 10.13140/RG.2.2.17310.84804.

Küçükkan, T., Gür, B. (2009). Türkiye'de yükseköğretim: Karşılaştırmalı bir analiz, SETA, Ankara.

RG (2008). Anayasa Mahkemesinin 07.02.2008 tarih ve 2005/128E 2008/54K sayılı kararı, 01.01.2008 tarih ve 26923 sayılı RG.

RG (2011). Anayasa Mahkemesinin 28.04.2011 tarih ve 2009/39E ve 2011/68K sayılı kararı, 15.10.2011 tarih ve 28085 sayılı RG.

RG (Resmi Gazete) (1981). Yükseköğretim Kanunu, No:2547, 04.11.1981 Tarih ve 17506 Sayılı RG

RG (2014). Yüksek Öğretim Personel Kanununda Değişiklik Yapılamasına Dair Kanun, 14.11.2014 tarih ve 29175 sayılı Resmi Gazete

RG (2015). Akademik Teşvik Yönetmeliği, 18.12.2015 tarih ve 29566 sayılı Resmi Gazete

RG (2016). Akademik Teşvik Ödeneği Tebliğ, 31/12/2016 Tarih ve 29935 sayılı RG.

RG (2018). Akademik Teşvik Ödeneği Yönetmeliği, 27 Haziran 2018 Tarih ve 30461 Sayılı RG

RG (2020). Akademik Teşvik Ödeneği Yönetmeliğinde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Yönetmelik, 17.01.2020 tarih ve 31011 sayılı Resmi Gazete.

GENDER POLICY IN GEORGIA

Lela Tsiklauri (Georgian Technical University)

Abstract

Georgia, as a state in the way of its independence, recognized European and democratic values, and took its route towards European integration. However, strengthening and supporting gender equality is one of the priorities of the country's development. In 1997, the Inter-Parliamentary Council drafted the Universal Declaration of Democracy and recognized the equality of women and men in social and political decision-making as one of the key principles of democracy. Georgia has recognized the Declaration and acceded to several international instruments in the field of human rights and freedoms. Observing women's and gender equality work has shown that in many countries there are problems with gender equality that the authorities and public sector representatives have to develop specific strategies and take certain measures to balance the situation. There are varied and individual state programs concerning these issues. Therefore state programs should have certain structures dealing with issues of equality. Georgia has undertaken several commitments to take effective steps to achieve gender balance in the field of women's rights and gender equality at the international level.

Keywords: *Gender, Policy, Georgia, Human Rights, Democracy.*

Introduction

Gender is a socially constructed category; created by culture to understand the notion of man and woman. Gender refers not only to the characteristics and features of women or men but also to the patterns of behavior, where society and culture are imposed on women and men.

Gender relations determine the equal access of men and women to natural resources and their control. Often, we encounter many cases of inequality and discrimination due to gender role models and expectations. Dividing and distinguishing people by gender, leads to gender inequality, which is common and widespread in almost all societies. Unfortunately, even nowadays double morality is strongly embedded in society. There are some facts and behaviors which are considered normal for men but abnormal for women; moreover, we can claim that the behavior of a woman is controlled not only by a man but by the whole society.

For a country with such a traditional culture as Georgia, where patriarchal norms have been prevailing since the ancient times, it is accepted that a woman, due to her inherited gender role and fate, should be engaged only in family affairs: raising children and not be involved in social and political life. However, one of the priorities for the country's development is strengthening and supporting gender equality, however, nowadays the low level of women's participation remains a major challenge for gender equality in Georgia. Gender equality is violated in Georgia since there is no gender balance in the country's governmental structures.

It occurred even more difficult to achieve gender equality in the regions of Georgia. Here raises the question, what does gender balance mean in general?! Gender balance implies the equal representation of women and men, responsibility, and equal participation in all spheres of personal and public life. Gender equality is an integral part of human rights, but in our reality, there are many certain cases and facts of women's rights violations by men, and when gender equality is not considered at all.

Gender Equality

In 1997, the Inter-Parliamentary Council adopted the Universal Declaration of Democracy and recognized it as one of the most important principles of democracy, where the equality of women and men in social or political decision-making processes (in all areas of life) are balanced. The Declarations states the following, "The achievement of democracy presupposes a genuine partnership between men and women in the conduct of the affairs of society in which they work in equality and complementarily, drawing mutual enrichment from their differences" (Universal Declaration of Democracy, 1997).

Georgia has recognized the Universal Declaration of Democracy and joined several international documents in the field of human rights and freedoms. Georgian legislation reflects the basic principles of gender equality and is in full compliance with international obligations. Georgia as an independent state has chosen the way of European integration. Thus, significant steps have been taken to promote democracy in the country over the past fifteen years.

The issue of increasing women's participation is always in the state's political agenda and it seems that it has been very topical for last two decades, however, the number of women politicians is still low at the decision-making level: "After the Fourth World Conference on Women, in 1995 there was no significant increase in the number of women in state's or international decision-making bodies" (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995).

As a result of the 2016 parliamentary and 2017 local self-government elections, the number of women in the parliament of Georgia is only 15%, as for the local councils here, women's representation is even less than 14%, thus, gender-based violence statistics are alarming.

In the spring of 2006, the Parliament of Georgia adopted a law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence, which ensures the security of women, equality in the labor market, and the promotion of women's political engagement (Duban, 2010).

In addition to the state, non-governmental women's organizations are particularly active in solving the problem of gender inequality, the main goals of which are to empower women in Georgia, develop gender equality, actualize gender policy, and protect women's rights.

The field experts consider that the difficulties of the implementation of a gender equality policy in Georgia are, first of all, because the existing laws are not perfect enough and adapted to Georgian reality, and, most importantly, the law is not often applied. Experts believe that gender policy in Georgia should be pursued first by the state, then by various political parties, governmental and non-governmental organizations and that the policy should be based on a real desire. Moreover, every structure must realize the importance of gender equality and therefore try to cope and deal with inequality.

By recognizing international documents in the field of human rights and freedoms, Georgia has taken the commitments about the principles of equality and justice of fundamental human rights.

Universal normative acts, which in many cases refer to human rights and freedoms, play an important role in shaping state policy towards gender equality (Resolution of the Parliament of Georgia on the State Concept of Gender Equality of Georgia, 2006).

We have to say that with an obligation to recognize international universal acts the legislation of Georgia de jure recognizes the principle of gender equality, however, from a de facto point of view, the problem still exists.

It should also be noted that one of the best ways to solve the problem of gender equality is the introduction of a quota system. Gender quotas represent the legalized level of representation of women and men in government. The main idea of the gender quota is to substantially increase women's participation in political processes, not to isolate them from the country's political life, and in the case of neutral gender quotas, to adjust the ratio of representation of both sexes.

The introduction of gender quotas is one of the most popular and effective mechanisms to increase the low number of women in the representative body. Gender quotas have been introduced and are in force in more than 100 countries around the world.

The quota system is a very effective mechanism for achieving gender equality in governmental structures. It provides the rapid creation of a "critical mass" of female politicians in the representative body who can have a significant impact on political processes and political culture in general. However, it should be noted that the gender quota gives the desired result only in a single complex with other mechanisms (legislation, electoral system, party processes, parliamentary influence and authority, the media, etc.). To achieve real gender equality in a country's political life is needed a unified complex approach and not just a formal, "percentage" participation.

It is noteworthy that even the developed countries with high-democracy levels have achieved gender balance through a quota system. In this regards the experience and practice of the Scandinavian countries can be considered as the best examples and we have to highlight that these countries are still leading in terms of women's political participation.

State Policy on Gender Equality

The problem of gender equality has always been acute in many countries, and its the solution requires the development of specific strategies from countries and civil society representatives and the implementation of special measures. State programs aimed at protecting the rights of women and gender equality are diverse, various, and individual, but if we generalize them, we can define common components for all countries, such as: to show the perfect gender statistics by the way of;

- A comprehensive scientific study of problems;
- Disseminate statistical data and research results, organize information campaigns, raise public awareness in the field of women's rights and gender issues;
- Develop a national strategy for gender equality issues based on statistics and research;

- Develop legislative initiatives for further improvement of legislation;

- Create and develop the institutional framework established by the state program (social services, crisis centers, assessment services).

In 2006, the Gender Equality Council and the Commission created a joint group to draw and develop a Gender Equality Strategy based on three interrelated documents:

1. State Concept of Gender Equality, adopted by the Parliament of Georgia in 2006; (Ordinance of the Government of Georgia, 2007).

2. The 2007-2009 National Action Plan and the Recommendation Package for the Establishment of Sustainable and Effective Gender Equality Mechanisms, approved by the 2007 Government Decree (Law of Georgia on Prevention of Domestic Violence, Protection and Assistance to Victims of Domestic Violence, 2006).

3. A package of recommendations for the establishment of sustainable and effective mechanisms for the legislative and executive branches of government in the field of gender equality.

A corresponding legislative base has been prepared for the development of state policy in the field of gender equality: Law of Georgia on Protection and Assistance to Victims of Domestic Violence, (Law of Georgia on the Amendments to the Law of Georgia on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, 2006), and Law of Georgia on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, (Law of Georgia on Gender Equality, 2010). All the above documents support the protection of women's rights and achieving gender equality in Georgia. Special state action plans have been approved for the implementation of both adopted laws. On May 26, 2010, the Parliament of Georgia adopted the Law on Gender Equality, (Resolution of the Parliament of Georgia, 2011), which aims to ensure gender equality in all areas of public life.

In 2011, the Parliament of Georgia adopted action plans for the implementation of Gender Equality (2011-2013) and UN Resolution 1325 (2012-2015) Public Defender of Georgia, 2013).

In 2013, there was created a position for the Assistant to the Prime Minister of Georgia for Human Rights and Gender Equality; in 2013, the Department of Gender Equality was established in the Public Defender's Office as a permanent structural unit.

In 2013, the Public Defender's Office developed an action plan for 2013

2015, as well as elaborate a strategy for gender mainstreaming with the technical assistance of the United Nations.

Despite the taken measures and steps, women in Georgia still face the problem of gender equality and the glass ceiling. The above-mentioned attempts aimed to expand women's political empowerment and increase the number of women in the decision-making position since the existing number is still not satisfactory and the situation leaves much to be desired.

Conclusion

Governments of many countries to achieve gender equality have adopted specific action plans and developed a six-point strategy: strengthen the law enforcement mechanism; strengthen women's rights services; change/transform discriminatory norms and existing negative stereotypes; strengthen the responsibility for gender equality; expand opportunities and create a database to study progress. Some states consider appropriate only that model of the country's political structure, which ensures equal participation of women and men in the state's policy development. Achieving such parity should be a key challenge for a country that starts to build democracy and the supremacy of law. The implementation of this task can be facilitated by the introduction of a quota mechanism that ensures equal participation of women and men and their representation in the country's legislative and executive bodies. Gender quotas are considered as a legalized level of representation of women and men in government. The main idea of the gender quota is to substantially increase women's participation in political life and not to allow them to be isolated from these processes.

According to the above-described laws and acts, we can claim that many important steps have been taken in the country in terms of gender equality. Even though certain programs and actions have been implemented by various government agencies as a part of the Action Plan, however, they are not enough to ensure real gender equality in the country. We have to highlight that several important action plans have not been implemented for a variety of reasons.

Recommendations

To ensure gender equality in the country it is important to consider the following:

- To create the position of gender counselor in departments which will be responsible for the implementation of gender policy;
- Strengthen cooperation between agencies and other stakeholders/groups by organizing intensive meetings;
- Promote the cooperation on gender issues within the departments - informing the staff and involving them in the process of implementing measures related to gender equality;
- Conduct intensive training to raise the level of employees' knowledge;
- Mobilize more financial and human resources in the process of implementing the action plan;
- Develop more effective, and better measurable indicators to monitor the implementation of the project;
- Coordinated implementation of gender equality plans.

Finally, gender equality is not the ultimate goal of Georgia, but it is a necessary precondition for creating a stable environment, economic growth, the establishment of a culture of equality, and the implementation of all democratic values that will be beneficial for the country. Women are the world's largest and most untapped economic resource. Leading economic experts believe that the greatest wealth of developing countries is not gold or natural recourses, but women who have never had the opportunity to establish themselves in the labor market and thus contribute to the family income and the country's economy. The women constitute half of the planet's population and are considered the most realistic prospect of overcoming future global poverty. Thus to create a healthy gender climate the country needs a great afford to implement more reforms, actions, and events.

References

Action Plan for 2011-2013 to ensure Gender Equality. (2011). Resolution of the Parliament of Georgia.

Beijing Declaration and Action Platform. (1995).

Duban, E. (2010). Gender Assessment USAID/GEORGIA.

Law of Georgia on Prevention of Domestic Violence, Protection and Assistance to Victims of Domestic Violence. (2006)

Law of Georgia on Making Amendments to the Law of Georgia on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings. (2006)

Law of Georgia on Gender Equality. (2010).

Ordinance of the Government of Georgia on the Approval of the 2007-2009 Action Plan for Measures to Implement Gender Equality Policy in Georgia. (2007).

Public Defender of Georgia, Gender Equality and Women's Rights. (2013).

Resolution of the Parliament of Georgia on the State Concept of Gender Equality of Georgia. (2006).

Universal Declaration of Democracy, Inter-Parliamentary Council. (1997).

THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBAL INEQUALITIES

Julia Dobreva (VUZF University)

Abstract

Economies today are facing numerous challenges of the modern world, most of them with no direct economic nature like climate change, global terrorism, refugees, contagious diseases, food and air quality, waste accumulation, etc. Yet, non-economic aspects are tightly linked with economic ones and they both contribute to the development processes in the 21 century. This paper discusses through literature review the current global challenges facing inequalities in different parts of the world. It provides an overview of the current definitions and trends in inequalities, as well as the major problems being faced in modern economies in terms of poverty rates, distribution of income and distribution of wealth. Specific literature overview is done on inequalities both for developing and developed countries to illustrate the main points.

Introduction

Economic conditions today are subject to various challenges of both economic and non-economic nature like climate change, terrorism, contagious diseases etc. The conditions of living are unequal in many parts of the world, and this inequality is partly subject to differences in the economic environment but also to other factors, not directly related to the status of the economy. In fact, today's global inequality is the consequence of two centuries of unequal progress. Some countries have improved dramatically, while others have not.

The category of inequality is also quite broad. While for some people inequality is related to the outcome of one's life and the general status of living conditions, for others it is mainly related to the number of opportunities to make certain achievements in life.

Political scientists emphasize the inequality of political power, social inequality and prestige and status is the domain of sociologists. Economists typically limit their analysis to the inequality of income or wealth or consumption. Whatever the dimensions of inequality considered, many analysts would think it important to distinguish between inequality of opportunity (i.e., inequality in the sets of potential choices open to individuals) and inequality of result (i.e., inequality in the specific outcomes actually observed).[1] Furthermore, inequality is pervasive in the social life, and understanding it is a central task for the social sciences. Jasso (2015) provides an overview of inequality analysis, discussing the framework with its questions and building blocks and surveying the twin branches of theoretical inequality analysis and empirical inequality analysis, the latter only briefly given that dozens of other articles discuss empirical studies of inequality.[2]

Globally inequality has fallen sharply since the beginning of the 1990s. However, many authors claim that inequality has grown in otherwise developed economies and in those with accelerated development. For example, Mendes (2015) observes that Brazil remains one of the most unequal countries in the world. The reduction in inequality is not only due to government redistributive policies. It is also due to the emergence of favourable conditions in the labor market. Moreover this reduction does not mean that the government

[1] Osberg, L. (2001) Inequality, In: International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, Second Edition.
[2] Jasso, G (2015). Inequality Analysis: Overview. In International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, Second Edition.

redistribution policy is efficient. Actually, there are many Federal Government programs which have a regressive effect. The trend of inequality reduction is decelerating during the second decade of the 21st century. On one hand, the expansion of the middle class creates conditions for this group to demand better public services and greater economic growth[3].

Furthermore, it is essential to also understand how inequality is measured. Osberg (2001) observes that the most common measure of economic resources used in analysis of economic inequality is annual money income, which includes cash earnings, rental interest and dividend income, and cash transfers from government. Money income can be calculated before or after tax, and in countries with progressive income tax systems the choice makes a significant difference to measured inequality. However, in a complex modern economy, it is also common to find complex cases in which the calculation of annual money income is not straightforward. For example, the cash flow of self-employed individuals or entrepreneurs typically has to be adjusted to reflect the depreciation of the capital they use in production. Also, a full definition of 'income' would include the value of non-marketed goods and services received, as well as money income. In countries in which much of the population is agricultural, the value of food produced and consumed within the household may be a large fraction of total income. Individuals also receive a benefit from leisure time enjoyed, the goods and services which are produced in the household, and the services of owner occupied houses. They may also benefit from services (like medical care or education) provided by government agencies. Hence, the value of these benefits should be added to cash income. In addition, individuals who live in larger households benefit from a greater ability to share resources (e.g., due to household 'economies of scale,' a couple with a household income of $40,000 is better off than two individuals who each have $20,000 and must live separately). If the objective is to measure inequality in economic well-being, some account should be taken of living arrangements. Economists have therefore argued that 'equivalent income,' which adjusts income for household size, is the best measure to use in the analysis of inequality in economic well-being.

In this paper we will discuss the current definitions and trends, as well as the challenges of inequalities in modern economies. It provides an overview of the current trends in inequalities and the major problems being faced in modern economies in terms of poverty rates, distribution of income and distribution of wealth. Inequalities are related to poverty but do not entirely coincide with it, therefore the issue here is discussed in terms of specific elements observed both in developing and developed countries. This review is done in order to illustrate the main points maid in the analysis and underline that the global challenge of inequality is that it is not localised only in developing regions. Also, the paper reviews suggestions for certain implications on economic inequalities between countries as there is no unique approach to solving the problem.

1. Definitions of inequality

There are a number of definitions of inequality, depending on the particular aspects and their economic and social nature. According to the general definition of the UN[4]:

> *Inequality—the state of not being equal, especially in status, rights, and opportunities—is a concept very much at the heart of social justice theories. However, it is prone to confusion in public debate as it tends to mean different things to different people. Many authors distinguish "economic inequality", mostly meaning "income*

[3] Mendes, M (2015) Inequality, In: Inequality, Democracy and Growth in Brazil.
[4] Concepts of Inequality : Development Issues No 1, 21 October 2015, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UN

inequality", "monetary inequality" or, more broadly, inequality in "living conditions". Others further distinguish a rights-based, legalistic approach to inequality—inequality of rights and associated obligations (e.g. when people are not equal before the law, or when people have unequal political power).

Economic inequality

There are two main view on economic inequality:

One is chiefly concerned with the inequality of outcomes in the material dimensions of well-being and that may be the result of circumstances beyond one's control (ethnicity, family background, gender, and so on) as well as talent and effort. This view takes an ex-post or achievement-oriented perspective. The second view is concerned with the inequality of opportunities, that is, it focuses only on the circumstances beyond one's control, that affect one's potential outcomes. This is an ex- ante or potential achievement perspective.

Inequality of outcome

Inequality of outcomes occurs when individuals do not possess the same level of material wealth or overall living economic conditions. Development theory has largely been concerned with inequalities in standards of living, such as inequalities in income/wealth, education, health, and nutrition. However, the lens through which economists gauge progress in these fronts has typically been income or consumption.

Inequality of opportunity

Equality of opportunity exists when life outcomes depend only on factors for which persons can be considered responsible, and not on disadvantageous attributes outside of their control. It argues that gender, ethnicity, family background, etc. should not determine outcomes. In practical terms, it exists when individuals are compensated in some way for their disadvantageous circumstances.

Equality of outcome describes a state in which people have similar economic conditions. While inequality in terms of opportunity is defined on an ex-ante basis and is concerned with ensuring a common starting place, inequality of outcomes is concerned with the finish line and depends on both circumstances beyond one's control as well as talent and effort.

Furthermore, there should be a strict differentiation between poverty and inequality - the identification of a certain tendency in one does not necessarily presuppose the same development in the other. As McKay (2002) states inequality is different from poverty but related to it. Inequality concerns variations in living standards across a whole population. By contrast poverty focuses only on those whose standard of living falls below an appropriate threshold level (such as a poverty line).This threshold may be set in absolute terms (based on an externally determined norm, such as calorie requirements) or in relative terms (for example a fraction of the overall average standard of living). Also, relative poverty is more closely related to inequality in that what it means to be poor reflects prevailing living conditions in the whole population. But the degree of inequality will have implications for both conceptions of poverty. He makes some very important statements on the importance of inequality: 5

I. **Inequality matters for poverty.** For a given level of average income, education, land ownership etc., increased inequality of these characteristics will almost always imply higher levels of both absolute and relative deprivation in these dimensions.

II. **Inequality matters for growth.** As acknowledged in the 2000 White Paper, there is increasing evidence that countries with high levels of inequality – especially of assets – achieve lower economic growth rates on average. In addition, a given rate and pattern of growth of household incomes will have a larger poverty reduction impact when these incomes are more equally distributed.

III. **Inequality matters in its own right**.There is a strong, and quite widely accepted, ethical basis for being concerned that there is a reasonable degree of equality between individuals, though disagreement about the question 'equality of what?', as well as about what might be 'reasonable'.

IV. **Inequality is often a significant factor behind crime, social unrest or violent conflict**. These are often important contributors to poverty in their own right. Inequalities between clearly defined groups, for example according to ethnicity, may be an important issue.

V. **Inequality is likely to be critically important for the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG).** This is not confined only to the income poverty goal, but it also matters for PRSPs, country strategies and so on.

2. Inequality in developing economies

A report, published by the UNDP[6] makes a basic point that in spite of the impressive progress humanity has made on many fronts over the last decades, it still remains deeply divided. The key messages delivered in the analysis include:

- On average income inequality increased by 11 percent in developing countries between 1990 and 2010.
- A significant majority of households in developing countries—more than 75 percent of the population—are living today in societies where income is more unequally distributed than it was in the 1990s.
- Evidence shows that, beyond a certain threshold, inequality harms growth and poverty reduction, the quality of relations in the public and political spheres of life and individuals' sense of fulfilment and self-worth.

[5] McKay, A. (2002). Defining and Measuring Inequality. Inequality Briefing. Briefing Paper No1, (1 of 3) March 2002.
[6] UNDP Report (2015). Humanity Divided: Confronting Inequality in Developing Countries.

- There is nothing inevitable about growing income inequality; several countries managed to contain or reduce income inequality while achieving strong growth performance.

- Evidence shows that greater income inequality between households is systematically associated with greater inequality in non-income outcomes.

- Inequality cannot be effectively confronted unless the inextricable links between inequality of outcomes and inequality of opportunities are taken into account.

- In a global survey conducted in preparation for this report, policy makers from around the world acknowledged that inequality in their countries is generally high and potentially a threat to long-term social and economic development.

- Redistribution remains very important to inequality reduction; however, a shift is needed towards more inclusive growth patterns in order to sustainably reduce inequality.

- Reducing inequality requires addressing inequality-reproducing cultural norms and strengthening the political agency of disadvantaged groups.

- Evidence from developing countries shows that children in the lowest wealth quintile are still up to three times more likely to die before their fifth birthday than children in the richest quintiles.

- Social protection has been significantly extended globally, yet persons with disabilities are up to five times more likely than average to incur catastrophic health expenditures.

- Despite overall declines in maternal mortality in the majority of developing countries, women in rural areas are still up to three times more likely to die while giving birth than women living in urban centres.

3. Inequality in developed economies

Inequality is mainly discussed in light of the major trends in developing countries. Yet, recent analyses show that economic changes of the past 30–40 years have caused income and wealth inequalities in developed countries. Galvin (2020) explains how income and wealth inequality interplay and the different ways these are measured. Drawing on large datasets from academic, government and think-tank sources he outlines the dimensions of economic change in these countries, from being the most egalitarian high-income societies in history, to having high and persistently increasing extremes of wealth and poverty. Galvin also explores the reasons for both the late 20th century's unprecedented egalitarianism and the more recent shift to inequality. These include a series of major, globally disruptive events, together with changes in the degree of dominance of two opposing economic ideologies: the Keynesianism that prevailed in the egalitarian period, and the classical free-market (neo-) liberalism that prevails today. Furthermore he argues there are no fixed laws of nature governing how societies develop economically, but that people are ultimately in charge and have the potential to change things for the common good[7].

Monnini (2014) on the other hand explores the empirical link between income inequality and inflation in ten OECD countries over the period 1971 to 2010. In addition to inflation, he includes six control variables in his analysis: economic development level, business cycles, unemployment, unionization, openness to international trade and skill-biased technological change. He estimates the empirical link between all seven variables and income inequality with a balanced panel and finds a U-shaped link between long-run inflation and income inequality. The results of the analysis highlight that low inflation rates are associated with higher income inequality. As inflation goes up, inequality decreases, reaches a minimum with an inflation rate of about 13%, and then starts rising again[8]. The precise mechanisms that lead more inflation to correlate with a decrease in income inequality until a certain threshold however are unclear yet and this is a field that requires further research.

Conclusion

The issue of inequality in the modern world is deeply related to poverty but does not entirely coincide to it. Therefore it should be subject to research in both developed and developing economies.

This paper discusses the main challenges of inequality in modern days. It makes a review of existing literature and research on inequalities in terms of definitions and field applications. Then, the analysis reviews the aspects of inequality in developed as well as in developing economies. A particular emphasis is made on the major traits and also on the issue of inequality measurement. Thus the major challenge of global inequality is that it is not localised only in areas with developing economic structure but is also a characteristic of developed economies. In addition, there is no uniform way to battle inequality, it has to be individually solved as a problem according to the country's specifics.

References

Galvin, R. (2015). Chapter 1 - Recent Increases in Inequality in Developed Countries. In: *Inequality and Energy*, pp 3-30.

Jasso, G (2015). Inequality Analysis: Overview. In *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, Second Edition.*

McKay, A. (2002). Defining and Measuring Inequality. *Inequality Briefing. Briefing Paper No1, (1 of 3) March 2002.*

Mendes, M (2015) Inequality*, In: Inequality, Democracy and Growth in Brazil.*

[7] Galvin, R. (2015). Chapter 1 - Recent Increases in Inequality in Developed Countries. In: *Inequality and Energy*, pp 3-30.
[8] Monnin, P. (2014). Inflation and Income Inequality in Developed Economies. *CEP Working Paper 2014/1.* CEP

Monnin, P. (2014). Inflation and Income Inequality in Developed Economies. *CEP Working Paper 2014/1.* CEP

Osberg, L. (2001) *Inequality*, In: *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, Second Edition.*

UN (2015). Concepts of Inequality: Development Issues No 1, 21 October 2015, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UN

UNDP Report (2015). *Humanity Divided: Confronting Inequality in Developing Countries*.

THE ISSUE OF ETHNIC MINORITY RIGHTS IN MODERN GEORGIAN POLITICS

Manana Darchashvili (Georgian Technical University)

Abstract

The protection of ethnic minorities' rights is one of the essential and key factors for the development of a modern democratic society. Therefore, it applies to almost all human rights instruments. The protection of ethnic minorities by international standards is based on several important areas: to protect and promote identity and personality; to enjoy equal rights; to ensure equality and anti-discrimination; to conduct effective and meaningful public engagement. Georgia is traditionally characterized by ethnic and religious diversity, and therefore, caring for them in the country, establishing partnerships and collaborations between minority and majority groups is an important step to establish peaceful, democratic processes. Consequently, state-led policies aimed at eliminating discrimination and civil integration require the development and implementation of economic, legal, and cultural approaches. Therefore, the study of the issue is very important for the Georgian reality, due to the fulfillment of its obligations locally and internationally. The paper analyses the existing situation in the country based on the research documents and empirical materials. The recommendations and initiatives developed in the work give a good opportunity to the integration of national minorities and their involvement in political life. The work answers to the following research question: the situation of Georgian reality, governmental approaches to society. The goal of modern democracy - to reach the people most fundamental rights - regardless of ethnicity, language, culture, religion, or custom of the full-fledged member of the society. At the same time, the state attempts to establish internationally recognized mechanisms in the country for ethnic minorities in cultural, social, and economic life, as well as in public affairs, especially in matters concerning them, to create conditions for their effective participation.

Keywords: *Georgia, Ethnic minorities, Rights, Peace, Politics.*

Introduction

In Georgia, people of different nationalities have lived together peacefully for centuries. Promoting their civic integration has been a concern and a major challenge for the authorities of all time. Even in modern times, the protection of their rights, political and civic participation, and the promotion of cultural diversity is considered the key challenges for a multiethnic country. The hypothesis of the papers deals with the awareness of Georgian authorities on the historical heritage and the necessity to establish democracy for the country, therefore, the government tries to protect the identity of ethnic minorities, promote their involvement in the country's political life, and create equal socio-economic conditions by making certain decisions. It is worthy to say that due to its urgency, the topic has drawn the great interest of the scientific fields and civil society.

The basis for this important challenge in Georgia is the latest census data (2014), which shows that the population of Georgia constitutes 3,713,804 people. The picture by nationality is the following: Georgians - 86.8%, Azerbaijanis - 6.3%, Armenians - 4.5%, Russians - 0.7, Ossetians - 0.4, Yazidis - 0.3, Ukrainians - 0.2, Kists - 0.2, Greeks - 0.1, Assyrians - 0.1 and others. - 0.4%. (Todradze & Shavishvili, 2018).

The presented data demonstrate the need for the government to take certain measures, however, there is a constitutional obligation following the universal norms of law and recognizing their protection, development, and support for social and political integration. The monitoring of the authorities' decisions has highlighted the need for the state to take care of the existing ethnic minorities.

Georgian Government for the Rights of Ethnic Minorities

In general, the issues of protection of the rights of ethnic minorities are stated in almost all human rights documents, which are based on several noteworthy areas: to protect their identity (culture, religion, language); create equal social, economic-political rights and actively involve them in the country's social, economic-political life (Piranishvili, 2019).

In 2015, the Government of Georgia adopted the State Strategy for Civic Equality and Integration, which recognizes the protection of ethnic minority rights, the promotion of a society based on diversity and pluralism and considers them as important challenges for the establishment and development of democracy. Here we have to highlight the afford of the government to preserve the identity of the population in Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region and the support of civic integration, since in the territory occupied by Russia, there is a danger of ethnic groups assimilation (Government of Georgia, # 1740, 2015). The purpose of this document is to promote the protection of ethnic minorities and their involvement in public life.

From a civic point of view, despite the country's recent achievements, there are some challenges to ensuring interethnic and intercultural stability.

In Georgia, we need to start discussing the rights of ethnic minorities and most importantly – protecting their identity, language teaching, culture, religion, because it is the basis for the enjoyment of equal rights and active involvement in the country's socio-economic-political life. Due to this, the paper is devoted to the issue of identity protection, and the importance of cultural dialogue.

In Georgia, it is very difficult to deal with such an important weapon as the language, which has two directions. The first, the protection of the mother tongue of the national minority and provide the opportunity to access to education in their language, and the second knowledge of the constitutional language, which allows them to be involved in public life.

Access to education in the native language indeed helps to preserve their language and culture, but focusing only on the native language creates several difficulties and obstacles for them: it hinders the civic integration as well as the possibility of continuing higher education. The implementation of the education reform adopted in 2004, as well as the concept of tolerance developed by the government in 2009, regarding the improvement of the issue of education of national minorities, has been formed in six directions: access to pre-school education; access to general education; access to higher education; raising the level of knowledge of the state language; and also the access to adult education programs and vocational education (Mekhuzala, Roche, 2009).

The law on education in Georgia stipulates that non-Georgian language speaker citizens have the right to receive general education in their native language following the curriculum, in addition to the teaching of the state language. The analysis of the situation which we have studied in Armenian, Azerbaijani and Russian schools in Georgia shows that despite the active work of many organizations, the level of education in non-Georgian language schools in Georgia, where there are about sixty thousand students, is low, especially in terms of learning the Georgian language. In this case, we can claim that the bilingual education model is considered less effective (Mosiashvili, Gorgodze, Janashia, 2017).

The issue of integration is also very important, which is supported by existed since 2005 the Center for Civic Integration and Interethnic Relations (CCIIR), which provides financial assistance to many donor organizations in various fields, studies the problems in the education system and develops recommendations. Its main goal is to promote the teaching of the state's official language and the involvement of ethnic minorities in civic education and public life.

The Center for Civic Integration and Interethnic Relations together with several universities (where students from ethnic minorities study) have signed memoranda and are implementing very important projects for tolerance, civic awareness, and integration.

It is a fact that the cultural diversity in Georgia requires the development of a certain policy, where each direction will be assumed correctly, based on the existing results. Several measures are being taken by the government and many non-governmental organizations to pursue the right policy. Studies conducted in the most populous areas are important because the recommendations developed on the existing shortcomings can be corrected and overcome (Bujiashvili, 2018).

The research reveals a lot of interesting issues, particularly, the results of the National Human Rights Strategy (Resolution of the Parliament of Georgia, 2014) implemented in the country, here also we can highlight the framework of the project "Rule of Law in Georgia", which was studied and presented by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) together with the United Nations Development Program with the involvement of field experts. This research is important for the thorough study and correction of deficiencies, in particular, the special education program and the steps taken in the field of health care. Besides, it states the issues to be regulated and developed (Nicholson, 2017).

In the document published in 2019, by the Council of Europe about the protection of national minorities in Georgia, mentions the legal status of national minorities, and assesses the activities of relevant institutions. According to it, the legal framework for the protection of the rights of national minorities has been strengthened, but various challenges still are to be dealt with. This applies to education issues and the scarcity of statistical material. Here we can claim that the positive assessment of the Georgian Public Security Service is a step forward.

Promoting Intercultural Dialogue in Georgia

Nowadays, in the modern world, interreligious and intercultural dialogue is assumed as an important condition for peaceful coexistence. The study of different cultures, the correct and mutual understanding of the acquired knowledge is an important aspect for peaceful coexistence.

Peaceful coexistence is necessary conditions for the globalization since human contacts and areal are growing. According to the established thoughts, the views of ethnically diverse groups weaken due to their poor knowledge. However, the study of cultures, including the emphasis on the parallels in the search for similarity, arouses mutual interest, and a desire for cooperation, especially in such a country as Georgia. Here, the study of existing ethnic and religious diversity should focus on similar views - freedom of religion, common interests, and on the search for similarities, rather than highlight the differences, with various emphasis. Consequently, the cultural diversity in the country no longer gives rise to a monopolistic worldview. We also have to note that personal interest should not be neglected by focusing on cultural diversity. In this case, pluralism is important as the configuration of multifaceted schemes that may occur to be unattainable. This is a very important factor, since it allows to protect personal interests, as well as recognize the differences, and ultimately creates the opportunity for cooperation, which is the basis for building a peaceful environment (Saradze, 2010).

To achieve intercultural dialogue, it is important to have a state strategy for civil equality and integration adopted in 2015. There are certain laws and articles in Georgian legislation, however, it is noteworthy to highlight the most important one which is directed to improve the access of mass media and information to ethnic minorities and is aimed to cover ethnic minorities and ensuring their participation in the media and promoting tolerance and cultural pluralism (Malazonia, Maghlakelidze, Chiabrishvili, Gakheladze, 2017).

The Issue of Religious Freedom of Ethnic Minorities in Georgia

One of the most significant challenges of Georgia is the issue of religious affiliation regarding the freedom of minorities. The issue is important because, according to the latest (2014) census, 98% of the population consider themselves followers of a religious faith, which is one of the highest percentages in the world. According to the religious feature the situation in Georgia is as follows - Orthodox - 83.4%, Muslim - 10, 7%, Armenian Apostolic Church - 2.9%, Catholic Christian - 0.5%, Jehovah's Witness - 0.3%, Yazidi - 0.2%, Protestant - 0.1%, None religious -0.5, refrained to answer - 0.3%, and others -3%.

Over the centuries, the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi, has gained great experience in the multicultural coexistence, (especially its older part named Old Tbilisi), since there is a Jewish synagogue, Muslim mosque, and Armenian church, right at the heart of the city (Menafire, Chachnidze, 2019).

Maintaining peaceful coexistence in this diversity is a significant challenge. We have to highlight that the freedom of religion is protected by several international treaties and national constitutions. However, in general, religions themselves contain the idea of freedom, however, it is not realized in society properly. It depends on the humanization of society and the culture of revealing their religiosity. Therefore, there are some difficulties in the Georgian reality, the timely regulation of which is a state obligation.

In this regard, in recent years there have been operating several religious councils in Georgia intending to protect religious freedom in the country and deepen a culture of tolerance (Kiknadze, 2008). In this regard, we have to mention the Institute for Tolerance and Diversity established in 2013 to promote a culture of tolerance for the protection of religious freedom and the promotion of public support. Mostly they deal with the protection of ethnic freedom, eliminate discrimination, and, in case of necessity, provide free legal assistance. The essence of their work is that they provide information regarding the justice of ethnic minorities (Ghavtadze, 2020). They create multimedia material, conduct educational activities for stakeholders, local government officials, which is considered a key factor for the integration process. Promoting the interreligious dialogue and the meetings for the religious associations are among their regular activities.

The Freedom of Religious Guide published by the Institute for Tolerance and Diversity is very important for the public sector since it describes the freedom of religion, ethics, and religious neutrality standards. Also, their work shows the greatest contribution of work (their research and publications are funded by donor organizations) in creating a fair, peaceful environment for ethnic minorities in the country.

In 2014 Georgia created a national agency for religious affairs to develop ethnic minority policies following national experience and contemporary challenges in the country. Its purpose is to develop recommendations in the field of religion based on professional research and scientific analysis by the state members and qualified experts.

The monitoring of the materials published by the State Agency for Religious Issues shows the conducted colossal activities. It is noteworthy to say that there is a deliberation center at the agency, which unites almost all religious associations in Georgia.

Due to the democratic approaches, by the initiative of the Agency, the religious associations in Georgia have agreed on an inter-religious dialogue for the peaceful future. The basis for the decision made by the representatives of the religious organizations was the interreligious relations and development of peace. They correctly understood the importance of interreligious and intercultural dialogue for raising awareness among representatives of different cultures and religions.

In Georgia, where peaceful coexistence has a centuries-long history, the taken measures taken may weaken some of the existing in the modern period negative processes and will help to strengthen the peaceful environment. However, the members of various civic sectors often argue about the rights of different religions (funding, buildings, etc.), which have often been the subject of public controversy. I think that different opinions and arguments raise the quality of democracy and make it healthier.

It is necessary to mention the declaration adopted at the fourth inter-religious conference in 2019 - "Religions on the Way of European Integration of Georgia", which states that the existing religions in Georgia share the opinion adopted by the universal plebiscite about Georgia's historic choice - to join the European family. It is also important to say that they conduct many events strengthening the intercultural dialogue, stabilization, and cooperation in Georgia.

Conclusion / Recommendations

A recent study of Georgian reality confirms that to protect the rights of ethnic minorities the state works in the following several directions: preservation and development of the identity of ethnic minorities (language, religion, culture) and their social, economic, and political integration.

At the same time, the government, taking into account its international and national obligations, is trying to solve the problems peacefully associated with ethnic diversity. It realizes that it is a very vital issue since still there are challenges regarding civic integration.

The above-mentioned facts prove that the government and the public sector have a deep interest in solving the existing problems, and the conducted study revealed certain deficiencies and obstacles. Here we have to say that their regulations depend on the fulfillment of taken obligations. The above-mentioned facts state that to improve the existing situation it is necessary:

- To activate the media systematically provide the information to overcome the rejection of innovations;

- Activate the intercultural and interreligious dialogue with the current involvement of the education system;
- To include culture and religion issues in school curricula, focusing on the similarities of traditions and tolerance.

References

Bujiashvili, N., (2018), The Concept of Multiculturalism and the Implementation of the Idea of Cultural Diversity in Georgia, Doctoral Dissertation. University of Georgia, Tbilisi.

Decree of the Government of Georgia, (2015), State Strategy for Civic Equality and Integration # 1740, 17.

Ghavtadze, M., (2020) Freedom of Religion and Belief in Georgia. Institute of Tolerance and Diversity. Tbilisi.

Kiknadze, Z., (2008), Religions in Georgia. Center for Tolerance in the Public Defender Office of Georgia. Tbilisi.

Menafire, G., Chachnidze, N., (2019), The Merit of Representatives of Ethnic and Religious Minorities in the History of Georgia, Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy, and Development. Tbilisi.

Mekhuzla, S., Roche, E., (2009), Education Reform and National Minorities in Georgia. National Center for Minority Issues (ECMI). Tbilisi.

Mosiashvili, T., Gorgodze, S., Janashia, S., (2017), Study of Educational Needs of Students of Ethnic Minorities. Civil Development Institute. Tbilisi.

Malazonia, D., Maghlakelidze, Sh., Chiabrishvili, N., Gakheladze, G., (2017). Intercultural Education. Problems, their Analysis, and Development Perspectives in Georgia. Ilia State University. Tbilisi.

Nicholson, M., (2017), Report on Human Rights Protection of Georgia 2014-2020. Progress on National Strategy and Recommendations for Future Approaches. USAID and EWMI. Tbilisi.

Piranishvili, T., (2019), Review of International Standards on Ethnic Minority Rights. Center for Human Rights Training and Monitoring (EMC). Tbilisi.

Resolution of the Parliament of Georgia (2014). On the Approval of the National Strategy for Human Rights of Georgia (2014-2020). Tbilisi.

Saradze, Z. (2010), Dialogue of Cultures and Civic Consciousness, Religious Dimension of Intercultural Education, Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy, and Development. Tbilisi.

Todradze, G., Shavishvili, P., (2018) The Main Results of the 2014 Census of the Population of Georgia. National Statistics Office of Georgia. 380 p. Tbilisi.

UNDERSTANDING VEGANISM WITHIN SUSTAINABLE TOURISM CONTEXT

Sebahattin Emre Dilek (Batman University)

Nur Kulakoğlu Dilek (Batman University)

Abstract

Veganism as a socio-cultural movement draws attention as an important issue related to sustainable tourism. In this study, the relationship between veganism and sustainable tourism is examined and it is emphasized how veganism can play an important role in reducing the negative effects of tourism on environment. Contrary to popular belief, veganism is not a marginal movement of the modern era, but a radical change movement and solution proposal at the point of building sustainability in every field such a tourism. Indeed, veganism, which prioritizes the socio-cultural and ecological environment and supports reasonable production and consumption in this respect, is an important philosophical approach and lifestyle in order to make tourism economically sustainable. Socio-cultural, ecological and economic environment, which is defined as triple bottom line as to sustainability, should be considered as a holistic for sustainable tourism. Considering the defenses of the philosophy of veganism, the convergence between sustainable tourism and veganism should not be ignored.

Keywords; *Veganism, Vegan, Sustainability, Sustainable Tourism.*

Introduction

> *"Becoming vegan is the most important and direct change we can immediately make to save the planet and its species"*
>
> *Chris Hedges, Journalist*

Veganism is a growing movement that specifically aims at foregrounding the philosophy behind social justice through extending the morality towards non-human animals, respecting their lives, and fostering compassion between human animals and non-human animals - which is deemed by many philosophers to be the next stage in human evolution. Veganism as a cultural movement has close ties with other 'new social movements' (Melucci, 1985) such as the animal rights and environmentalism movements (Cherry 2006; Ulusoy, 2015). Veganism as a social movement, lifestyle, and an alternative diet as a food choice may provide a venue for consumers to reflect and express their identities and chosen life projects as well as to work their identity projects (Giddens 1991, Lindeman & Stark 1999). In addition to that, veganism as a socio-cultural movements is concerned with philosophy of sustainablity. In fact, while sustainability philosophy corresponds to a reasonable production and consumption, veganism supports this reasonable understanding of production and consumption. Especially the global climate crisis brought about the search for solutions on a global scale and sustainability understanding/philosophy was born in this way and started to be used in all areas such a tourism. In this context, it can said that vegan travel is an essential part of sustainable tourism. On the other hand, veganism that the ethic of ending animal use in all of its forms (food, clothing, entertainment, research, travel, tourism etc.)— most completely and effectively promotes justice for non-human animals (Rodriguez, 2015). In other saying, animal exploitation and abuse is one such social justice issue and vegans all over the world speak out against it every day through their consumer choices (Smith, 2011). If sustainability as a concept/understanding or philosophy can be connected to all kinds of tourism and environments (Clarke, 1997; Saarinen, 2006) and the problem is how it should be used in a practical and useful way (Hunter, 1995; Liu, 2003; Sharpley, 2000, Saarinen, 2006), veganism can be a solution that some may think of it as a radical but responsible within tourism context. Because sustainable tourism is such a measure which can maintain the balance between economic development and environmental conservation along with preserving the socio-cultural sensitivity (Hall & Richards, 2000). This definition includes responsibility towards nature, non-human animals, culture and the world and therefore it is also important to ensure social justice. When the mediator effect of tourism on socio-cultural and environment and the effect of veganism in creating social justice together, the importance of veganism for sustainable tourism and the importance of sustainable tourism for veganism will be better understood.

Veganism – Sustainable Tourism Relationship

Veganism is more than a nutritional habit; it is a philosophy and ethic (Greenbaum, 2012). However, the concept of sustainability is addressed and evaluated both philosophically and ethically (Jamal & Camargo, 2014). Consequently, veganism and sustainability can be considered as two concepts that have philosophical and ethical common arguments and can view the world from similar perspectives through these common arguments. Veganism, in its simplest definition, is to refuse to use animals and consume any animal products (Ciocchetti, 2012). The term vegan was introduced in 1944 by Donald Watson, co-founder of The Vegan Society. Donald Watson described vegan as follows: "*Veganism is the way to exclude all forms of exploitation and cruelty in the animal kingdom and to look after life*" (Mendes, 2013). In other word, veganism offers an important critique of unethical and unsustainable food production practices (Doyle, 2016).

Producing food for humans through agriculture including animal agriculture and other types of harvesting (e.g. fishing), while necessary for feeding the large human population, is one of the leading contributors to environmental degradation (Parker, 2018). Especially, The animal food chain contributes significantly to emission of greenhouse gases (GHGs), mainly through emission of carbon dioxide (CO_2), methane (CH_4) and nitrous oxide (N_2O) (De Boer et. al, 2011). In addition to that, animal agriculture is the leading cause of deforestation and land-use change (Machovina et. al, 2015), and it covers roughly 50% of ice-free land globally (Tilman & Clark, 2014; Parker, 2018). Given all these negative consequences, the fact that being vegan is an important solution offer for building sustainability globally cannot be denied. Such that, sustainability as a principle or as a philosophical approach focuses on meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs (Kuhlman & Farrington, 2010). In the meantime, the concept of sustainability is composed of three pillars: economic, environmental, and social-also known informally as profits, planet, and people (Grant, 2019).

As in all areas, it is essential to develop a sense of sustainability in the tourism industry and to offer radical solutions for sustainable world. In this context, being a vegan tourist (demand dimension) and offering vegan alternatives (supply dimension) are directly related to the sustainability of tourism. Lenzen et. al (2018) find that, between 2009 and 2013, tourism's global carbon footprint has increased from 3.9 to 4.5 $GtCO_2e$, four times more than previously estimated, accounting for about 8% of global greenhouse gas emissions and they emphasized that transport, shopping and food are significant contributors. Therefore, to become a vegan and to offer vegan products/services are a crucial part of sustainable tourism what Giddens labels a '*life project*' (Giddens, 1991). Because, lifestyle choice is important in constructing self-identity and daily activity such a tourism or recreation activity, and vegan identity reflects sustainability. So it would not be wrong to say that being vegan requires adopting a sustainability approach, and adopting a sustainability approach requires prioritizing a vegan identity and lifestyle. In this way, the existence of sustainable tourism can be achieved in practice not only by addressing environmental sensitivity pragmatically, but also by transforming it directly into lifestyle with veganism.

Vegan Tourist

Vegan tourist is primarily a person who has a sense of responsibility, prioritizes sustainability, opposes all kinds of commodification of animals and transforms this into a way of life. Vatan and Türkbaş (2018, p.32) define the vegan tourist as follows based on the general definition of tourist: "*Vegan tourist is a person who temporarily leaves the place where he/she lives with different motivations, without the purpose of making money, consumes the goods and services produced by tourism businesses that do not use animals for food, clothing, entertainment or other purposes and returns to his/her place*". As can be understood from the definition, the main difference between the vegan tourist definition and the general definition of the tourist is to oppose any use of animals as a tourism products. However, as was said at the beginning, it is not enough to defend all kinds of use of animals by tourism businesses, so that one can be identified as a vegan tourist. Therefore, it would be appropriate to say that the definition in question is not wrong, but has deficiencies.

According to the results of the research vegan tourists by Kansanen can roughly be divided in to two categories; those who travel for food and will hereby be referred as *culinary vegan tourists*, and *full vegan tourists* who state other travel motivators more important than food such as nature or culture (Kansanen, 2013, p.49). While the quality of the food has bigger impact on the travel experience than for those with other travel motivators for vegan culinary tourists, for other vegan tourists (not only based on food), it can be said that there is an overall awareness of being responsible tourists as part of sustainable tourism such as environment, culture and social structure. In this context, the type of vegan tourist mentioned in this study refers not only to the personal level but also to the type of tourist that takes into account/prioritizes any environmental factors and practices that benefit the society. As a matter of fact, based on the definition of veganism, it would be better to define vegan tourist not only as a pragmatic thinker in its behalf (such as vegan diet only) but as individuals who defend animal rights and sustainability of life in a more holistic way and have become the subject of universal ethical principles. In other words, being a vegan tourist means prioritizing a vegan travel style with all its elements. Hence, the concept of responsible tourist, which is an element of sustainable tourism, is also expressed as the type of tourist that has internalized this holistic view and tries to minimize any negative effects arising from its participation in tourism. A wide range of values is identified including respect, responsibility, sharing, connecting with people, stewardship of the environment and indigenous skills, equity and fairness, achievement and learning, freedom, happiness and inner peace tell us that the responsible tourist is one who is likely to show respect for socio-cultural, physical and economic environment in parallel with vegan tourists (Weeden, 2011).

Vegan Travel as a Part of Sustainable Tourism

Many people focus on reducing their transportation emissions and supporting local communities as a requirement of sustainable tourism. One of the ways of this is vegan travel. Because animal agriculture and the animal husbandry is one of the biggest threat to the environment and all the inhabitants who live in it.

Considering merely food are significant contributors for global greenhouse gas emissions, it can be said that vegan travel plays an important role for sustainable tourism.

In the book titled "*Transforming Travel: Realising the Potential of Sustainable Tourism*", Jeremy Smith talks about changing travel and vacation habits as a result of increased awareness for the sustainability of the world. By pointing out a study conducted at Oxford University in 2016, Smith emphasized that adopting the habit of vegan and vegetarian diets can reduce global greenhouse gas emissions rates by up to 70% (Smith, 2018, p.40). In other words, the importance of vegan and vegetarian travel for sustainable tourism is emphasized and the importance of changing travel habits is mentioned. In addition to the basic arguments that these travel forms advocate, the contributions made to save water and energy, to make waste management more efficient, to increase the economic earnings of the local people, to protect the natural, historical and cultural environment are also expressed by many authors (Hadjikakou, Chenoweth & Miller, 2013; Kim, Hall & Kim, 2019; Nguyen, 2019).

Discussion

Being vegan also contributes to the internalization and dissemination of the philosophy of sustainability, both personally and socially. In other saying, it can be said that two basic point were identified in the answers concerning being vegan. Firstly, being vegan generates positive outcomes for oneself such as health, well-being, tasty food, and creative cooking, and second one, it generates positive outcomes for others and the environment, with references to animals, climate change, and society (Souza, Atkinson & Montague, 2020). In this context, considering the sustainability philosophy as well, it can easily be said that there is a close and linear relationship between veganism and sustainability. The main question at this point is; "*Can everybody be vegan for sustainability*?". Before the answer to the question, it is necessary to discuss why being vegan is necessary for sustainable life.

You can be vegan by reason of advocating animal rights, living healthy, protecting biodiversity, reducing carbon footprint etc. The important point is to be able to be vegan based on our personal responsibility arising from our being part of nature. For instance, 2500 liters of water are needed to produce an average burger patty. This amount is equal to the amount of water a person spends for two months to take a shower (Mekonnen & Hoekstra, 2012). Not only water consumption but forests also get their share from livestock. Livestock is shown as the main reason for the disappearance of Amazon forests. Infact, 45% of the land in the world is used for feed production needed in animal husbandry (Van Kernebeek et. al, 2016). On the other hand, animal husbandry accounts for 18% of green house gases (GHG) emissions that cause global warming (Naqvi & Sejian, 2011). All these reasons show that there is a need for both sustainable life for the sustainability of the world and veganism for a sustainable life.

In this context, sustainable tourism is also a solution proposal for reducing negative effects from tourism activities as part of a sustainable life. Tourism (defined as travel out of the daily environment with at least one over-night stay), all leisure-motivated transport should be assessed with regards to its GHG emissions (Dubois & Ceron, 2006). Considering that more than 1 billion people travel around the world (UNWTO, 2019), it is essential for the construction of a sustainable life that we need to change our tourism habits. At this point, being vegan and developing vegan travel habits can be presented as a radical as realistic solution for sustainable tourism. Because each person participating in tourism activities is both a part of the negative effects caused by tourism and is obliged to fulfill its responsibility as a stakeholder of the solution. The answer to the question that is asked in the first place is that everyone who is not vegan but wants to make the world sustainable must first create a solution starting from herself/himself. Therefore, being vegan is a must for anyone who supports sustainable life including tourism.

References

Cherry, E. (2006). Veganism as a cultural movement: A relational approach. *Social Movement Studies*, 5 (2), 155-170.

Ciocchetti, C. (2012). Veganism and living well. *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics*, 25(3), 405-417.

Clarke, J. (1997). A framework of approachesto sustainable tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. 5(3), 224-233.

De Boer, I. J. M., Cederberg, C., Eady, S., Gollnow, S., Kristensen, T., Macleod, M., ... & Van der Werf, H. M. G. (2011). Greenhouse gas mitigation in animal production: towards an integrated life cycle sustainability assessment. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, *3*(5), 423-431.

Doyle, J. (2016). Celebrity vegans and the lifestyling of ethical consumption. *Environmental Communication*, 10(6), 777-790.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Grant, M. (2019). Sustainability. 25 Jun 2019, *Investopedia*, https://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/sustainability.asp (Accessed: 26 Feb 2020).

Greenebaum, J. (2012). Veganism, identity and the quest for authenticity. *Food, Culture & Society*, 15(1), 129-144.

Hadjikakou, M., Chenoweth, J., & Miller, G. (2013). Estimating the direct and indirect water use of tourism in the eastern Mediterranean. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 114, 548-556.

Hunter, C. (1995). On the need to re-conceptualise sustainable tourism development. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. 3(3), 155-165.

Jamal, T., & Camargo, B. A. (2014). Sustainable tourism, justice and an ethic of care: Toward the just destination. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 22(1), 11-30.

Kim, M. J., Hall, C. M., & Kim, D. K. (2019). Predicting environmentally friendly eating out behavior by value-attitude-behavior theory: does being vegetarian reduce food waste?. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 28(6), 797-815.

Kuhlman, T., & Farrington, J. (2010). What is sustainability?. *Sustainability*, 2(11), 3436-3448.

Lenzen, M., Sun, Y. Y., Faturay, F., Ting, Y. P., Geschke, A., & Malik, A. (2018). The carbon footprint of global tourism. *Nature Climate Change*, 8(6), 522-528.

Lindeman, M. & Stark K. (1999). Pleasure, pursuit of health or negotiation of identity? Personality correlates of food choice motives among young and middle-aged women, *Appetite*, 33 (1), 141-161.

Liu, Z. (2003). Sustainable tourism development: A critique. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. 11(6), 459-475.

Machovina, B., Feeley, K. J., & Ripple, W. J. (2015). Biodiversity conservation: The key is reducing meat consumption. *Science of the Total Environment*, 536, 419-431.

Mekonnen, M. M., & Hoekstra, A. Y. (2012). A global assessment of the water footprint of farm animal products. *Ecosystems*, 15(3), 401-415.

Melucci, A. (1985). The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements. *Social Research*, 52 (4), 789-816.

Mendes, E. (2013). An application of the transtheoretical model to becoming vegan. *Social Work in Public Health*, 28(2), 142-149.

Naqvi, S.M.K. & Sejian, V. (2011). Global climate change: role of livestock. *Asian Journal of Agricultural Sciences*, 3(1), 19-25.

Nguyen, T. M. (2019). Veganism and its influences on travellers' destination choice. (Bachelor's Thesis). Lapland University of Applied Sciences, Finland.

Parker, E. (2018). Veganism as a strategy for sustainability. 19 Jun 2018, *Environment*, https://medium.com/@evanparker32392/veganism-as-a-strategy-for-sustainability-f3319509d143 (Accessed: 25 Feb 2020).

Richards, G., & Hall, D. (Eds.) (2003). *Tourism and sustainable community development*. London: Routledge.

Rodriguez, S. (2015). Is Veganism a Social Justice Issue? Retrieved from: https://veganpublishers.com/justice/ (Accessed: 08 Nov 2019)

Saarinen, J. (2006). Traditions of sustainability in tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 33(4), 1121-1140.

Sharpley, R. (2000). Tourism and sustainable development: Exploring the theoretical divide. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. 8(1), 1-19.

Smith, g. (2011). Veganism is a social justice movements. Retrieved from: http://thethinkingvegan.com/articles/veganism-is-a-social-justice-movement/ (Accessed:08 Nov 2019)

Souza, L. G. S., Atkinson, A., & Montague, B. (2020). Perceptions about veganism. *Ecologist*,https://www.vegansociety.com/sites/default/files/uploads/downloads/Perceptions_about_Veganism%20%28002%29.pdf (Accessed: 03 March 2020).

Tilman, D., & Clark, M. (2014). Global diets link environmental sustainability and human health. *Nature*, 515(7528), 518-522.

Ulusoy, E. (2015). I think, therefore I am vegan: Veganism, ethics, and social justice. In *40th Annual Macromarketing Conference* (pp. 419-423). June 25 – 28, Chicago, Illinois, USA. Retrieved from: https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1003938/FULLTEXT01.pdf#page=419 (Accessed: 08 Nov 2019)

UNWTO (2019). International tourism highlights. https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284421152 (Accessed: 03 March 2020).

Van Kernebeek, H. R., Oosting, S. J., Van Ittersum, M. K., Bikker, P., & De Boer, I. J. (2016). Saving land to feed a growing population: consequences for consumption of crop and livestock products. *The International Journal of Life Cycle Assessment*, 21(5), 677-687.

Vatan, A., & Türkbaş, S. (2018). Who is Vegetarian Tourist and Vegan Tourist?. *Journal of Tourism and Gastronomy Studies*, 6(3), 24-39.

Weeden, C. (2011). Responsible tourist motivation: How valuable is the Schwartz value survey?. *Journal of Ecotourism*, 10(3), 214-234.

MODERN İPEK YOLU TÜRKİYE'NİN YENİ EKONOMİ KEMERİ OLABİLİR Mİ?

Senem Nart (Bandırma Onyedi Eylül Unıversity)

Sevda Mutlu Akar (Bandırma Onyedi Eylül Unıversity)

Abstract

In 2003, The People's Republic of China announced the new project which aims to revivify the historic "Silk Road". This project was called as "One Belt One Road (OBOR)" or "Modern Silk Road". It was planned to revive trade, cooperation, transportation, and cultural exchange between the Eastern and Western countries with this project. The six corridors have been determined in order to reach the expected targets of the project. Turkey is located in "China-Central Asia–West Asia Corridor". It is expected that this project will have positive effects on Turkey's foreign trade, logistics, and the railway sector. The aim of this study is to examine the possible economic effects of Modern Silk Road to Turkey. The SWOT analysis is used as a methodology to evaluate the possible effects. The results show that the financial and logistics sector will develop and tax revenues, foreign trade volume, and employment will increase with this project.

Keywords: *One Belt One Road, Modern Silk Road, Turkey, SWOT Analysis*

Giriş

Dünyada yaşanan küreselleşme süreci ile birlikte teknolojinin gelişmesi, dünya ekonomileri arasında ticaretin hızla gelişmesine yol açmıştır. Özellikle Doğu Asya'da Çin ekonomisinin yükselişe geçmesi, küresel alanda dünyanın en önemli üreticisi haline gelmiştir. Bu durumda Batı ekonomilerinin Çin ile ticaret yapabilmesi için ulaştırma ve altyapı hayati öneme sahip olmaya başlamıştır. Doğu ile Batı arasındaki ilişkilerin güçlenmesi ve ticaretin artması amacıyla eski uygulamaya yeni bir çözüm getirilmiştir. Bu eski yeni çözüm ise Çin ekonomisinin başlattığı Modern İpek Yolu projesidir.

Modern İpek Yolu projesinde Türkiye'nin coğrafi konumu gereği Batı ve Doğu arasında yer alması bu projede orta koridor ülkeler arasında lanse edilmiştir. Bu noktada Türkiye projenin önemli ülkelerinden biri olmuştur. Modern İpek Yolu projesinin Türkiye ekonomisine başta lojistik, turizm ve demiryolu sektörü olmak üzere pek çok olumlu katkılar yapması beklenmektedir. Bu çalışmanın proje ile uzun vadede Türkiye ekonomisine olası katkılarını GZFT analiz ile ele alması nedeniyle literatüre katkı yapması beklenmektedir.

Çalışma şu şekilde organize edilmiştir. Çalışmanın birinci kısmında Çin ekonomisi ve modern ipek yolu projesi ele alınmaktadır. Çalışmanın ikinci kısmında Modern İpek yolu projesinde Türkiye'nin durumu değerlendirilmektedir. Çalışmanın üçüncü kısmında Modern İpek Yolu projesinin Türkiye ekonomine olası etkileri GZTF analizi çerçevesinde incelenmektedir. Çalışma sonuç kısmı ile tamamlanmıştır.

Çin ve Modern İpek Yolu

Çin**,** 1949 yılında Mao Zedong önderliğinde Sovyetler Birliği modelini temel alan planlı ekonomiye geçmiştir. Soğuk savaş döneminde Çin içe dönük ekonomi politikaları benimsemiştir. Mao döneminde "Büyük Hamle (1957-1960)", ülkede kıtlık yaşanmasına neden olmuştur. Bu politikadan sonra başlatılan "Kültür Devrimi

(1966-1976)" ise 1976 yılında Mao'nun ölümü nedeniyle tam anlamıyla uygulanamamıştır. 1978 yılında Çin Komünist Partisi'nin düzenlediği 11. Merkez Parti Komitesi ile Mao sonrası ekonomik ve sosyal reformlar başlatılmıştır. Deng Xiaoping'in yönetime gelmesiyle birlikte hükümet politikasının temeli ekonomik gelişme olmuştur. Bunun yanı sıra Deng döneminde tarımda, dış ekonomik ilişkilerde ve kamu yönetiminde bir dizi yapısal önlem uygulanmıştır (Öz, 2006: 3).

Bu yapısal önlemler tarım, sanayi, bilim ve teknoloji ve ulusal savunma alanında dört yenileştirme girişimi olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Çin halkının refahı bu yapısal önlemlerle, kıyı bölgelerinde ve dünya pazarı için üretim yapan şehirlerde gözle görülür bir şekilde artmıştır. "Beşinci modernleşme" olarak adlandırılan siyaset ise, diğer modernleşme alanları kadar hızlı ilerlememiştir. 21.yy başlamasıyla birlikte yeni nesil liderler ortaya çıkmasına ülkede tek parti rejimi halen devam etmektedir. Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti kuruluş yılından (1949) beri hala tek parti olarak Çin Komünist Parti iktidarda bulunmaktadır (Timurtaş, 2018: 58).

Diğer bir ifadeyle 1978 yıllından önce Çin, dışa tamamen kapalı ve tarım ekonomisine dayalı olan bu ülke, üretim ve ihracata dayalı bir büyüme politikası ile dünyanın en büyük üretim merkezi ve dünyanın en çok ihracat yapan ülke konumuna gelmiştir (Saray ve Gökdemir, 2007: 665). Çin'in bu başarısının ardında iki temel etken bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki Çin ekonomisinin serbest piyasa ekonomisine geçmesidir. İkincisi ise Çin'in 2001 yılında Dünya Ticaret Örgütü'ne üye olmasıdır. Bu sayede Çinin ihracatı büyük oranda artış göstermiştir (Narin, 2015: 223). Böylece Çin neredeyse her yıl, ortalama % 9.4 oranında bir büyümeye gerçekleştirmiştir. Bu oran, küresel ekonominde sürdürülebilirliğini sağlayan en yüksek büyüme oranıdır (Yalçın, 2007: 178). Her ne kadar, Aralık 2019 sonu itibariyle Çin'in Wuhan kentinde ortaya çıkan, Covid-19 pandemisinin, Çin ekonomisinin 2020 yılında hedeflediği büyüme oranına ulaşmasını olumsuz yönde etkileyeceği öngörülmesine rağmen, Çin hala dünyanın en büyük ihracatçıları arasında yerini korumaktadır. (Özatay ve Sak, 2020: 2).

Bu nedenle Çin ihracat artışını koruyabilmek adına, lojistik için gerekli her taşıma tipine, yoluna ve kapasiteye ihtiyaç duymuştur. Çin, küresel üretim teknolojisine ve ucuz işgücüne sahip olmasına rağmen coğrafi konum nedeni ile pazarlara uzak kalmaktadır. Hedef pazarlarına en hızlı şekilde ulaşmak ve maliyetleri azaltmak amacıyla bir lojistik stratejisi belirlemiştir. Çin devlet başkanı Xi Jinping 2013 yılında, Asya ve Avrupa arasında yer alan hem kara, hem de deniz ticaret hattını kapsayan 65 ülkenin güzergâhında bulunduğu, "Kara ve Deniz İpek Yolu Projesi'ni (One Belt One Road- kısaca OBOR)" duyurmuştur. Bu projenin kara ayağı "İpek Yolu Ekonomik Kuşağı (Kuşak-Belt)", deniz ayağı ise "Deniz İpek Yolu (Yol-Road)" şeklinde adlandırılmaktadır (Esmer, 2016: 209). Tarihi İpekyolu'nun canlandırılması fikri ile ortaya çıkan bu proje, "Tek Kuşak Tek Yol" ya da "Modern İpek Yolu" projesi olarak da ifade edilmektedir. "Kuşak" kavramı, "İpek Yolu Ekonomi Kuşağını", "Yol" kavramı ise, "21. Yüzyıl Deniz İpek Yolu"nu tanımlamaktadır. Bu proje sayesinde ticarette karayolu alternatifinin terk edilmesi gerektiği fikrinin değişeceği ve karayolu ulaşımını yeniden hareketlendireceği tahmin edilmektedir (Esmer, 2019: 1).

İpek Yolu Ekonomi Kuşağı; Çin, Orta Asya, Rusya ve Avrupa'yı bir araya getirmeyi hedeflemektedir Bunun için Çin'i Orta Asya ve Batı Asya boyunca Basra Körfezi ve Akdeniz'e bağlamaya ve Çin'i Güneydoğu Asya, Güney Asya ve Hint Okyanusu ile birleştirmeye odaklanmıştır. Deniz İpek Yolu'nu ise; Güney Çin Denizi ile Hint Okyanusu yoluyla Çin kıyısından Avrupa'ya ve Güney Çin Denizi yolu ile Çin kıyısından Güney Pasifik Okyanusu'na uzanmaktadır. Proje ile Doğu Asya ekonomileri Avrupa ekonomilerine bağlamaktadır

(Durdular, 2016: 81). Şekil 1'de modern ipek yolu projesinin muhtemel ekonomi kuşağı ve deniz yolu gösterilmektedir.

Şekil 1: Modern İpek Yolu Projesi Olası Hatları

***Kaynak:** Tanas Karagöl, E., (2017), "Modern İpek Yolu Projesi", Seta Perspektif, Sayı: 174, Mayıs 2017, 2.*

Projenin beklenen hedeflerine ulaşabilmesi için 6 koridor yolu belirlenmiştir. Bu koridorlar şöyledir (Özsümer, 2018: 7):

- Çin & Moğolistan & Rusya Ekonomik Koridoru
- Çin & Merkez ve Batı Asya Ekonomik Koridoru
- Çin & Hindi Çini Yarımadası Ekonomik Koridoru
- Çin & Pakistan Ekonomik Koridoru
- Çin & Bangladeş & Hindistan & Myanmar Ekonomik Koridoru
- Yeni Avrasya Kara Köprüsü Ekonomik Koridoru
- Tablo 1'de ise modern ipek yolu projesinde yer alacak olan 65 ülke ve bu ülkelerin bulundukları bölge gösterilmektedir. Bu durum projenin büyüklüğünü göstermekte ve dış ticaret hacminin gelişimini ortaya koymaktadır.

Tablo 1: Modern İpek Yolu Projesinde Yer Alan Ülkeler

Bölgeler	Ülkeler
Doğu Asya	Çin
Güneydoğu Asya	Endonezya, Malezya, Filipinler, Singapur, Tayland, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, Kamboçya, Doğu Timor
Güney Asya	Nepal, Butan, Hindistan, Pakistan, Bangladeş, Sri Lanka, Maldivler
Merkez Asya	Kazakistan, Türkmenistan, Kırgızistan, Özbekistan, Tacikistan, Afganistan
Batı Asya	İran, Irak, Gürcistan, Ermenistan, Azerbaycan, Türkiye, Suriye, Ürdün, İsrail, Filistin, Suudi Arabistan, Bahreyn, Katar, Yemen, Umman, Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri, Kuveyt, Lübnan
Merkez ve Doğu Avrupa	Arnavutluk, Bosna Hersek, Bulgaristan, Hırvatistan, Çek Cumhuriyeti, Estonya, Macaristan, Letonya, Litvanya, Makedonya, Karadağ, Romanya, Polonya, Sırbistan, Slovakya, Slovenya
Bağımsız Devletler Topluluğu	Rusya, Belarus, Ukrayna, Moldova
Diğer	Moğolistan, Mısır
Toplam	65 ülke

***Kaynak**: Liu, Q., (2019), "Impact of the Modern Silk Road in International Logistics", JAMK University of Applied Sciences, Bachelor's Thesis, 1-45.*

Modern İpek Yolu Projesine katılan ve destek veren 65 ülke arasında işbirliğinin içeriği beş temel unsur üzerine kurulmuştur. Bunlar (Liu, 2019: 7):

- Politika iletişimi
- Yol bağlantısı
- Engelsiz ticaret
- Para dolaşımı ve
- Kültürel anlayıştır.

Modern İpek Yolu projesinde yer alan özellikle Azerbaycan ve Kazakistan yer altı kaynakları açısından zengin ülkeler arasında yer almaktadır. Ancak altyapı yetersizliği ve sanayinin gelişmemiş olması nedeniyle ekonomilerinde istikrar sağlanamamıştır. Bölgede yer alan bir diğer ülke olan. Afganistan'da ise iç savaş ve terör sorunları nedeniyle sadece ekonomik değil aynı zamanda politik açıdan da istikrar sağlayamamıştır (Kulaklıkaya, 2013: 5). Dolayısıyla, proje kapsamında yer alan ülkelerde toplamda yaklaşık 21 trilyon dolarlık bir ekonomik büyümenin gerçekleşeceği, bu doğrultuda önemli bir ekonomik ve ticari kapasite oluşturulacağı öngörülmektedir (Günay, Çetiner, Sevinç ve Kütükçü, 2019: 158). Proje tam anlamıyla faaliyete geçtiğinde, Çin ve Avrupa arasında kurulan ulaşım ağları, ticaret hatlarının yeniden yapılanması ve teknolojik gelişmeler bir araya geldiğinde, uluslararası ticaretin süresinin kısaltılması da beklenen faydalar arasında yer almaktadır (Serper, 2017:2).

İpek yolu projesinin hayata geçirilebilmesi için sadece siyasi destek değil aynı zamanda önemli ölçüde mali kaynağa ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Çin'in bu projeye yaklaşık 890 milyar dolar kamu harcaması yapması gerektiği tahmin edilmektedir. Projede sadece altyapı yatırımları için 5 trilyon dolar bütçe ayrılması gerekmektedir. Bununla birlikte Çin'in her yıl projeye 150 milyar dolar harcama yapması beklenmektedir. Sadece Çin-Pakistan koridorunun 46 milyar dolara mal olduğu dikkate alındığında, proje için önemli miktarda mali destek gerektiği görülmektedir. Bu nedenle 2014 yılında İpek Yolu Projesinin finansmanı için 57 ülkenin katılımıyla İpek Yolu Fonu oluşturulmuştur. 2014-2017 döneminde fona 153 milyar dolar kaynak aktarılmıştır. Fonun öncelikle Çin-Moğolistan-Rusya; Çin-Orta Asya; Çinhindi Yarımadası, Çin-Pakistan ve Bangladeş-Çin-Hindistan-Myanmar güzergâhlarındaki altyapı ve ulaşım projelerini destekleyeceği belirtilmiştir. İpek Yolu Fonu'na ek olarak 2014 yılında proje için Asya Altyapı Yatırım Bankası kurulmuştur. Bankanın 100 milyar dolardan fazla altyapı yatırımları yapması planlanmaktadır. Asya Altyapı Yatırım Bankası dışında, BRICS (Brezilya, Rusya, Hindistan, Çin ve Güney Afrika) ülkeleri tarafından kurulan Yeni Kalkınma Bankası'na da proje için 10 milyar dolar yatırım yapılmıştır (Beşer, 2018: 10). Kısacası Modern İpek Yolu projesinin finansmanı için İpek Yolu Fonu, Asya Altyapı Yatırım Bankası ve Yeni Kalkınma Bankası olmak üzere üç kaynaktan yardım alınmaktadır.

Modern İpek Yolu ve Türkiye

Türkiye, Asya, Avrupa ve Orta Asya coğrafyasının kesişim noktasındadır. Jeopolitik açıdan Türkiye'nin bu konumu, "Modern İpek Yolu Projesi" inde orta koridor projesi kapsamında kilit bir ülke olmasına yol açmaktadır (Camgöz ve Dinçer, 2017: 5). Türkiye'nin jeopolitik konumu ile beraber, güçlü üretim ve yüksek yük taşıma potansiyeli, denizyolundan gelen Karadeniz yükleri için en önemli aktarma ülkesi olması da Türkiye'yi, "Modern İpek Yolu" projesinde önemli bir aktör olmasına neden olmuştur. Orta Koridorun, Kuzey ve Güney Koridorlarına alternatif oluşturacağına inanılmaktadır. Bu noktada orta koridor projesinin geliştirilmesi için alt yapı yatırımları kritik öneme sahiptir. Asya'yı Avrupa'ya bağlayacak ve ticaret hacmini artıracak orta koridorda yer alan Türkiye bu noktada bir köprü vazifesi görmektedir (Günay vd., 2019). Türkiye, Modern İpek Yolu Ekonomik Kuşağı'nda orta koridor olarak adlandırılan 6. Koridorda yer almaktadır.

Modern İpek Yolu projesi ile önemli kazanımlar elde edeceğine inanan Türkiye'nin ulaştırma politikalarının temel ekseni, Çin'den Londra'ya kesintisiz bir taşımacılık hattı sağlamaktır. Bu doğrultuda, "Bakü-Tiflis-Kars" projesi 2017 yılında hayata geçirilmiştir. Kars ve Edirne'yi yüksek hızlı tren ile birbirine bağlamayı amaçlayan bu projeye Marmaray, Avrasya Tüneli, Yavuz Sultan Selim Köprüsü ve inşası halen süren Çanakkale Boğaz Köprüsü projeleri destek vermektedir (Tüerdi: 2018: 13). Altyapı ve ulaşım hatları sayesinde, Orta Koridor üzerinden Çin ile Türkiye arasında yapılacak sevkiyatların süresinin 30 günden 10 güne azalması beklenmektedir (Özsümer, 2018: 10).

Bu proje ile Türkiye ve Çin arasında stratejik ortaklık anlaşmaları yapılmış ve bu anlaşmalar neticesinde Türkiye, ihtiyaç duyduğu demiryolu ve denizyolu yatırımlarını finanse etme ve kısa sürede tamamlama olanağına kavuşmuştur (Balcı, 2018:6-7) Zira "Edirne-Kars" hızlı tren ve demiryolu projeleri, Çin firmaları tarafından gerçekleştirilmiştir. Çin aynı zamanda projenin deniz ayağını oluşturan "Mersin, Çandarlı ve Filyos" liman projeleri içinde destek sağlaması beklenmektedir (Özdaşlı, 2015: 593).

Modern İpek Yolu Projesi ile aynı zamanda Türkiye'ye yabancı sermaye girişlerinin ve doğrudan yabancı yatırımların artması umulmaktadır. Buna ek olarak Çin ile sürdürülen ticaret hacminin geliştirilmesi de beklenen amaçlar arasında yer almaktadır. Proje kapsamında Türkiye ile aynı güzergâh üzerinde yer alan ülkelerin birbirleriyle ticari etkileşimlerinin de artacağı tahmin edilmektedir (Balcı, 2018:8-9). Türkiye'nin jeopolitik konumu sayesinde, bu projenin tam anlamıyla hayata geçmesi durumunda, Türkiye lojistik merkezi üslerinden biri olabilir. Lojistik ve taşımacılık sektörünün canlanması ile beraber, dış ticaret ve turizm faaliyetlerinde artış gözlenebilir. Bu durumda Türkiye için önemli bir katma değer yaratabilir. Çin'in 2049 yılına kadar modern ipek yolu projesi kapsamında Türkiye'ye 40 milyar dolar ve yıllık ortalama 750 milyon dolar yatırım yapması beklenmektedir. Demir, kara ve deniz yolu taşımacılığı, Türkiye'nin Asya ve Avrupa arasındaki stratejik konumunu güçlendirebilecektir (İstikbal, 2019). Projenin ekonomik faydalarına ek olarak, Türkiye'nin orta koridorda yer alan diğer ülkelerle diplomatik ilişkileri de birbirine daha fazla yakınlaştırabilecektir (Türkay, 2017: 1).

Tüerdi (2018: 10)'e göre ise modern ipek yolu projesinin olumlu yanlarının yanı sora projenin uygulanmasında bazı temel sorunlar da bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki ihracata uygun standartların ve üretilecek bir malın asgari teknik özelliklerinin olmamasıdır. İkincisi fikri mülkiyet haklarının ihlal edilmesi ve replika mal üretimidir. Üçüncüsü ticari mevzuatın şeffaf olmaması ve yerel uygulamalarda farklılıkların yaşanmasıdır. Dördüncüsü ise ülkelerin iç pazarına giriş konusunda belirli bir uygulamanın olmamasıdır. Özellikle piyasaya giriş konusunda yaşanabilecek herhangi bir sorunda belirli bir çözümün bulunmamasıdır. Durdular (2016: 95)'e göre ise projede Türkiye ve Çin arasında karşılaşılan sorunlar da mevcuttur. Özellikle Türkiye'nin jeopolitik öncelikleri nedeniyle bölgesel olaylara doğrudan taraf olması, ikili ilişkilerde iktisadi fırsatları ve projenin sorunsuz ilerlemesini engellemektedir. Bu nedenle Türkiye, Çin ile yaşadığı ekonomik ve siyasi sorunları en aza indirmelidir. Modern İpek Yolu projesine de gereken desteği ve önemi vermelidir.

Bununla birlikte Aralık ayında ortaya çıkan Covid-19 sebebiyle Modern İpek Yolu projesinde yer alan deniz yolu taşımacılığının olumsuz, demir yolu taşımacılığının ise olumlu etkilendiği görülmektedir. Bu pandemi sebebiyle Modern İpek Yolu ile önceden belirlenen hatlar hızlıca kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu sayede de sevkiyat süreleri ciddi oranda azalmıştır. Ancak, pandemi Modern İpek Yolu projesinde ulaştırma ve altyapı yatırımlarının askıya alınmasına neden olmuştur. Bu durumda proje süresinin uzamasına neden olabileceği ileri sürülmektedir.

Modern İpek Yolu projesine sadece ulaştırma ve altyapı projesi olarak bakmak doğru değildir. Bu projenin arka plandaki temel düşüncesi, gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkeler arasında bir ekonomik işbirliği girişimini gerçekleştirmektir.

Modern İpek Yolu'nun Türkiye Ekonomisine Olası Etkisi: GZFT Analizi

Modern İpek Yolu projesinin Türkiye ekonomisine olası etkileri GZFT (Güçlü Yanlar, Zayıf Yanlar, Fırsatlar ve Tehditler) analizi ile açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır (Tablo 2'de görüldüğü üzere). Literatürde, bu analizin daha çok sektörel bazda yapıldığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu nedenle bildiğimiz kadarıyla, projenin Türkiye ekonomisine etkilerini GZFT analizi ile ele alan ilk çalışma olduğu ileri sürülebilir.

Tablo 2: Modern İpek Yolu Projesi'nin Türkiye Ekonomisine Olası Etkisi GZFT Analizi

Güçlü Yanları	Vergi gelirlerinin artması (özellikle taşımacılık hizmetlerinden vergisel kazançlar ile aktarma noktalarından sağlanan hizmetlerden ek gelir elde edilebilir) Limanların hinterlandı etkileşim alanının gelişmesi Raylı sistem hatlarının artması Finans sektörünün gelişmesi ve derinleşmesi Özel sektörün ulaşım faaliyetlerinin artması Dış ticaret hacminin gelişmesi ve dış ticaret gelirlerinin artması Taşımacılık sektöründe farklılaşma sağlanması Türkiye'nin proje içinde yer alan diğer ülkelerle dış ilişkilerinin gelişmesi
Zayıf Yanları	Blok tren taşımacılığı için altyapının oluşturulmasının zaman alması Nitelikli işgücünün olmaması (özellikle Çince bilen işgücünün azlığı) Projede yabancı şirketlerin daha aktif olması Yatırım maliyetlerinin yüksek olması Projenin uzun vadeli olması ve projeden beklenen faydanın azalması Projede yer alan ülkeler arasında taşımacılık mevzuatının uyumlaştırılma sorununun olması Orta koridorda bulunan ülkelerde ortak gümrük stratejisinin olmaması Projede, bilimsel işbirliğin yeterli düzeyde gerçekleşmemesi Kamu ve özel sektör lojistik girişimciliğinin olmaması
Fırsatlar	Karadeniz bölgesi demiryolu taşımacılığında bölgesel güç olması İntermodal taşımanın gelişecek olması Marmaray ile transit sürelerin daha da kısalması Doğrudan yabancı yatırımların artması Kesintisiz taşımacılık hatlarının kurulması Yeni pazarlara giriş imkânının olması Raylı sistemin taşımacılıkta daha etkin olması ile maliyetlerin düşmesi Raylı taşımacılığının artması ile kara yolu taşımacılığının neden olduğu şehir içi trafik ve sevkiyat sıkışıklığının azalması Raylı taşımacılık sayesinde çevre kirliliğinin azalması Yeni iş olanaklarının doğması ile istihdam alanının artması
Tehditler	Ülkeler arasında olası politik uyuşmazlıkların ortaya çıkması Altyapı yatırımlarında yabancı özel sektöre bağlılığın artması Karayolu ve deniz yolu taşımacılığında meydana gelebilecek olası azalma Projenin olası ek maliyetler getirmesi ile bütçe açığının doğması Proje dışında kalan ülkelerle dış ticaret ilişkisinin olumsuz etkilenmesi Ülkeler arasında olası çıkar çatışmalarının ortaya çıkması

Proje dışında kalan ülkelerle (ABD gibi) ikili ilişkilerin etkilenmesi
Çin'in yatırımları doğrudan kendisinin yapması nedeniyle ileri dönemlerde bu yatırımlarda söz sahibi olmak istemesi
Dış ticarette dışa bağımlılığın daha da artması

Kaynak: *Yazarlar tarafından oluşturulmuştur.*

Not: *GZFT analizini gerçekleştirirken, analize değerli katkılar yapan Öğr. Gör. Arda Toygar'a teşekkürlerimizi sunuyoruz.*

Sonuç

2013 yılında başlatılan ve 65 ülkeyi kapsayan Modern İpek Yolu projesi, Doğu ve Batı arasında ticaretin, ekonominin ve kültürel etkileşimin artmasını amaçlamaktadır. Modern İpek Yolu projesi sadece ulaştırma ve altyapı projesi değil, aynı zamanda gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkeler arasında oluşturulan bir ekonomik işbirliği girişimidir. Bu nedenle Modern İpek Yolu projesinde yer alan tüm ülkelerde kalkınmanın gerçekleşeceği ve ekonomik istikrarın sağlanacağı ileri sürülmektedir.

Türkiye Modern İpek Yolu projesinde "İpek Yolu Ekonomik Kuşağı'nda orta koridor olarak ta biline 6. Koridorda yer almaktadır. Bu kapsamda Türkiye "Bakü-Tiflis-Kars" projesini 2017 yılında hayata geçirilmiştir. Bu projeye Marmaray, Avrasya Tüneli, Yavuz Sultan Selim Köprüsü de destek vermektedir. Türkiye'nin bu proje içerisinde yer alması ekonominin olumlu etkilenmesi beklenmektedir. Özellikle vergi gelirlerinin artması, dış ticaret hacminin gelişmesi, istihdamın artması, taşımacılık sisteminin gelişmesi, doğrudan yabancı yatırımların artması ve finansal sektörün derinleşmesi beklenilen faydalar arasında sayılabilir. Ancak Türkiye'nin özellikle lojistik konusunda Modern İpek Yolu projesi ile ilgili bir farkındalığının olmadığı düşünülmektedir. Özellikle lojistik yatırımlarının ve lojistik girişimciliğinin yetersiz olması bu durumu açıklayabilir.

Türkiye Modern İpek Yolu Projesi'nde daha aktif olabilmesi için nitelikli stratejiler belirlemeli, ekonomik ve siyasi politikalar uygulamalıdır. Bu kapsamda öncelikle Türkiye "Bakü-Tiflis-Kars" demiryolu hattını daha aktif hale getirmelidir. Türkiye'nin doğusunda yer alan komşu ülkeleriyle dış ticaret açısından özel girişimlerde bulunmalıdır. Bu girişimler ticareti kolaylaştıracak ortak gümrük politikaları çerçevesinde değerlendirilebilir. Ayrıca altyapı yatırımlarını arttırarak, ulaşım hatlarını genişletmelidir. Sadece karayolu taşımacılığını değil aynı zamanda demiryolu ve denizyolu taşımacılığını da daha etkin kullanmalıdır. Bu sayede karayolunda meydana gelen trafik sıkışıklıkları ve tırların sebep olduğu karbon salınımı azalabilir.

Bundan sonraki çalışmalar, Modern İpek Yolu'nun özellikle lojistik sektörüne etkisini araştırabilir. Projenin tamamlanmış bölümlerinde yer alan ülke ekonomilerinin ve dış ticaret hacimlerinin durumu değerlendirebilir. Bununla birlikte olası simülasyon modelleri ile projenin dünya ticaretine ve ekonomik büyüme üzerindeki etkileri analiz edilebilir.

Kaynakça

Balcı, Z., (2018), "Çin'in Yeni "İpek Yolu" Projesi", İnsamer-İHH İnsani ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi, 1-9.

Beşer, M. E., (2018), "Çin'in Dünyaya Açılma Girişimi: Kuşak ve Yol", *Boğaziçi Asya Araştırmaları Merkezi*, Rapor Serisi 2018, 1-17.

Camgöz, C. & İstanbullu Dinçer F., (2017), "Modern İpek Yolu Projesi Çerçevesinde Ulaştırma Ağlarının Turizme Katkıları", *Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi,* Cilt: 1 (3), 41-58.

Durdular, A., (2016), "Çin'in "Kuşak-Yol" Projesi ve Türkiye-Çin İlişkilerine Etkisi", *Avrasya Etüdleri* , 49 (1) , 77-97 .

Esmer, S., (2007), "Bir Kuşak Bir Yol (One Belt, One Road) Projesi", Erişim Linki: https://www.denizhaber.net/mobi/author_article_detail.php?id=456, Erişim Tarihi: 09.06.2020.

Esmer, S., (2016), "Çin'in Kara ve Deniz İpek Yolu Girişiminde (One Belt One Road) Türkiye'nin Önemi", II. International Caucasus-Central Asia Foreign Trade and Logistics Congress Proceeding Book.

Esmer, S., (2019), "Bir Yol'a Dahil Olmak Ya Da Ol(a)mamak", Erişim Linki: https://www.fortuneturkey.com/bir-yola-dahil-olmak-ya-da-olamamak, Erişim Tarihi: 09.06.2020

Günay, E., Çetiner, S., Sevinç, S., & Kütükçü, E., (2019), "Tarihi İpek Yolundan Modern İpek Yolu Projesine: Türkiye-Çin Ekonomik İşbirliği Çerçevesinde Orta Koridor İle Kuşak Ve Yol Girişimi", *Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi İktisadi Ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 9(2), 157-175.

İstikbal, D., (2019), "Demir İpek Yolu ve Türkiye'nin Potansiyeli", Erişim Linki: https://kriterdergi.com/ekonomi/demir-ipek-yolu-ve-turkiyenin-potansiyeli, Erişim Tarihi: 09.06.2020.

Kulaklıkaya, Ö., (2013), "Modern İpek Yolu: Orta Asya'nın Küresel Ekonomiye Açılan Kapısı", *Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfi Değerlendirme Notu*, No: 201311 , 1-7.

Liu, Q., (2019), "Impact of the Modern Silk Road in International Logistics", JAMK University of Applied Sciences, Bachelor's Thesis, 1-45.

Narin, M, (2015), "Çin Ekonomisindeki Büyümenin Dünya ve Türkiye Üzerine Etkileri", 1-26, Erişim Linki: https://www.ayk.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/NAR%c4%b0N-M%c3%bcsl%c3%bcme-%c3%87%c4%b0N-EKONOM%c4%b0S%c4%b0NDEK%c4%b0-B%c3%9cY%c3%9cMEN%c4%b0N-D%c3%9cNYA-VE-T%c3%9cRK%c4%b0YE-%c3%9cZER%c4%b0NE-ETK%c4%b0LER%c4%b0.pdf, Erişim Tarihi: 10.06.2020

Öz, S., (2006), "Küresel Rekabette Yükselen Bir Güç: Çin", *Tüsiad-Sabancı Üniversitesi Rekabet Forumu,* 1-62.

Özatay, F., & Sak, G., (2020), "COVID-19'un Ekonomik Sonuçlarını Yönetebilmek İçin Ne Yapılabilir?", *TEPAV Politika Notu*, No: 202005.

Özdaşlı, E., (2015), "Çin'in Yeni İpek Yolu Projesi ve Küresel Etkileri", Ankara, 580- 596

Özsümer, S., (2018), "Çin Ekonomisi Ve Bir Yol Bir Kuşak Projesi", İzmir Ticaret Odası, Erişim Linki: http://izto.org.tr/demo_betanix/uploads/cms/yonetim.ieu.edu.tr/6695_1525260242.pdf, Erişim Tarihi: 11.06.2020

Saray, M.O., & Gökdemir, L., (2007), "Çin Ekonomisinin Büyüme Aşamaları (1978-2005)", *Journal of Yaşar University*, 2(7), 661-686.

Serper, E., (2017), "İpekyolu Projesi Küresel Ticarete Etkisi ve Güvenlik Sorunları", Erişim Linki: https://tasam.org/Files/Icerik/File/%C4%B0PEKYOLU_PROJES%C4%B 0_pdf_76dedaa3-7082-43fe-9e09-9882170d8670.pdf, Erişim Tarihi: 08.06.2020

Tanas Karagöl, E., (2017), "Modern İpek Yolu Projesi", *Seta Perspektif*, Sayı: 174, Mayıs 2017, 1-7.

Timurtaş, M. E. (2018), "Çin Halk Cumhuriyetinin Ekonomik ve Siyasi Geçmişinin Bugünkü Gelişim Sürecindeki Rolü", *Sakarya İktisat Dergisi*, Cilt: 7(1), 52-69.

Tüerdi, R., (2018), "Yeni İpek Yolu Projesi Ve Türkiye Çin İşbirliğine Etkileri", İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi, Dış Ticaret Enstitüsü Tartışma Metinleri, No: 137, 1-15.

Türkay, İ., (2017), "Yüzyılın Projesi: Modern İpek Yolu", Erişim Linki: https://vergialgi.net/yuzyilin-projesi-modern-ipek-yolu**, Erişim Tarihi:** 09.06.2020

Yalçın, D., (2007), "Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin Dışa Dayalı Büyüme Modeli", *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, (2), 177-190.

SOME ISSUES OF INEQUALITY IN THE POST-SOVIET SPACE

Edisher Gvenetadze (Georgian Technical University)

Levan Osidze (Georgian Technical University)

Abstract

In the modern world, people often talk about inequality as one of the main challenges. Its basis is poverty, which is rooted in the whole earth, especially in the so-called third world countries. Inequality itself contains primarily injustice and oppression. The most striking of these is economic inequality, which can continue even after poverty is eradicated in especially severe forms. Inequality is the problem that has bothered us through the whole history, and we still find it most difficult to understand. Inequality is primarily associated with injustice, or with natural selection, where the strong have always won at the expense of the weak.

Introduction

Today the world is more unequal and unjust than ever before. Lives are for sale as usual, but over time, the forms have changed and become more sophisticated - if you count the number of women victims of trafficking in the twentieth century, they will probably outnumber the number of Roman slaves. Today, more people are dying of starvation and dehydration than in the so-called "dark" eras, when the development of medicine and technology has been unchanged for centuries. Inequality can be viewed as a combination of object, subject, and culprit, which in turn combines power relations and political struggle. In the post-Soviet space, the ideology suddenly and lightly changed, and the idea of universal inequality was replaced by the idea of universal inequality, which became very painful to realize for millions of people, and the way events conducted made a lot of people desperate.

In the post-Soviet space, inequality became the way of life, and the nomenclature parasitic elites created and entrenched in its entrails, who have seized property created by generations through various fraudulent or robbery routes in the process of dismantling the Soviet system. The catastrophic level of inequality.

Body Text

In the history of mankind, there has always been an incredible wealth and luxury on one side and deadly poverty on the other side. Such tensions between capital owners and the underprivileged have plagued human experience for thousands of years. Social protection mechanisms should be ensuring the society of people, who are mobilized and responsible for their health and future. The World Bank defines poverty as "the inability to achieve a minimum standard of living." The standard of living is measured by the level of consumption and consists of two elements: 1. The amount needed to buy minimal food and other necessities; 2. The resources needed to participate in the daily life of the society, which differ according to the level and pace of development of the countries. However, due to "subjectivity", the second component of the minimum standard of living - operation - did not happen. Thus, despite the definition, the given measurement remains absolute in its content (Alcock, 1997).

Inequality can be discussed at both the individual, family, and societal levels. The societal level implies answering questions such as: how unequal is the society and how can it be compared to other countries according to this parameter. When we talk about inequality, we mean that we are talking about the inequality of "income" inequality (and not, e.g. opportunities).

Inequality is the most pressing problem in the modern world. Even in the most democratic countries, only the so-called top 1% can have a significant impact on government decisions. Let's continue with the problems caused by the deficit and the policy of the so-called "tightening the belts" in the European Union. In addition, there has been an increase in immigration flows from the Middle East and North Africa, which was caused by economic and political instability (Atkinson, 1975). This indicates that inequality is no longer just a problem of differences between countries. Much more alarming is the fact that individuals own relatively greater wealth than entire countries. All this is reaching its apogee in post-Soviet countries, where there is a great shortage of democracy and civil society. Social inequality is a serious problem for the post-Soviet, according to the World Rating Index of Social Inequality and Poverty and Economic Instability, there is a huge difference between rich and poor. The impoverishment of the population was caused primarily by the wrong choice of economic priority; Neglect of agriculture as a leading potential destination in the region over the years and, in this regard, impoverishment of the regions; Missing the declared course and actual action in terms of education development in time and space (Barr, 2004).

Social inequality is a hallmark of a market economy, the reduction of which is the primary task of the government, however, the role of the state in combating it does not mean its complete elimination, but only the improvement of the social status of the most vulnerable ones.

It should be noted that social inequality also affects other indicators of the economy, its impact on economic growth and human capital should be noted. In order to understand the relationship between economic growth, social inequality, and human capital, a model was developed in 1988 based on a study by Oded Galor and Joseph Zeira, known as the Galor-Zeira model.

The distribution of income among Eastern European countries, Georgia and the rest of the post-Soviet space, is one of the most unequal. The analysis of social inequality, the level of qualification of the population, and the dependence of the population on the GDP per capita shows that an important connection is observed between the social inequality and the qualification of the population, the so-called human capital. In particular, income inequality is relatively low in countries with high population qualifications and vice versa. There is also a link between GDP per capita and income distribution. Georgia is one of the leading countries in Eastern Europe and the post-Soviet space in terms of income distribution inequality. The situation is similar in terms of population incompetence, which leaves the problem of income inequality unresolved. There are several reasons for this. In the context of globalization, the post-Soviet countries were far from a market economy in terms of economic security, as they inherited a "top-down" economy and the capitalist competitive competition was new to them and therefore internal and external economic security factors, strategies and criteria for sustainable economic development because these things were decided without them. We explored the peculiarities and methods of the mechanism of transition of post-Soviet countries to a market economy, innovations that have played an important role in the development of the modern economy (Galor, Zeira 1988).

Nearly 30 years have passed since the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the transformation of post-socialist countries has taken a different trajectory in dynamics than everyone expected. They wanted to build a Western-style state system with a democratic system, a market economy, and other political and economic components that would have been better than the existing one in terms of social, cultural, mental, value, etc. We have obtained a different course of conditional modernization with its peculiarities, which a certain category of researchers divides into three main groups: the first group includes the so-called The New Europe countries, which managed to join and adapt to the Euro-Atlantic space, in the second group we have authoritarian countries, which managed to grow economically, but they broke away from the vector of democratic development, and the political system became authoritarian. The third group countries have taken a political orientation towards the West, but they have failed to sustain the course of economic development and, consequently, they couldn't form a stable economic system, which leads to indifference and frustration among the people. It is difficult to demand everyone's adaptation and endurance for the social and institutional fluctuations that result in economic poverty (Norris, Kochhar, Suphaphiphat, Tsounta 2015). Let's divide the past period between Georgia into three parts: the first - from 1990 to 2003, from 2003 to the so-called the period from the "Rose Revolution" to 2012 and the period of the third "Georgian Dream" - from 2012 to the present - period. These periods were filled with fluctuations of sharp economic phases, with consolidation, liberalization, general trends, conflicting policies, dynamics of economic parameters, its social, economic, and institutional components around economic policy. Development and economic transformation proceeded at a slow pace, with market mechanisms hindering the development of the private sector through administrative interventions. The increase in the budget can be considered as a positive trend. Distrust of the national currency led to the transition to the dollar and limited the role of banks and the development space, and low investment led to economic instability. The consequences of the August 2008 Russia-Georgia war further destabilized the psychological mood towards Western life. Serious foreign investment in Georgia has not been invested due to certain risks and the control of clan groups (Gvenetadze, 2009). Elite corruption has engulfed all spheres, bribery has disappeared, and in fact everything has been sold for money. The official would not have shaken their hands if the tax had not been levied on the bank, free training had been abolished, and all areas had been shifted to a profitable form. What is most outrageous is that the health and education sectors have been hit hard, which has exacerbated social inequality in our country. Unstable wages, foreign migration, a large number of pensioners and a shortage of pensions covered 2/3 of the Georgian population, (Gvenetadze, 2017), while because of the devaluation of the dollar price of the products that were produced in Georgia was decreasing, despite all of that, slowly, but still, development was in progress that can be said about the recent period of time, when private business came out of the dictatorship of the earlier Nationals and new prospects for development were set (Osidze, 2019).

The issue of deposits under Soviet rule became a very painful issue for the people with the old conservative idea when their savings in banks were abolished altogether and it was appropriated by the particular individuals, and this issue can rightly be attributed to the classical form of social injustice and inequality. In order to eliminate this, the government has taken a number of measures, but these attempts were artificial and not problem-solving.

Our society has experienced and endured many previously unfamiliar and unacceptable things on the path of social inequality and has faced many unforeseen problems that were previously unimaginable due to the society's earlier inertial being, as the old ones excluded personal ambitions and initiatives (Stiglitz, 2015). Everything was decided by the government if things were acceptable or unacceptable for them, the slogan was, "Everything is fine to stay in silence, people!". Now new and foreign processes were destroying old traditions and conservative ideas with one stroke of the hand, that's why maintaining personality traits and forming new relationships, giving the right priorities to the social media has a role of a barometer, because it has the greatest impact on the strength of the core characteristics of national identity. We believe that in an age of conservative society, the way all develops and forms, the one who will bring the social media under control will be the one who'll get the reins of political governance. In this regard, the statistics of the last 3-4 months are also noteworthy, especially the global pandemic - the course of the coronavirus - on the background of increasing deaths, the so-called idea of creating a unified world government with its notorious universal chipping. The game of modern developed democratic parameters should theoretically exclude censorship of activities, social blogs, electronic publications, but by classification of the peculiarities of state security problems in our country pays a great amount of our attention to the security of information that belongs to state-political spheres and customers haven't made public yet.

In the era of the establishment of artificial intelligence, everyone and everything is involved in the so-called virtual relationships, that is why in the future it is expected that the political and civic activities of citizens will be excluded altogether and they will most likely stay in the virtual space. They get help from TV with its programs, the Internet, social networks, payroll cards, electronic accounting systems established in various services, fingerprint control, sCool cards (a card for students, they use it in buses and subways, they also use it as a debit card) for children, travel e-cards for the population, electronic billing, coding goods, salary and pension cards, also known as e-money in circulation and the withdrawal of cash, facilitating banking and credit activities and turning them into online services, creation of personal accounts and conducting financial online transactions without going to the bank, establishment of "One Window Principle" in the Ministry of Justice, Providing modern e-services to medical service centers, establishing an unified electronic accounting system in the entire medical and pharmacy network, introducing and protecting gender balance, establishing a unified accounting system in the penitentiary system, rehabilitating modern penitentiary centers and bringing them to world standards are all good for us, it can be said that in this regard, we have overtaken our neighbors. The electronic security of the electoral systems, which is currently being actively worked on, will be the last grain to put an end to social activism in Georgia. The recently established reality is a clear confirmation that despite the shortcomings, the country is gradually falling apart and falling into the trap of world civil relations to gain and establish its own individual place.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the problems of inequality and being less or more have always been on the path of human existence since ancient times, but we are talking about a post-Soviet were years ago any kindness was free because it was a socially-oriented state some individuals fought against problems caused by free-market relations with bare hands. And all this is considered as social injustice, great efforts have to be made by the world governments to make it easier for the older generation to use the necessary minimum subsistence basket during this global crisis, to avoid the nostalgia of the Soviet regime.

There is a certain echo of inequality in the current acute political events in the United States, we whole heartedly hope that everything will be fine.

References

Alcock, P. (1997). Understanding poverty. 2nd edition. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Atkinson, A. (1975). The economics of inequality. Oxford: Clarendon Press. EEC (1981). Final Report from the Commission to the Council on the First Programme of Pilot Schemes and Studies to Combat Poverty [Online]. Available from: http://aei.pitt.edu/12274/1/12274.pdf[Accessed 14/01/2011].

Barr, N. (2004), Economics of the Welfare State; Fourth Edition; Oxford University.

Galor O. Zeira J. (1988). Income Distribution and Macroeconomics. Article No. 89-25, Brown University.

Norris, E. Kochhar K. Suphaphiphat N. Ricka F. Tsounta E. (2015). International monetary fund. Causes and Consequences of Income Inequality: A Global Perspective.

Stiglitz J. (2015). Inequality and Economic Growth. Columbia University.

Osidze L. (2019). The Modern Model of Georgian Political Culture" paper from "Europe-Georgia Military, Political and Civil Relations Aspects. "LEPL - David Aghmashenebeli National Defence Academy of Georgia.

Gvenetadze E.,(2009). International Security and International Conflicts. Tbilisi.

Gvenetadze E., (2017). Aspects of International Security. Tbilisi.

PARADOXICAL GLOBALIZATION: AN UPSURGE IN POVERTY AND ECONOMIC DISPARITY IN INDIA

Vishal Rajput (Jamia Millia Islamia, India)

Introduction

The historical epistemology of world politics gave birth to many factors for the conflict. Among all those factors, Globalization is believed as a significant factor, which had the genesis of major conflicts around the world. In the contemporary times, Globalization is just not seen as the political force to essentially remove the trade barriers for the promotion of International Trade but it is actually more than this. It has also helped in strengthening the idea of '*Pax Americana*' and made other historical civilizations and societies subservient to it.

Initially, the process started with economic globalization, which further led to the commencement of its other facets. However, the advent of 'economic facet of globalization' made many catastrophes in one way or other in the international order by the means of force, coercion and influence. Now the globalization has taken such dynamic position where its contours are expanding to indulge every nation within it.

Albeit we cannot ignore its positive impact on the society by withering away the political boundaries to connect the people with each other for the establishment of 'Global Family', massive boost in the economic trade, changing the society with the help of sharing Information and Technology. However, with all these progressive steps, we ought to take into our account of its impact upon the downtrodden and marginalized. We cannot ignore this fact, the globalization also helped in increasing the poverty level and on contrast, prosperity came for the elites at the cost of it. At the same time, it assisted in enhancing the gap within the society where now it is taking the shape of a dichotomy between rich and poor or better to put it in the words of Marx, *Bourgeoisie and Proletariat*.

This paper will try to figure out, first, the advent of Globalization in the International World Order and its optimism to serve the interest of Imperialism. Second, it will analyse the impact of societal transformation in South Asia, which has direct consequences upon India. Third, how India is responding to the challenges of Globalization and in the last, what are the opportunities for India it will be benefited from.

Advent of Globalization in the Global Politics

When the Westphalian World Order came into being, it formalized the creation of nation-state through the Peace Treaties of Westphalia and Osnabruck in 1648, which helped to cease the Thirty Year's War by giving primacy to the idea of **Territoriality, Sovereignty and Autonomy**. The rationale behind putting this treaty on the table was to make an agreement amongst the monarchs of Europe of not interfering into the affairs of each other and will adhere by legitimising the right of rule their own territories and make sure of not violating the treaty in the future. However, this treaty was not rectified by all the powers and could not disseminate beyond the Europe. Nevertheless, with the passage of time, when the power apparatus of imperialist forces were crumbling, it started appealing all the powers beyond the contours of European boundaries and became the universal principle of International Order (Mcgrew, 2014, pp. 22-23). Constitutions took the responsibility to put forward the trajectory for the leaders to run the statecraft and became the guiding book of principles for them. Initially, Westphalian Order demarcated the political boundaries in the backdrop of one of the guiding principles, Sovereignty, where it gave the full autonomy to the state for exclusive, unqualified, and supreme authority over its subjects within its territory. Any big state in terms of military, economy and population will not dictate any small state to adhere by the diktats in the foreign and domestic affairs of that country for its own appeasement. However, the advent of Globalization presented the fundamental challenge to the idea of Sovereignty and critics believed it has the potential to transform the world order where the societal apparatus will be designed in terms of the idea of 'Global Family'.

Globalization gives considerable attention to shift the paradigm from state-centric geopolitics to geo-centric global politics. It derives its inception right from the conference in Bretton wood where it led to the commencement of new Economic World Order. The United States of America and Great Britain where they initially removed their protectionist policies motivated this idea to burgeon the International Trade and urged all the participants to adhere by the rules that will be binding upon in terms of international trade (Steger, 2003, pp. 58-59). The conference culminated with the foundation of three international economic institution namely International Monetary Fund, World Bank formerly International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and World Trade Organization, successor from GATT. Economically, it got the inspiration from the ideology of Neo-Liberalism, which derives its legitimacy from the classical texts of **Adam Smith**'s theory of *Laissez Faire*. However, at the vintage point of time in 1980s, Head of the Governments of the USA and UK vociferously opposed the ideology of Socialism of Keynes and advocated the idea of Globalization for the liberalization of economies to see the dream of Capitalist expansionism (Steger, 2003, p. 61).

Within a decade, the Cold War ended with the downfall of Soviet Union, which was endorsing to the rival's ideology of Neo- Liberalism, Communism. In a meantime, this event legitimized the theory of Neo-liberalism and triumphed worldwide. American Political Scientist Francis Fukuyama in his counter argument to Huntington's "***Clash of Civilizations***" advocated the "Triumph of Capitalism" in his book *"**The end of history and the Last Man**"*.

Since then, economic Globalization followed the trajectory for the Internationalization of Trade and Commerce, which also helped in the enhancement of power projection of Transnational Corporations (TNCs) as a significant stakeholder of economic development, and enlarging the role of aforementioned institutions for the implementation of rules and regulation of International Trade.

However, over a period of time, proponents of globalization desired to make every country the follower of Liberal Economic and Political Order. Globalization which embarked from the European nations, started setting its footprint in the potential regions where South Asia is an important region and its countries have the potential to enlarge the scope of Globalization.

Globalization's impact on societal transformation of South Asia and India

As far as the developing countries are concerned, International economic institutions compelled those countries in one way or other to adhere by "**Structural Adjustment Programme**" (Ashwini Deshpande, 1995) where they were already going through the economic hardships, as most of them were earlier the colonies of the imperial powers. In Asian continent, India was the first country to get the independence from the Britishers and started its economic odyssey from the least of economic standards at that time. Initially, then PM Jawaharlal Nehru decided to take the full control of the major economic assets, as they must be used for the redevelopment of the nation and not for profit making. However, simultaneously he was not critical of giving ownership to small-scale enterprises and assets. He urged the business class of India to invest in those sectors as it too had the valuable share in the nation building. India prospered with a very high growth rate in such a short span of time. Meanwhile all the domestic upsurges in the political apparatus, when the Narsimbha Rao Government came at the helm, his government took the decision to Liberalize, Privatize, Globalize (LPG) the economic policies of the nation and cleared the way for Foreign Direct Investment (Pioneer, 2016). Actually, this paradigm shift in economy did not take place with the intention of concerned stakeholders but under the influence of coercion of Bretton wood Institutions in return of the favours of loans to be sanctioned for India. Undoubtedly, this move helped India to take leverage of the LPG as its arch rival-China, under the leadership of modern economic architect Den Xiaoping started the economic reforms in newly communist regime, and India understood the order of the time and realized that they can no longer be reluctant of the ignore the Neo-Liberalism, caution the India to take cognizance to introspect its economic policies. Since its inception, the so called "License Raj" was abandoned and it led to the disinvestment of the major public industries and assets. Multinational Corporations (MNCs) have been urged to invest in those sectors as well now where they were earlier didn't taken into consideration of Indian policymakers.

The matter of concern is those MNCs were keen to exploit the embedded resources in India which will absolutely make the country progress but at the same time, it will also directly affect the livelihood of all those marginalized section of our society who were dependent upon those resources to fulfil their needs. For the country like India, looking forward for the development and progress of a small section of elites and indemnification for the latter will not be the inclusive development, as they comprise the majority of the country. Since the country is experiencing the Globalization, it affected a lot as take it with itself the demise of Communitarian, up surged the economic disparities between the sections, escalated the graph of Poverty is which still rising and threatening the societal apparatus.

The scholarship of the great economist, **Samir Amin** is much relevant to address the catastrophe of Globalization where he believed that the world is divided between *core* and *periphery* (Amin, 1974, pp. 9-26). By indicating core, he meant to highlight the prosperity of the economically advanced nations where they have the access to every prosperity and on the other hand, the periphery is being exploiting to fulfil the interest of core, periphery is living at the verge of basic subsistence level on the international standard. The former is advancing at the cost of latter. Albeit, his '**Core-Periphery Theory**' dealt on the global level, but in the contemporary times, the same could be seen in the India's context where the few rich are accumulating the wealth at the cost of depriving poor. According to Oxfam India's report 77 percent of the wealth generated was corner to 10 percent elites, whereas half of the population just achieved one percent of increment in their wealth (Himanshu, n.d.).

The contemporary policies of the government is also the matter of concern as it seems not to be very cautious to acknowledge the growing inequality in India which is also being reflected through the rising poverty in India. It is very interesting to include the pretension of Gaytri Spivak, where she propounded whether the subaltern can outrightly speak against the economic oppression of the Globalization. As far as the Red Corridor is concerned, great scholars like Arundhati Roy and Nandini Sundar are raising the voice of the apartheid being given to the Adivasis by the crony capitalist MNCs. Even by adhering to the sustainable development, government is also leveraging their personal profit by using the power apparatus against the poor and Adivasis sometimes in the name of Naxalism. Their issues are not being addressed in the proper and legitimate manner before the concerned authorities and most of the times they victimize due to partly their illiteracy but more often by the evil practices of corporate-government nexus.

Moreover, in the recent times, the outbreak of COVID 19 has further deteriorated the conditions of poor and downtrodden as they are the most vulnerable section of our society to be affected. The lockdown being implemented to curb the outbreak of virus has already impacted hugely to the economy of all major economies of the world. In India, worsening of the situation has made the working class anxious of their lives and future. Labours, daily wage workers and migrant workers had started migrating back to their villages and hometowns from the sites of works and apprehended to even came back after the retreat of lockdown. At the same time, the prevailing migration has apprehended the government too where many of those are heavily dependent upon the migrant workers as far as the construction work and ilk is concerned.

Conclusion: Opportunities for India

Undoubtedly, India has taken myriad advantages from the globalization phenomenon. It has uplifted many millions from the web of poverty, increased the standard of living, burgeon the middle class and offered many employment opportunities to the people. However, the unequal privileges enjoyed by few and deprivation of others will not serve its purpose and will receive severe backlash from the unsatisfied section of the society. There is the utmost need for the country like India to specially focuses upon the most vulnerable sections of the society to not get extinct and help them to cope up with this global phenomenon. Nowadays, farmer's suicide has become a la mode where more than sixty thousand suicides have been taken place in Maharashtra alone with an average ten suicides per day (Sainath, 2014). The undergoing farmer's death is the direct consequences of the prevailing globalization and its associated priorities of the society on manufacturing and services. Hence, it is the high time to save the farmer's lives a priority and make action plan to not resort to suicides.

As far as education is concerned, in these days, public funded institutions are running out of money and struggling to keep intact their academic research through various sponsorships and funds and minimal budget offered by government. India's premier institutions like Jawaharlal Nehru University (Sharma, 2019), University of Delhi (Bhatia, 2019), Jamia Millia Islamia, Aligarh Muslim University are either running out of funds to even pay their staff's salary or facing the acute finance crunch. Those institutions have always proved their significance through getting top positions in the national and international rankings (NIRF, 2020).

Moreover, with respect to health and medical services, India is in dire need to reinvigorate the presence of public hospitals and the schemes to cover a larger section of the society because due to their minimal pay scale or wages, they are not in the position to get private medical services. India has already acquired substantial attention in catering a larger population and doing cutting-edge research in their public funded research medical institutes and universities. The country can expand the hitherto capacity of the public institutes and establish some other institutes on the similar basis in other regions. Establishment of several other All India Institute of Medical Sciences from New Delhi is a welcoming move and needs special attention to cater the growing level of patents and their difficulties in migrating to the capital. Besides, more people are able to get good and cheap treatment from those institutes which are actually breaking the hegemony of private medical hospitals.

Therefore, taking the socialist trajectory of development and prioritizing the key sectors like Health, Education, and Poverty reduction really helped the country to alleviate itself from the clutches of poverty. After a while, the advent of globalization was received with the higher expectations of assisting the nations in their economic development. However, the asymmetric fulfilment of globalization's promise was faced with severe backlash. Nevertheless, globalization has the potential to correct and provide a level playing field to all where everyone would have enjoyed the fruit of it. Particularly, India has the potential to efficiently utilize the globalization in holistic manner in its developmental plan.

References

Amin, S. (1974). Accumulation and Development: A Theoretical Model. *Review of African Political Economy*.

Ashwini Deshpande, P. S. (1995, December 9). *Structural Adjustment in India-A Critical Assessment*. Retrieved from Economic and Political Weekly: https://www.epw.in/journal/1995/49/special-articles/structural-adjustment-india-critical-assessment.html

Bhatia, S. (2019, June 2). *If AAP govt doesn't release funds, 12 Delhi University colleges run out of salaries*. Retrieved from The Print: https://theprint.in/india/governance/if-aap-govt-doesnt-release-funds-12-delhi-university-colleges-run-out-of-salaries/244695/

Himanshu, P. (n.d.). *India: Extreme Inquality in Numbers*. Retrieved from Oxfam India: https://www.oxfam.org/en/india-extreme-inequality-numbers

Mcgrew, A. (2014). Globalization and Global Politics. In S. S. John Baylis, *The Globalizationof World Politics* (pp. 1-391). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

NIRF. (2020). *Indian Ranking 2020*. Retrieved from National Institutional Ranking Framework: https://www.nirfindia.org/2020/UniversityRanking.html

Pioneer, T. (2016, March 14). *Remembering 'LPG' Revolution*. Retrieved from Centre for Civil Society: https://ccs.in/remembering-lpg-revolution

Sainath, P. (2014, July 21). *Maharashtra crosses 60,000 farm suicide*. Retrieved from People's Archive of Rural Indi: https://ruralindiaonline.org/articles/maharashtra-crosses-60000-farm-suicides/

Sharma, K. (2019, November 20). *JNU tells govt fee hike unavoidable due to fund deficit, but faculty alleges mismanagement*. Retrieved from The Print: https://theprint.in/india/jnu-tells-govt-fee-hike-unavoidable-due-to-fund-deficit-but-faculty-alleges-mismanagement/323633/#:~:text=New%20Delhi%3A%20The%20Jawaharlal%20Nehru,to%20increase%20the%20hostel%20fee.

Steger, M. B. (2003). *Globalization: A Very Short Intrduction* . Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Steger, M. B. (2003). *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford : Oxford University Press.

Global Inequalities
11. ICOPEC 2020: International Conference of Political Economy
June 24-26, 2020, İstanbul, Turkey | www.icopec.org |
Abstracts & Proceedings
Edited by: Orkan Köyağasıoğlu

COVID-19 AND THE END OF THE ROAD FOR NEOLIBERALISM

M. Mustafa Erdoğdu (Marmara University)

Abstract

The viral pandemic COVID-19, which can be labeled as a black swan event, posed a global public health dilemma. The virus is singled out by scientists by its extraordinary rate of spread and death rate. More than 8.2 million people had been confirmed as infected, with over 444,000 deaths across the World in mid-June. This paper suggests that one of the reasons why this pandemic could hardly be contained is very much related to the dominance of the neoliberal economic paradigm or individualistic market fundamentalism at a large part of the word. This is exactly the approach that should be avoided during a pandemic. A socially desirable outcome, on the other hand, requires an all-of-government approach to design measures to improve consistency, coordination, and communication to contain the spread of viral infections. This paper argues that the 2008-2009 Great Recession had revealed how deep the defects of neoliberalism are and COVID-19 made it clear that neoliberalism is unlikely to produce socially desirable outcomes. Therefore, there is a need for a paradigm shift.

Keywords: *COVID-19, neo-liberal economics, crises, paradigm shift*

1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic is an unprecedented global health crisis in living memory, causing enormous damage to the health, employment, and well-being of people. COVID-19 infection was first reported in December 2019 in Wuhan, the seventh-largest city of China. The epidemic spread rapidly in January and early February. At that time, the vast majority of COVID-19 cases worldwide were in China. Within weeks, it was classified by the World Health Organization (WHO) as an epidemic of international significance.

The main strategy of the Chinese and most other governments has been to ‘flatten the curve’, so that countries’ health systems can cope with new infections by tracing, testing, isolating and treating those infected until such time that an approved vaccine or ‘cure’ is available to all (Chowdhury & Jomo, 2020, April 28). In response to ‘flatten the curve’, governments have imposed border closures, travel restrictions, and quarantine (Nicola et al., 2020, April, 17). More than a third of the global population being placed on lockdown. Lockdowns inevitably have adverse economic impacts, especially for small businesses that rely heavily on continuous sales (Noor & Jomo, 2020, March 26).

China was the first country affected to control the virus at a time when much of the rest of the world is facing the worst virus. On the other hand, Western countries that initially could not understand the severity of the outbreak have been hit hard. In the third week of March, the number of deaths from Covid-19 in Italy exceeded the number of deaths in China, and in the fourth week of March, the United States became the new pandemic epicenter. As of mid-June, more than 8.2 million people have been confirmed infected, with more than 444,000 deaths worldwide (WHO, 2020, June 18). The COVID-19 pandemic is now generally considered to be more threatening than any other recent viral epidemic (Chowdhury & Jomo, 2020, April 28). The end of the pandemic remains uncertain.

In addition to dire health consequences, the first dramatic effect of the pandemic was observed in financial markets, including stock, bond, and commodity markets. In other words, the COVID-19 epidemic has caused massive and far-reaching economic cost burdens[1] for all nations (Barua, 2020, April 1). Developing countries are particularly at risk because few resources are available for the new threat and its consequences (Chowdhury & Jomo, 2020, March 24). Although the impact of the pandemic varies from country to country, it will most likely increase poverty and inequality globally (UNDP, 2020).

According to the OECD economic outlook for June 2020, in the scenario where the COVID 19 epidemic is under control and the second wave will not be experienced, it is predicted that the world economy will contract 6 percent this year and will expand 5.2 percent next year. However, if the second wave came in the COVID-19 outbreak, it was estimated that the global economy will shrink 7.6 percent this year and will grow only 2.8 percent in 2021. This makes the Great Lockdown the worst recession since the Great Depression, and far worse than the Global Financial Crisis.

We can observe that there is a considerable effort from the leaders of many countries to resume business as usual regardless of its potentially lethal consequences. As Popov and Jomo (2020, June 4) suggest, it is not only slow but also dangerous to rely solely on market forces to do what is necessary. Alternatively, governments can guide, facilitate, and accelerate desired changes through appropriate relief and industrial policy measures. What is suggested here is outside the scope of neoliberalism (or individualistic market fundamentalism). However, we expect a paradigm shift in the coming years that will reduce neoliberalism and potentially open up more space for a more active state to increase social well-being.

The next section will briefly discuss the rise of neoliberalism since the 1970s. The following section will make the connection between the 2008-2009 Great Recession and neoliberalism's fall from grace. Section four will investigate if neoliberalism coming to an end. The final section provides concluding remarks.

2. Neoliberalism and Its Rise

The core of neoliberalism has been a strong belief in unfettered free markets to ensure sustained economic growth, which, in turn, would "trickle-down" and improve the welfare of wide segments of society. The key principles associated with neoliberal economic policies are trade liberalization, privatization, and financial deregulation (Onis & Kutlay, 2020). Neoliberalism emphasizes the necessity and desirability of transferring economic power and control from governments to private markets. After the demise of the adjustable exchange

[1] China, which is the first country effected from the Corona virus, reported that its first quarter GDP contracted by 6.8% in 2020 from a year ago (Peters, 2020, May 7).

rate pegs of Bretton Woods (BW) in the early 1970s, this perspective dominated policymaking in the West and spread around the world after the Cold War (Centeno & Cohen, 2012, p. 318).

The central and defining characteristic of this transformation seems to be the abolition of capital controls and the increasing deregulation of financial markets. In the second half of the 1970s, the supply-side approach emerged, on the assumption that economic problems could be best solved by the market mechanism and that the state's intervention in the economy could only worsen the situation, emerged as if the best solution to the stagflation that started after the oil crises. Supply-side economics proposed monetary policy as the main tool for influencing economic events (Erdogdu, 2009).

The established opinion took the view that the best formula was the unrestricted free market, a limited role of the state, and integration into the world economy. This formula has come to be known as the "Washington Consensus", through which many economies abolished virtually all restrictions on cross-border capital flows. The increasing concentration of market power in the hands of oligopolies, if not monopolies, has been made possible to a large extent by allegedly neoliberal reforms, a deterioration in the concentration of wealth and gross inequalities in the world (Jomo & Chowdhury, 2019, May 7).

In line with IMF and World Bank recommendations, many countries have lifted their capital controls one after the other. With the abolition of capital controls, financial capital gained a great fluidity and a punishment capacity. As a result, how economic decisions affect capital movements has become an increasingly critical issue. As a very important consequence of this situation, governments tend to meet the demands of finance capital at the expense of neglecting the problems of ordinary people and the real economy (Erdogdu, 2018).

The US and other powerful financial interests successfully 'globalized' financial liberalization and financialization in the rest of the world, pressuring economies to lift exchange rate controls and open financial markets to foreign banks and investors (Jomo & Hui, 2019, June 11). Implementation of such policies in Latin America after the debt crises of the early 1980s led to economic stagnation and a lost decade.

Sub-Saharan Africa lost a quarter-century to such policies, while the former Soviet Union and much of Eastern Europe lost real and potential output in the 1990s on a scale greater than in the Great Depression of the 1930s (Popov & Jomo, 2019, November 19). Such policies lead also to Japan's financial 'big bang' in 1990-1991 and the 1997-1998 East Asian financial crises (Jomo & Hui, 2019, June 11).

Several key emerging economies experienced subsequent shocks in a new era of financial globalization due to the unrestricted short-term capital flows. A major crisis occurred almost every year in one of the leading emerging economies (Turkey and Mexico, 1994; Argentina, 1995; the Asian financial crisis, 1997; Russia, 1998; Brazil, 1999; Turkey and Argentina, 2001). As a result, the single-minded neoliberal paradigm has been seriously questioned (Onis & Kutlay, 2020).

3. The 2008-2009 Great Recession and Neoliberalism's Fall From Grace

Economic growth is supposed to be the tide that lifts all boats. However, as the last World Bank chief economist, Pinelopi Koujianou Goldberg recently observes, "There are plenty of examples, especially in African countries, where wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few… even when the tide rises, only very few boats rise. Growth doesn't trickle down and doesn't improve the lot of the poor" (Jomo, 2020, May 19).

The economic fiction that opening capital accounts would result in the required net financial flows from the 'capital-rich' industrialized countries of the North to the 'low-capital' developing countries of the South has been disproved. International financial liberalization has enabled further capital outflows from most developing countries, depriving them of the resources essential to the development of their economies (Jomo & Chowdhury, 2019, April 30).

There was false confidence in the power of free markets to regulate themselves and create prosperity for all. For this reason, in particular, the last decade has been marked by a series of broad-based economic crises and negative shocks, starting with the global financial crisis of 2008-2009, followed by the European sovereign debt crisis of 2010-2012 and the global realignment of commodities from 2014-2016 (UN, 2018, p. vii).

The financial crisis of 2007-2008 demonstrated that financial markets tend to fail. Stiglitz (2010) makes it clear that what happened was a systemic failure put into place by failure to correctly estimate the dangers of deregulation. The global financial crisis of 2008 has loosened neoliberalism's hold on policy, with many suggesting that its policies were responsible for the collapse (e.g. see Cohan[2], 2009, Morgenson & Rosner 2011[3], Sorkin 2010[4], Stiglitz 2010[5]). The crisis and ensuing Great Recession may have shaken neoliberalism's supremacy, but it remains unchallenged by serious alternatives and continues to shape post-2008 policy (Centeno & Cohen, 2012, p. 318).

4. COVID-19 and Neoliberalism's Fall from Grace

According to Roubini (2020, March 25), the COVID-19 pandemic triggered the sharpest and deepest economic contraction in the history of capitalism. Bhusal (2020, p. 739) and Adams (2020, March 26) make the important point that most of the problems that we have witnessed during this pandemic are not caused by COVID-19 itself, but by dysfunctional political and social systems built on the foundation of neoliberal

[2] Cohan (2009) vividly documents the mix of arrogance, greed, recklessness, and pettiness that leeds to the collaps of 86-year-old brokerage house Bear Stearns.
[3] Morgenson and Rosner (2011) reveals the secrets of the plutocrats and politicians whose greed and recklessness threatened the foundations of capitalism.
[4] Sorkin (2010) provides an account of the 2008-2009 Great Recession and reveals that even the largest and most prestigious financial institutions may collapse and almost took the entire economy with them.
[5] Stiglitz (2010) documents that overleveraged banks, a shoddy mortgage industry, predatory lending and unregulated trading contributed to the meltdown.

corporate capitalism. The arrival of COVID-19 magnified pre-existing vulnerabilities. In the words of Isaković (2020, March 23), the COVID-19 pandemic has only "exposed the toxic effects of a system that has for far too long dominated every aspect of our societies."

COVID-19 did not hit a prosperous world economy. At the start of 2020, the World economy was already plunged into the 'great stagnation' following the 2008-2009 Great Recession (Saad-Filho, 2020, May 29). At the end of September 2019, the global debt stood at a record $253 trillion (Parmar & Bhardwaj, 2020, April 10). By disrupting economic activity and reducing incomes, the pandemic is a new cause of impoverishment and limits the ability of vulnerable households to escape and stay out of poverty (Chowdhury & Jomo, 2020, March 24).

The pandemic after four decades of neoliberalism had exhausted the capacities of the state in the name of the 'superior efficiency' of the market, fostered deindustrialization through the 'globalization' of production, and built fragile financial structures (Saad-Filho, 2020, May 29). The result was that the US and the UK could not even produce enough face masks and personal protective equipment for their health staff, let alone ventilators to keep their hospitalized population alive (Saad-Filho, 2020, May 29).

Instead of rapidly imposing a lockdown that would reduce the loss of life, governments of the US, the UK, and Brazil attempted to enforce a strategy of so-called 'herd immunity'. This strategy would inevitably lead to the elimination of the elderly, the weak, and those with fragile health (Saad-Filho, 2020, May 29). Managing structural shifts were generally more successful in East Asia as costs and benefits were generally better shared (Popov & Jomo, 2020, March 19). While the West fumbled, some East Asian governments like China, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Vietnam, and Kerela[6] could receive appraisals from WHO for their COVID-19 responses.

5. Concluding Remarks

Even though the validity and benefits of neoliberal claims for the society as a whole were often denied, neoliberalism has been still the dominant economic paradigm. However, especially after the great recession of 2008-2009, it started to lose ground fast. With most economies, more open and unequal than ever before near term economic prospects are bleaker than ever. Years of spending cuts due to neoliberal policies have undermined public health care, not only in developing countries but also in developed economies. However, the dominance of neoliberal economics can be said close to the end. Indeed, we may even say that failure to cope with the COVID-19 pandemic is probably the last big nail in the coffin of neoliberalism.

In times of crisis, where pessimism is prevalent, a strong stimulus is needed to initiate virtuous cycles. Spontaneous market forces alone will not generate necessary investments. The state may provide the necessary finance to stimulate the economy. If the overall severity of these stimulants exceeds the overall severity of the stimulants that cause the vicious circle, the severity of the current crisis will diminish and the economy will gain momentum. What is proposed here goes beyond the framework of neoliberalism. However, we expect a

[6] Kerala state in southwestern India, for example, has become "a model state in the fight against COVID-19".

paradigm shift in the coming years that downgrades individualistic market fundamentalism. Although this change seems unavoidable, it remains to be seen whether it will be more democratic or authoritarian.

References

Adams, V. (2020, March 26). Disasters and capitalism … and COVID-19. Science, Medicine, and Anthropology. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from http://somatosphere.net/2020/disaster-capitalism-covid19.html/

Barua, S. (2020, April 1). Understanding Coronanomics: The economic implications of the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. Munich Personal RePEc Archieve. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/99693/1/MPRA_paper_99693.pdf

Bhusal, M. (2020, May). The World After COVID-19: An Opportunity For a New Beginning. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, *10*(5), 735-741.

Centeno, M. A., & Cohen, J. N. (2012). The Arc of Neoliberalism. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 38, 317-340. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-081309-150235

Chowdhury, A., & Jomo, K. S. (2020, April 28). All-of-Government, Whole-of-Society Involvement Needed to Fight Virus. Inter Press Service News Agency. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from http://www.ipsnews.net/2020/04/government-whole-society-involvement-needed-fight-virus/

Chowdhury, A., & Jomo, K. S. (2020, March 24). Stronger UN Leadership Needed to Cope with Coronavirus Threat. Inter Press Service News Agency. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from http://www.ipsnews.net/2020/03/stronger-un-leadership-needed-cope-coronavirus-threat/

Cohan, W. D. (2009). *House of Cards: A Tale of Hubris and Wretched Excess on Wall Street*. New York: Anchor Books.

Erdoğdu, M. M. (2009). Neo-liberal İktisatta Sonun Başlangıcı ve Keynezyen İktisadın Reenkarnasyonu [The Beginning of the End for the Neo-liberal Economics and the Reincarnation of Keynesian Economics]. *Toplum ve Demokrasi, 3*(6-7), May-December, 1-40.

Erdoğdu, M. M. (2018, December). Enhanced Keynesian Economics for Overcoming Financial Crises. In *Global Economy, Economic Crises, and Recessions* (pp. 131-148), S. Mavroudeas, A. Soydan, & T. Altun (Eds.), Londra: IJOPEC Publication No: 2018/40. ISBN: 978-1-912503-61-2.

Isaković, N. P. (2020, March 23). COVID-19: What has COVID-19 Taught Us about Neoliberalism? The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from https://www.wilpf.org/covid-19-what-has-covid-19-taught-us-about-neoliberalism/#

Jomo, K. S. (2020, May 19). Covid-19 Straw Breaks Free Trade Camel's Back. Inter Press Service News Agency. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from http://www.ipsnews.net/2020/05/covid-19-straw-breaks-free-trade-camels-back/

Jomo, K. S., & Chowdhury, A. (2019, April 30). Coping With World Bank-Led Financialization. Inter Press Service News Agency. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from http://www.ipsnews.net/2019/04/coping-world-bank-led-financialization/

Jomo, K. S., & Chowdhury, A. (2019, May 7). Neoliberal Reforms Strengthening Monopoly Power and Abuses. Inter Press Service News Agency. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from http://www.ipsnews.net/2019/05/neoliberal-reforms-strengthening-monopoly-power-abuses/

Jomo, K. S., & Hui, M. L. M. (2020, June 11). Driving Financialization. Inter Press Service News Agency. Retrieved June 14, 2020, from http://www.ipsnews.net/2019/06/driving-financialization/

Morgenson, G., & Rosner, J. (2011). *Reckless Endangerment: How Outsized Ambition, Greed, and Corruption Led to Economic Armageddon*. New York: Times Books.

Nicola, M., Alsafi, Z., Sohrabi, C., Kerwan, A., Al-Jabir, A., Iosifidis, C., Agha, M., & Agha, R. (2020, April, 17). The socio-economic implications of the coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19): A review. *International Journal of Surgery*. Published online 2020 Apr 17. doi: 10.1016/j.ijsu.2020.04.018

Noor, N. M., & Jomo K. S. (2020, March 26). East Asian Lessons for Controlling Covid-19. Inter Press Service News Agency. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from http://www.ipsnews.net/2020/03/east-asian-lessons-controlling-covid-19/

OECD (2020). OECD Economic Outlook, June 2020: The world economy on a tightrope. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Onis, Z., & Kutlay, M. (2020). The New Age of Hybridity and Clash of Norms: China, BRICS, and Challenges of Global Governance in a Postliberal International Order. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 1-20.

Parmar, I., & Bhardwaj, A. (2020, Apr 10). We can build a better world after Covid-19 by dragging the state back into public services. USApp-American Politics and Policy Blog. Blog Entry. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/104407/1/Parmar_we_can_build_a_better_world_after_covid_published.pdf

Peters, M. A. (2020, May 7). The disorder of things: Quarantine unemployment, the decline of neoliberalism, and the Covid-19 lockdown crash (Editorial). *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, DOI: 10.1080/00131857.2020.1759190

Popov, V., & Jomo K. S. (2020, June 4). Covid-19 Recessions: This Time It's Really Different. Inter Press Service News Agency. Retrieved June 14, 2020, from. http://www.ipsnews.net/2020/06/covid-19-recessions-time-really-different/

Popov, V., & Jomo K. S. (2019, November 19). Liberation, Not Liberalization, Responsible for China's Economic Miracle. Inter Press Service News Agency. Retrieved March 26, 2020, from http://www.ipsnews.net/2019/11/liberation-not-liberalization-responsible-chinas-economic-miracle/

Popov, V., & Jomo K. S. (2020, March 19). State Intervention Necessary to Overcome Covid-19 Threats. Inter Press Service News Agency. Retrieved March 26, 2020, from http://www.ipsnews.net/2020/03/state-intervention-necessary-overcome-covid-19-threats/

Roubini, N. (2020, March 25). Coronavirus pandemic has delivered the fastest, deepest economic shock in history. *The Guardian.* Retrieved March 26, 2020, from https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/mar/25/coronavirus-pandemic-has-delivered-the-fastest-deepest-economic-shock-in-history

Saad-Filho, A. (2020, May 29). From COVID-19 to the End of Neoliberalism. *Critical Sociology (Eugene).* Retrieved May 30, 2020, from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7262736/

Sorkin, A. R. (2010). *Too Big to Fail: The Inside Story of How Wall Street and Washington Fought to Save the Financial System—and Themselves*. New York: Penguin Books.

Stiglitz, J. E. (2010). *Freefall: America, Free Markets, and the Sinking of the World Economy*. New York: Norton.

UN (2018). *The World Economic Situation and Prospects 2018*, United Nations: New York.

UNDP (2020). Socio-economic impact of COVID-19. United Nations Development Programme. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/coronavirus/socio-economic-impact-of-covid-19.html

WHO (2020, June 18). WHO Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) Dashboard. World Health Organization. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from https://covid19.who.int/?gclid=Cj0KCQjwoaz3BRDnARIsAF1RfLddGFtGo4AOAFeaQnOohvb25niW4sR_DpPviq6-thWHb7dmP7SZSqkaAnTMEALw_wcB

Global Inequalities

Globalization is characterized by a systemic interconnection in which what hapI-nequality has been on the rise across the globe and living conditions are vastly unequal between different places in the world. Currently, the richest 1% own 45% of the world's wealth. The consequence is that some people are able to enjoy healthy, wealthy, happy lives whilst others continue to live in ill-health, poverty and sorrow. Rapid economic growth in Asia (particularly China and India) has lifted many people out of extreme poverty. Nevertheless, the wealth divide is steadily growing. According to Oxfam, between 2009 and 2018, the number of billionaires it took to equal the wealth of the world's poorest 50 percent fell from 380 to 26. Those with extreme wealth have often accumulated their fortunes on the backs of people around the world who work for poor wages and under dangerous conditions. Women are scarce at the top and overrepresented at the bottom. Gender discrimination in the workplace contributes significantly to these persistent economic divides. There are also large differences in wealth across racial groups. Long-standing racial discrimination in many forms, including in education, hiring, and pay practices contribute to persistent earnings gaps. Inequalities have dramatically strengthened the economic and political power of those individuals at the top.

This conference aims to identify the main drivers behind the widespread increase of inequalities and how they can be reversed to achieve a level playing field.

ISBN 978-1-913809-00-3

9 781913 809003

IJOPEC PUBLICATION
London ijopec.co.uk Istanbul

ABSTRACTS & PROCEEDINGS
11. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY
24-26 JUNE 2020, İSTANBUL / TURKEY

ICOPEC 2020