

Czech University of Life Sciences Prague

Faculty of Economics and Management

Department of Humanities



Bachelor Thesis

**Political Economy and Social Movements: Georgia and
the Rose Revolution**

Anna Tsenteradze

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BACHELOR THESIS ASSIGNMENT

Anna Tsenteradze

Economics Policy and Administration
Business Administration

Thesis title

Political Economy and Social Movements: Georgia and the Rose Revolution

Objectives of thesis

This thesis will consider the connections between social movements and political economy using the example of the 2003 'Rose Revolution' in Georgia. Alongside traditional political actors like states and parties, social movements are increasingly considered as important drivers of both political and economic change. A political economy approach to social movements raises various significant questions, including what material interests drive people to participate in such movements, what resources are available to movements, what economic models and ideas are implicit and explicit in their goals and demands, and the longer term consequences of such movements for economic policy.

The so-called 'Rose Revolution' was a series of protests following disputed elections in November 2003 that led to a change of government in Georgia, and a broader change in direction and policy. The thesis will focus on these events, considering the motivations of participants, their explicit and implicit economic goals, and how the events are remembered today.

Methodology

Develop a literature review on the question of social movements and political economy. Case study research into the 2003 'Rose Revolution' in Georgia, based on documentary analysis and interviews.

The proposed extent of the thesis

40-50 pages

Keywords

Social Movements, Political Economy, Georgia, Protests

Recommended information sources

AMENTA, Edwin, et al. The Political Consequences of Social Movements. Annual Review of Sociology. 2010. 36:287–307

SITRIN, Marina, 'Rethinking Social Movements with Societies in Movement', in Dinerstein, ed. Social Sciences for an Other Politics, London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016.

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TARROW, Sidney. Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Expected date of thesis defence

2019/20 SS – FEM

The Bachelor Thesis Supervisor

Daniel Rosenhaft Swain, Ph.D., MA

Supervising department

Department of Humanities

Electronic approval: 15. 10. 2019

prof. PhDr. Michal Lošťák, Ph.D.

Head of department

Electronic approval: 30. 10. 2019

Ing. Martin Pelikán, Ph.D.

Dean

Prague on 21. 03. 2020

Declaration

I declare that I have worked on my bachelor thesis titled "Political Economy and Social Movements: Georgia and the Rose Revolution" by myself and I have used only the sources mentioned at the end of the thesis. As the author of the bachelor thesis, I declare that the thesis does not break copyrights of any their person.

In Prague on 23.03.2020

Anna Tsenteradze

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Daniel Swain for his help, advice, support and patience during my work on the thesis. I would also like to thank all (anonymous and non-anonymous) respondents, for their time and honest answers.

Political Economy and Social Movements: Georgia and the Rose Revolution

Abstract

This thesis defines connections between political economics and social movements. It describes types of societies and political ideologies. It uses the Relative Deprivation Theory to explain the motivations and interests of protestors. The research is about one of the Colour Revolutions in Post-Soviet countries and is designed to evaluate factors, which influenced decisions made by civil society during the pre-revolution period. The research is based on qualitative research methodology.

Furthermore, interviews have been conducted, the aim was to find out the pre-revolutionary environment, key factors of willingness to change the regime and the role of social movements for country's economic, political and social development. I have interviewed Koba Khabazi (a member of parliament who participated in the revolution), Giorgi Meladze (a member of the main social movement "Kmara"), Bakar Berekashvili (political analyst) and Marina Garishvili (associate professor, historian and jurist), as well as 3 anonymous respondents.

Keywords: Social Movements, Political Economy, Georgia, Protests, Civil Society, Social Movements in Post-Soviet Countries, Revolutions, Democratization.

Politická Ekonomie a Sociální Hnutí: Gruzie a Revoluce Růží

Abstrakt

Bakalářská práce definuje vztah mezi politickou ekonomikou a sociálními hnutími. Charakterizuje typy společností a politických ideologií, přičemž využívá teorii relativní deprivace k explikaci motivace a zájmů protestujících. Výzkum se dotýká jedné z barevných revolucí v postsovětských zemích a je určen k vyhodnocení faktorů, které ovlivňovaly rozhodnutí občanské společnosti v období před revolucí. Práce je založena na metodologii kvalitativního výzkumu.

Dále byly vedeny rozhovory s cílem popsat předrevoluční prostředí, klíčové faktory vedoucí k ochotě změnit režim, a roli sociálních hnutí pro hospodářský, politický a sociální rozvoj země. Rozhovory byly zprostředkovány s Kobou Khabazim (poslancem gruzínského parlamentu, jenž se osobně účastnil revoluce), Giorgi Meladze (členem hlavního sociálního hnutí „Kmara“), Bakarem Berekashvili (politickým analytikem) a Marinou Garishvili (docentkou, historičkou a právníčkou). Zapojeni byli také tři anonymní respondenti.

Klíčová slova: sociální hnutí, politická ekonomie, Gruzie, protesty, občanská společnost, sociální hnutí v postsovětských zemích, revoluce, demokratizace.

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1. Introduction

The thesis is focused on the transformation of the regime, for which social movements play a crucial role. In order to find out what kind of regime exists at any given time, we should consider various economic, political and social aspects, as well as the nearest history of a country. In case of Georgia, the Soviet Union has left its scar. For the deeper analysis, inherited Soviet political and economic system will be discussed.

The research aims to analyse the societies, its habitués and characterized nature. What driving factors caused the willingness to change the regime. Political relations are related to power. The way the government or political elites use their power can tell us a lot about a country. Furthermore, the goal is to observe how society behaves when the abuse of power takes place. Existence of stereotypical systems will help to analyse a type of society, whether it is open or closed.

Relative Deprivation theory explains the motivations of different people in the development of a social movement. I will use the theory and try to explain what the reasons and motivational aspects of the protest were.

The main research question of the thesis:

- what is the connection between social movements and political economy?

For better analyses of the connection, interviews will be conducted. The interviews will evaluate pre-revolutionary political, economic and social environment, type of society at that time in Georgia, the reasons behind the protest and goals of the protest. Finally, the result of the revolution will be examined. Moreover, whether the regime was changed or not. If it did, what were key factors and how did the country develop after it.

2. Objectives and Methodology

2.1. Objectives

This thesis will consider the connections between social movements and political economy using the example of the 2003 'Rose Revolution' in Georgia. Alongside traditional political actors like states and parties, social movements are increasingly considered as important drivers of both political and economic change. A political economy approach to social movements raises various significant questions, including what material interests drive people to participate in such movements, what resources are available to movements, what economic models and ideas are implicit and explicit in their goals and demands, and the longer-term consequences of such movements for economic policy.

The so-called 'Rose Revolution' was a series of protests following disputed elections in November 2003 that led to a change of government in Georgia, and a broader change in direction and policy. The thesis will focus on these events, considering the motivations of participants, their explicit and implicit economic goals, and how the events are remembered today.

2.2. Methodology

Develop a literature review on the question of social movements and political economy. Case study research into the 2003 'Rose Revolution' in Georgia, based on documentary analysis and interviews.

Interviews were conducted with two groups of respondents: anonymous and non-anonymous (expert) interviewees. I have used semi-structured interviews in order to ask participants any other additional questions. The interviews have been conducted via the voice call, as all the participants were in Georgia.

In the empirical part of the thesis, depending on the deepened interviews, pre-revolutionary factors and environment, political elites and civil society will be assessed. The role of the social movements (especially "Kmara") will be described.

3. Literature Review

3.1. Politics

“Politics is a combination of the Greek words "polis" (city-state) and "techné" (science) meaning the science of governing the state” (Hansen, 2006). In the modern sense, politics encompasses all ideologies, strategies or activities that have to do with the management of the state and its relations with other states (Mclughlin, 2016).

Finding out the true meaning of Politics is one of the hardest analytical issues. Although, according to the foremost common definition, Politics is the study of power, the power that humans exert over one another. Politics as a discipline asks questions about power, what it is, who should have it and under what conditions, when should it be exercised in what way and for whom. More importantly, if it is fair or effective (Maitah, 2013). When the power is not used fairly in politics, the hope is left for the civil society. Politics in its meaning contains various ideologies, economic factors, civilians, their interests, social movements and different types of societies. In the further chapters, I will try to figure the importance of each of the mentioned aspects, sources of impacts of the people and on the people.

There are two ways to view politics, as an Arena or a Process. From Arena point of view politics is defined by the locus of its operations, within a particular location, that is, the state. It is more of a Public Affairs rather than private. The Process sees politics as a way how people interact with each other. It is more concerned about power relations (Heywood, 2013).

As mentioned, politics and political relations are strongly related to power. The study of power was born in ancient Greece in the current form of political theory. The philosophy of Aristotle includes the famous line: “*man is a political animal*”, meaning that it is our nature to live in societies and to have control over one another, but how we arrange such things is up to us. Over a millennium later the birth of liberalism changed the face of political thinking forever. Social contract theorists such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau thought about how power was wielded in their societies, in which Kings claimed it was their right to govern. The Social contract theorists argued that a government is only legitimate if the people want to be ruled. In effect, these thinkers flipped the political

world on its head. Governments – they argued – have no automatic right to govern, rather the people have a right to be governed in the manner of their choosing.

Civic power can have different sources and I think it is important to understand what they are. One of the main drivers, for example, is wealth, as financial well-being provides the ability to purchase outcomes and buy virtually any kind of power. Control of the means of force whether in police or militia can also lead to the consolidation of power, as it allows means of force to be regulated. There is also physical force and potential for aggression. Another form of power is state action, government. This is the use of law and bureaucracy to compel people to do or not to contain things. In a democracy, for example, we the people, theoretically, give the government its power through elections. In a dictatorship, state power emerges from the threat of force consent of the governed. Furthermore, norms and ideas are considered as types of power, as it is considered to be important what other people think is okay. Norms and ideas can surely make people change behaviour and perhaps even change laws. An idea of racial equality can generate a tremendous amount of power if it motivates enough people to change their motion or thinking (Emerson, 2016).

3.1.1. Political Ideologies

In a broad sense, politics covers everything from establishing the principles and rules for the organization and operation of any social entity and ensuring its enforcement. As a result of the description and systematization of these issues, a political ideology emerges that describes the style of state management and society, the relationships and interdependencies between the state/government and the individual.

Stanley and Goodwin argue that range of ideas or ideologies that appeal to particular classes of people are likely to be limited by their material interests (Goodwin, 2013). Therefore, understanding why people have certain political ideology or belief will help analyze the principle of social movements. Also, from another perspective, understanding social movements will help to recognize their political and economic impact.

In general, any classification of political ideologies and trends is only conditional and reflects only the main trends. Traditionally, political ideologies have been divided into right-wing and left-wing tendencies, according to which values (traditional or innovative) are considered the best means of advancing the country and ensuring the well-being of citizens.

The right-wing is centred around national, traditional values and is, therefore, more conservative. The New Right is pessimistic about modern society and wants to maintain traditional values. Left-wing ideologies, in the classical sense, are based on social justice and recognize basic values of social equality, solidarity and progressiveness.

Along with the development of political thinking and doctrines, often intersecting or combining elements of new ideologies into new political currents, often referred to centrally as they unite and balance the aspirations and values of conservatives and liberals.

List of the most important and popular ideologies include liberalism, conservatism, socialism, fascism, communism and anarchism.

3.1.2 Political Economy

As Stanley and Goodwin suggested, understanding how markets distribute resource among different classes and class segments can help to make sense of variations in the emergence, trajectories, and success or failure of different movements. That is why the understanding political economy is so important for social movements, as political economy focuses on the key mechanism of resource distribution, elite divisions, state fiscal crises and how people are connected (Goodwin, 2013).

Economic factors had played an important role in politics and international affairs throughout history. Economic goals, resources and tools often derived foreign policy. We can recall many historical events – wars, collusions, originations of coalitions – where we can see that each of them had economic interests.

Even though Politics and Economics have always been influenced by one-other, their mutual dependence was changed in the 20th century. As Gilpin argues, one of the main reasons is the intellectual development of society, people started understanding political and economic issues much better (Gilpin, 2001). People realized that they can (or, they think they can) influence and change economic processes. After acquiring knowledge and spreading political democracy, it became clear that states can actively affect economics and wealth-distribution. Therefore, in the current world unemployment, inflation, etc. is not considered as unavoidable regularity but as a result of human actions. According to Stanley & Goodwin, political economy asks that we pay attention to actors' material interests, which derive from their structural location and political institutions (Goodwin, 2013). Therefore,

people as main actors and their interests play a critical role in political economics. Interest though varies substantially depending on one's structural position and antagonisms can exist between the interests of different groups (Goodwin, 2013). Having structural power means being in a position where your action has an impact on economics. For example, if the workers that take part in the production process will decide to strike, they will have the capacity to influence social and economic life. To understand the main motivation and interest of the society it is important to dive deeper into the "Relative Deprivation Theory", which will be discussed later on.

3.2. Civil Society and Democratization

3.2.1. Tyranny of the Majority

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, democracy is government by the people, a form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people as a whole and is exercised either directly by them (as in the small republics of antiquity) or by officers elected by them (Dictionary, 1989). As Larry Diamond says the democracy consists of four main elements: 1) a political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections; 2) the active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life; 3) protection of the human rights of all citizens; 4) a rule of law, in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens (Diamond, 2004).

As mentioned, the representative system, which implies "choosing and replacing the government through fair election" is considered as the main component of democracy. Even though the election process is not equally fair in different countries, the existence of elections is still considered as an advantage. However, the question is if that is enough for the people to rule? How can we make sure that citizens will be actively involved in social life? Sometimes when unfair and falsified elections happen the existence of social movements is crucial for the society to survive.

In 17-18th centuries, American political scientists and "fathers of democracy" were criticizing the mechanism of representative democracy, due to the danger of "tyranny of the majority". James Madison explains in his letter #10 (Federalist No. 10) that in civilized

nations private, including material interests causes division of the society into classes, who have different feelings and points of views. The regulation of those different interests is the main concern of modern legislators (Blackwell, 1991).

The term “tyranny of the majority” was first used by the second president of the United States of America – John Adams in 1788. Later on, a French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville wrote a chapter under the term in his book “Democracy in America”. Tocqueville touches a very interesting point about social democracy, that implies a society, where equality is recognized widely, as the main social valuable. He describes the individualism resulted from equality. Individualism is in every class and its main aspect is a private cause, based on views and beliefs, as well as self-centred, self-interested on own interests. Tocqueville sees self-interests as the need of society to have an intellectual authority and the source of connection. According to him, society relies on the decisions made by representatives elected by the mass and that is why tyranny of the majority is created.

Since the 19th century, many intellectuals have attempted to analyze by whom are created limits of individual freedom. Mainly the sources are either the interest groups who hold power and acts in favour of their needs or dictator/oligarch, who doesn't take into account the interests of society. Citizens have been fighting against tyranny and exploitation (Sharp 2002).

With no doubt, democracy is “lesser evil”. Different regimes – dictatorship or totalitarianism cause deeper and wider issues for societies. It is argued, that people/society is the source of the power and biggest element that the dictators are holding on. As Niccolò Machiavelli said the Prince will never feel safe as long as he finds enemies in society. As great is his cruelty, as weaker his regime becomes.

3.2.2. Open and Closed Society

Despite the political systems and mechanisms that limit or help people to be more active in politics or civil life, throughout the centuries active citizenship was perceived differently by philosophers and thinkers.

According to Thucydides - humanism, equality and political freedom perfectly describes free society, which is necessary for development. In philosophy and political science, the quality of society's freedom is often proportional to the freedom of word. It is

presumed, that in free and open society everybody should think critically, to which cultural and judicial institutions stimulate (Soros 2006).

While discussing free and equal societies and its philosophy – liberalism, it is also important to mention Henri Bergson, who offered the idea of Open Society. His one of the key objectives is to discuss the progress of societies, preconditions, criteriums and directions, as well as the importance of the progress for people.

While analyzing societies progress, he distinguishes two types of social organizations and connects it to two types of moral: static and dynamic. Static is described as Closed and dynamic is associated with Open.

According to Bergson, static moral represents habits, instincts alike social behaviour and steady stereotypical system. The social system is brought down to mechanic relationship abilities, invariable rituals and norms. The closed society, where the static moral is dominating, is in an evolutionary deadlock and it exists for survival. Therefore, closed societies tend to be dogmatic and conservative, as well as resistant to changes (Bergson, 1935).

Despite the mentioned above, Bergson says that social pressure is not the only source of moral because there is also an absolute – open society’s moral. The moral is “open” when it includes everyone, it is universal, and its objective is to ensure peace. It is argued, that the open moral is derived from “creative emotion”, which is different from “normal emotion”. The main difference is in the co-dependence of emotions and behaviour (Bergson, 1935).

To make common humanity better, the “closed societies” should be replaced by “open societies”, where flexible and spontaneous moral will be built and developed. In these kinds of societies, religion will be freed from dogmatism and replaced by institutions, which helps people of an open society to be free, improved and creative (Scientific Biography, 2008).

Bergson’s concept of “open” and “closed” societies was later, during the Second World War, discussed by British philosopher – Karl Popper. He argued that after a person becomes aware of individualism, analyses and humanity, he will not possibly be restrained. Therefore, it is impossible to return to “closed society”. Although, in the process of development it is important to consider the conflict, which exists in between traditional and new societies. That is the emotional discomfort of “losing a group thematic spirit”, which is connected to changes.

3.3. Social Movements

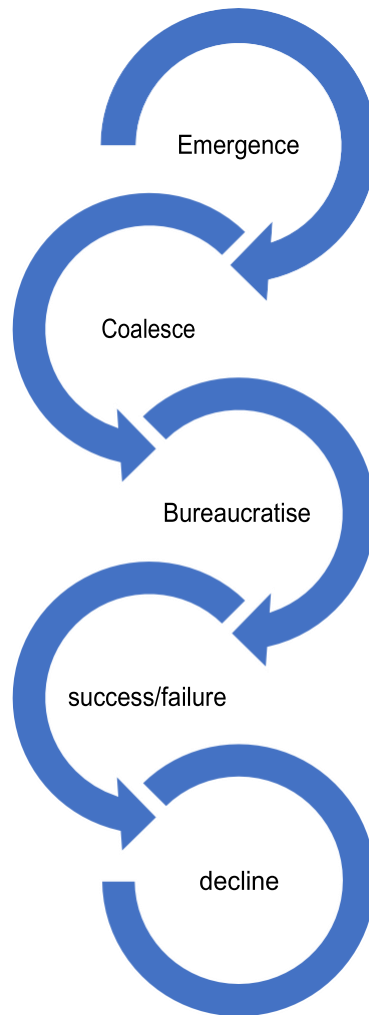
When we think about social movements, the first thing that we associate it with is democracy. In my opinion, there is no democracy without protests. People should have their voices, the power to stand for what they believe is right. However, democracy, by its definition, is about the majority of people, while social movements can be raised from minority and their rights. A social movement is not necessarily a political party or a mass fad, nor interest group. It is defined as a group of people with a shared goal and/or set of values, who try to achieve change or undo a social change.

Sometimes Social movements protest non-violently. Nonviolent conflict is civil disobedience, which is aimed against political regimes. Some forms of civil disobedience include boycotts, protests, marches, etc. Sometimes a government is not able to neutralize the situation, therefore the result is resignation. Tactics of protests are changing through time according to resources and other factors. Nonviolent conflicts imply limitations of the opponent, which can be expressed by gaining the allegiance of police and military force. Usually, it is a moral choice to protest nonviolently.

Social movements and special-interest groups have some similarities as well as differences. The major difference though appears in the nature of their actions. Social movements often work outside the system by engaging in various kinds of protests and demonstrations, while special-interest groups normally work within the system via conventional political activities such as lobbying and election campaigning (Barkan, Dec 2012).

Although the differences can be found even in social movements, as they diverse around the world and differ each other in many ways, they still have something in common. According to Blumer, every social movement goes through a life cycle marked by several stages that have long been recognized (Blumer, 1969).

Figure 1 social movement lifecycle



Own Creation. Source Blumer, 1969

The first stage is *emergence*: on the first stage there is a perception that something is wrong, therefore, a group of people is gathered, and the social movement is created. As the social movement is very new, it is logical that the organization level is very poor. Within the emergence stage, some social movements and their members might be considered to be serving as agitators. Agitators raise awareness and consciousness among other citizens.

The second stage is *coalescence*: after the information about the protest is spread, people with similar interests and ideas usually join the movement. Therefore, it grows. This stage can be identified by a more clearly defined sense of discontent. Rex D. Hopper argues that states that at this stage “unrest is no longer covert, endemic, and esoteric; it becomes

overt, epidemic, and exoteric. Discontent is no longer uncoordinated and individual; it tends to become focalized and collective” (Hopper, 1950).

The third stage is *bureaucratization*: on the third stage, we can see the results. Social movement either achieves its goal and objective or fails. Blumer defined the third stage as “formalization” (De la Porta & Diani, 2006). As on this stage social movements get higher organizational levels and coalition-based strategies and therefore the political power gets greater than in the previous stages.

The Fourth and final stage is *decline*: eventually, after getting the result they dissolve and cease to exist (Blumer, 1969). But decline does not necessarily mean failure. Miller (1999) argues, that there are four ways in which social movements can decline: Repression; Co-operation; Success; Failure

The four stages of social movement development can also help scholars understand the ways that social movements affect society. Although, social movements may not develop through the stages as described, or they may skip some stages.

3.3.1. Relative Deprivation Theory

The Relative Deprivation Theory explains the motivation of different people in the development of a social movement. According to the theory, relative deprivation is defined by individuals’ perception of the difference between expectations and existing reality, when comparing themselves to others.

The theory was developed in the 1940s and became a central variable for measuring social movements. The social movement starts at the time when groups of people are experiencing relative deprivation. The concept defines some paradoxes by universal means – reactions of people on the objective environment is depended on their subjective points of views (Smith, 2002).

The relative deprivation is connected to measurable social and psychological reactions, as social protest, discrimination, feeling of unfairness. Inequality of income

distribution is also used for defining the concept (Duclos, 1999). People involved in protests have high self-conception and expectations of a better future (Arora, 1971).

Runciman made the distinction between *Egoistic Relative Deprivation*: a feeling of personally having less than we feel we are entitled to, relative to our aspirations or other individuals (comparisons with other similar individuals); and *Fraternalistic Relative Deprivation*: Sense that our group has less than it is entitled to, relative to the collective aspirations or other groups (group vs. group comparisons) (Runciman, 1966).

The relative deprivation is not very functional in extremely poor societies or during wars. Fast economic growth might cause demolishing of traditional institutions and social-political instability. Whilst analyzing French revolution, Tocqueville explains that dissatisfaction appeared in sectors where economic growth was notable in the 1780s. Later on, this idea was developed by Mancur Olson and suggested that economic growth increases the number of poor and dissatisfied people (Olson, 2002).

It is argued that there are three types of deprivation: *Aspirational* – when an individuals' abilities are unchanged, but desired values are increased; *Decremental* – when abilities of an individual are decreased, but desired values are unchanged; and *Progressive* – when abilities are decreased and desires increased (Crosby, 1979).

3.3.2. The Emergence of Social Movements

As Tarrow argues, the main reasons behind protests were connected to customary rights to land, religious conflicts, water or forage to survive and were most easily goaded into revolt when these rights were curtailed or abused (Tarrow, 2011). General political and economic factors causing the emergence of social movements were discussed in the previous chapter (3.1.2. Political Economy). England was not an exception and the birth of the social movement in early the 1830s was also connected to political and economic changes. “voting rights were given to the property-owning middle classes in Britain. However, many people wanted further political reform” (Archives, 2020). The working class did not have the rights to vote, which automatically meant exclusion from political complicity. The growth of unemployment also affected on the rise of the Chartist movement.

In the beginning, the protest did not have a serious impact. Later on, the social movement started using constitutional methods successfully. They collected petitions, started mass meetings where they held public discussions concerning main plans and aim. Spreading the information via newspapers strengthened the movement.

The main goal of the protest was establishing equal social and political rights for all classes. “Chartism got its name from the People’s Charter, that listed the six main goals of the movement. These were: a vote for all men over 21, the secret ballot, no property qualification to become an MP, payment for MPs, electoral districts of equal size, and annual elections for parliament” (Archives, 2020). As we can see, the Chartists were supporting reform of the political system, however, the main reason for the change was due to the social-economic situation and it illustrated unfairness towards the working class. Despite this, the parliament did not take the movement into account and the demonstration was considered a failure.

Even though the Chartist protesters could not accomplish the goal during the campaign, it still had a huge impact on social awareness. Therefore, we can say that social movements have the power to change political and social consciousness. Chartism created the basis of British civil culture.

After looking at the social movements from the big picture, it is also important to dive deeper and discuss differences between them from a geographical perspective. The anatomy of social movements in western and eastern Europe alter fundamentally. For example, in Eastern Europe, we can see that Post-Soviet countries have a lot in common.

In the 60s and 70s western European social movements, we could notice sympathies towards communism, while in the eastern part of Europe it was full of hatreds (Johnson, Oct 31, 1996). The main factor is the political identity of those countries. Often, the western intellectuals and socialists found it difficult to understand eastern social movements.

3.3.3. Types of Social Movements

Different schemes of classification emerge of, as there is more than one aspect of movements. Since any social movement can be described in terms of several dimensions, it is hard to identify the typology of social movements.

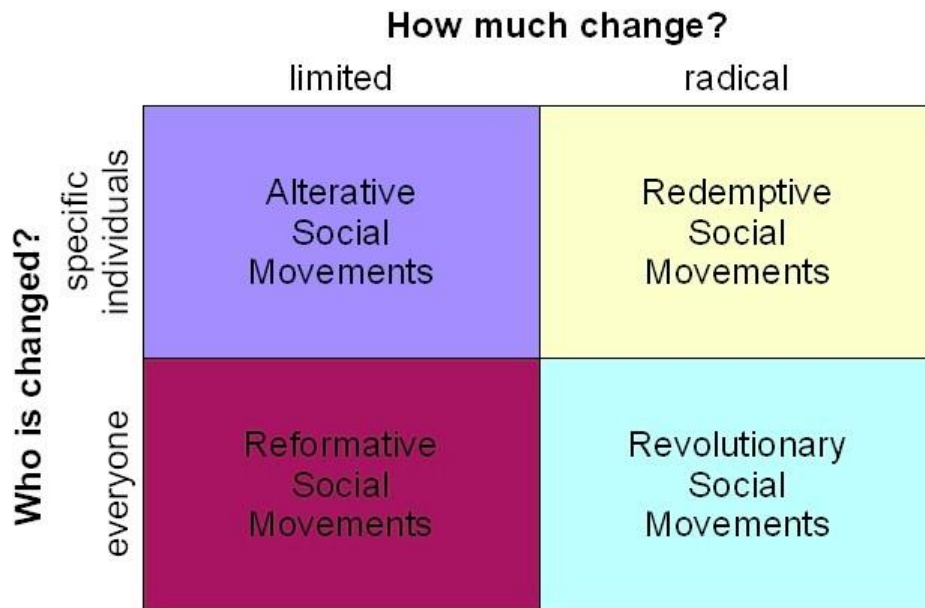
Causes of protests differ and so do the goals. If a social movement strives to achieve a change within an existing regime or constitution, then the movement is called *Reform*, sometimes the objective is changing the whole regime – *Revolution*. Although, at times what starts as reform can change into a revolution.

Other distinction could involve the direction and the rate of change advocated. The direction could be based on ideologies such as *radical, conservative, liberal, reactionary* or *moderate*. For example, the reactionary movement could be seen after some change in social affairs, whilst progressive movement aims at the new social arrangement. Conservative movements usually strive for preserving existing norms and values.

Social movements may also be categorized based on their strategy and actions. For instance, if they want to demonstrate public support and they do it within the bounds of the law – can be considered as a *legal protest*. The *civil disobedience* could be another strategy of a movement. It has a couple of methods: staged sit-ins, blockades, hunger strikes or marches. There are non-violent demonstrations. Other forms of protests include riots, armed struggle and direct actions. The range of social movement may also be taken into account. *Global movements* seek to change society at a global level, while *local movements* have a smaller scope and they are focused on local or regional objectives.

Some movements strive for a partial change in an individual's behaviour. For instance, they try to get individuals to recycle their waste. Such movements are called *Alternative*. Another goal could be total individual change. For example, religious movements trying to achieve total change in a person. Those movements are called *Redemptive* (Vonderhaar, 2013).

Two types of movements that focus on social change. *Reformative* – seeking for a partial change in systems, for example fighting for equal rights, or *Transformative* – aiming at total social change. The difference between Reformative and Transformative movements could be identified by using reform and revolutionary scope. Meaning, if they want to operate in the current system or change the regime.



Based on Aberle (1966).

Figure 2 Types of Social Movement. Source: Aberle, 1966¹

3.3.4. Social Movements in Post-Soviet Countries

3.3.4.1. Introduction to the Soviet Union

“The Soviet Union, officially known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a federal sovereign state in northern Eurasia that existed from 1922 to 1991” (). The territorial expansion of the Soviet Union has begun ever since its establishment and continued during the Second World War. From 1945 the borderline was at Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, Norway, North Korea, China, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and the Black Sea.

¹ The diagram of Aberle’s Typology of social movements. Source: Aberle, D.F., 1966. A Classification of Social Movements. *The Peyote Religion among the Navaho*, pp.315-33.

The Soviet Union was formally a federal union of the allied republics, although, it was a centrally governed (from Moscow) state dominated by the Russian Soviet Federal Republic. Formally power also consisted of "democratically" elected councils and parliament, with real power under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which ruled the country particularly during Stalin's rule, and then dictatorially.

According to the communist ideology, all the existing property (except for the private) has become the common public estate, the government was disposing of it. Stalin's First Five-Year Plan, adopted by the party in 1928, called for rapid industrialization of the economy, with an emphasis on heavy industry. It set unrealistic goals – a 250 per cent increase in overall industrial development and a 330 per cent expansion in the heavy industry alone (Congress, 2016).

One of the major reasons that caused downfall and collapse of economics in the Soviet Union was the Command Economy (also known as Planned Economy). The basic idea of Command Economy was that it was centralized by the government, meaning that the government used to decide when, where and how much would be produced. Therefore, prices, supplies, factors of production were owned by the state (Kramer, 2019).

3.3.4.2. Protests in Post-Soviet Countries

After the Soviet Union collapsed, the countries that used to be part of it were "left by themselves", there were 15 independent republics formed, that were accepted by the international society. It is extremely important to note that the "heritage" from the Soviet Union was very strong and terrible, which influenced not only economics but more importantly social psychology.

When Serbia achieved resignation of Milosevic in 2000, not many people thought that this would be the beginning of weakening of authoritarian regime. In 1996 in Romania and 1997 in Bulgarian democratic opposition won in the elections. Mobilization of non-government organizations was first seen in Slovakia in 1998. After the collapse of the communism, not every country managed democratic transformation. After the Color Revolutions importance of civil societies has increased. In Baltic Republics, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine the National Liberation movements have begun (Orenstein, 2009).

Table 1 Analysis of Electoral Revolutions

Location & Date	Government Strength	Opposition Strength	Popular Frustration with the Regime	Civil Society and Media	Economic Situation	Mass Protests After the Elections
Romania, 1996	Falling significantly	United	High	Stronger than supposed	Weak	No
Bulgaria, 1997	Weak and failing	United	High	Strong	Economic Crisis	No
Slovakia, 1998	Strong but failing	United	High	Very Strong	Relatively Strong	No
Serbia, 2000	Weak and Failing	United	High	Stronger than supposed	Weak	Yes
Georgia, 2003	Weak and Failing	United	High	Stronger than supposed	Weak	Yes
Ukraine, 2004	Weak and Failing	United	High	Stronger than supposed	Improved before the Orange Revolution	Yes
Kyrgyzstan, 2005	Weak	Divided	High	Stronger than supposed	Weak	Yes

Own Creation. Data based on ResearchGate²

² Source: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333899800_Public_Discourse_Protests_and_Revolts

If we take countries where the Electoral Revolutions took place, we will see that there were many similarities. In most countries, governments were weak therefore economies were weak too. Unsurprisingly, frustration with the regime was increasing, oppositions strength was getting united and mass protests were taking place. Of course, the economic situation was very important but in the electoral revolutions, illiberal incumbents manipulated the electoral outcome in their favour, which became the key reason for mass protests (Brazhko, 2014).

4. Practical Part

4.1. Research Methods

For the second half of the practical part of the thesis, interviews have been conducted. As mentioned in the theoretical part, interviews aimed to find out what was the pre-revolutionary environment, the key factors and reasons of willingness to change the regime, whether the country was ready for the liberal politics and the role of “Kmara (Enough)” as the social movement.

I have constructed interviews for two types of respondents: anonymous (3) and experts (4). Interview questions for anonymous respondents were different, it was more personal, focused on expectations, perceptions and whether they participated in the protests. Basic information about participants, including name, age and academic status was recorded. Every participant was given information about the topic of the interview and everyone had a chance to skip the question if they wanted to and ask any additional questions if needed.

The experts that were interviewed:

- Koba khabazi – He was actively participating in the Rose Revolution. Currently, he is a Member of the Parliament, he was head of Domestic Policy and Institutional Arrangement Office (2005-2008), In 2004 he was a Minister of Labour, Health and Social Provision.
- Giorgi Meladze – He was one of the key members of “Kmara” movement. Currently, he is Director of the Centre for Constitutional Research at Ilia State University in Tbilisi, Georgia. He served as Executive Director of the Liberty Institute. Mr Meladze provides training to human rights activists and campaigners internationally.
- Bakar Berekashvili – He is a political analyst at Georgian Public Broadcasting. Also, a Lecturer in Politics and Critical Theory at the Georgian-American University, Tbilisi. He has written several very interesting academic articles.
- Marina Garishvili – she is Associate Professor at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University; Historian and jurisprudent.

4.2. Case Study: The Rose Revolution in Georgia

4.2.1. Georgia Before the Rose Revolution

As mentioned above, the main problem for Georgia's economy and the political system was the "heritage" of a broad number of weak Soviet institutions, which soon became dysfunctional (Robinson, 2008). Alongside the economic situation, the country was struggling from the non-existing legal framework, vertical hierarchy and massive corruption. Before the Rose Revolution, the country's economy went through a phase of a devastating economic downturn that was typical for most former Soviet countries after their independence in 1991 (Rinnert, 2012).

After Georgia became independent, civil wars and ethnical-territorial conflicts had begun in the country. In 1992 Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the first democratically elected president left the country and Eduard Shevardnadze came to power. The social and economic situation was stagnated. Corruption was very high as well as the gap between rulers and ruled.

To measure the political situation in any country, we should take into account its level of democracy, independence, election processes, civil society, independence of media, juridical independence and level of corruption. (House, n.d.).

Corruption, without any doubts, was one of the major problems in Post-Soviet countries and especially in Georgia. The level of Corruption Perception was one of the highest in the country. According to the "Transparency International" data, from 99 countries Georgia was on 84th place, together with Albania and Kazakhstan. To analyze the situation better, it would be good to compare corruption perception indexes of different post-soviet countries. The best would be if we choose the countries where the colour revolution took place, for instance, Ukraine (Orange Revolution, 2004) and Kyrgyz Republic (Tulip Revolution, 2005)

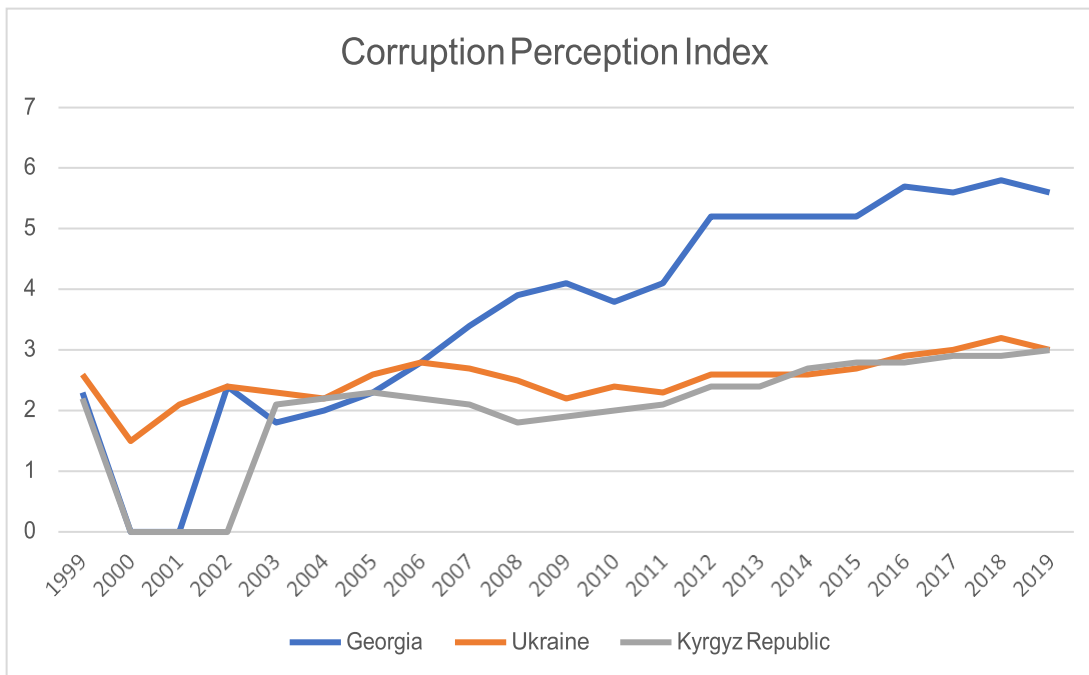


Figure 3 Data source: [transparency.org](https://www.transparency.org)³

The index's ranging is from 10 (not corrupted) to 0 (very corrupted) diapason. As we can see, the countries where colour revolutions took place had a very low corruption index, which means they were corrupted. After 2003 Georgia started fighting against it and soon, we achieved success.

In November 1993 Union of Citizens of Georgia was established by Eduard Shevardnadze. The political party was propagandizing civil agreeableness and supreme power of laws. It was mainly aimed at communists and post-communist youth. Political institutes have moral as well as institutional challenges. Political inequality is the main reason for political instability (Huntington, 1968).

The external international influence is very important for countries like Georgia. During the period when Shevardnadze was ruling, one of the key roles played non-government organizations, which were ready to challenge the government in a non-traditional way. This political opportunity helped to evoke civil activism. It became the base

³Source: https://www.transparency.org/research/cpi/cpi_early/0

for national and international networks to provoke the government internal and external channels and establish training cells for civil disobedience (Beachain, 2011).

Looking at the annual change of GDP can be used to better explain the reasons of unsatisfaction of the society. If we observe the following post-soviet countries – Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyz Republic together with Georgia, we can see that the tendency of the change in annual economic growth.

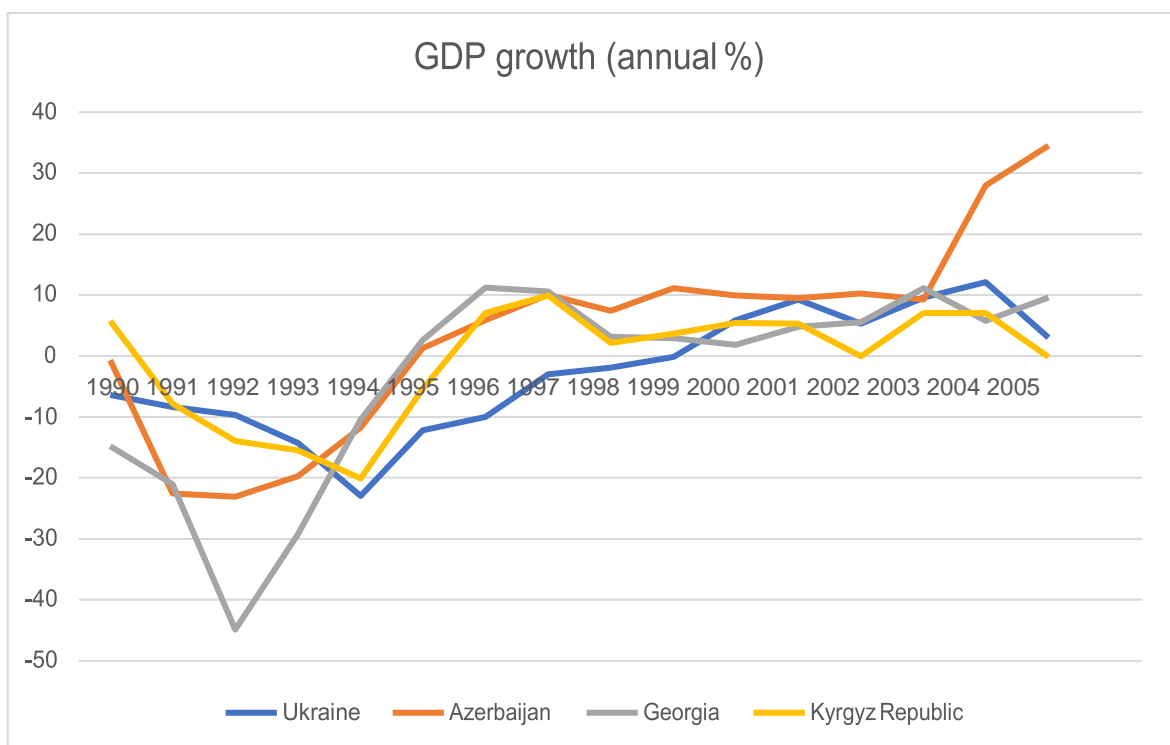


Figure 4 data source: WorldBank.org ⁴

Between 1991 and 1994 annual income was reduced by 60% in Georgia. Thus, at the beginning of the 90s level of reduction of income was almost equal to Germany's economy after the Second World War (Namchavadze, 2017).

After 1994 in GDP started going up in all four countries. This was resulted by a relatively stable political environment. After 2004 Azerbaijan and Georgia started growing

⁴ Source: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?end=2004&locations=KG-UA-GE-AZ&start=1991&view=chart>

economically. Azerbaijan had a noticeable leap. However, in Ukraine and the Kyrgyz Republic had a downfall.

If we look at *Figure 6*, we can see that in 1991, the Gross Domestic Product dropped dramatically. We can assume that leaving the Soviet Union and the transformation process affected the country's economy. After the Rose Revolution the GDP started growing, it would most probably continue growing, but the Russo-Georgian war in 2008 had a huge impact.



Figure 5 Own creation. Data source: Worldbank.org⁵

To conclude, several key events played an important role in history, that affected the growth of GDP. Especially, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, becoming an independent state, the revolution and finally the war between Russia and Georgia over territories of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

⁵ Source: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=GE>

The 90s crises in Georgia have resulted in many aspects. 25% of consumed electro energy was imported, as well as the major amount of meat, milk products, and sugar. Water and electro energy were supplied just for a couple of hours daily. Infrastructure in the country was in the worst conditions. Pensions were below minimum; unemployment was one of the biggest issues. By the year 2003, the power of Eduard Shevardnadze was significantly weakened. His party – The Union of Citizens of Georgia, slowly started dissolution. In 2003 the Parliamentary elections were held in Georgia. There were two Exit polls held for the elections. According to the official results the ruling party had 21.32% of votes and the United National Movement – 18.08%, however according to the parallel counter of votes, results were different, Shevardnadze’s party got 18.92% and Saakashvili’s party had 26.6% (OSCE, 28 January 2004). After the results by OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) was known, it was clear for people that the official election results were misstated. Falsification of the elections was the most critical moment. After the Shevardnadze’s party won by rigging the elections, the massive protests started.

4.2.2. “Enough!” (Kmara!)

“Enough!” (or Kmara! In Georgian) was one of the most famous social movement in Georgia In the Tbilisi State University, as well as in other Georgian universities, rectorate was corrupted, which became a reason for a group of students to protest. After some time, the same group of students decided to protest against the government, reasons that motivated them mostly consisted of the following: the quality of education, perspective of getting employed, corruption, falsification of elections and authoritarian regime.

The movement was actively participating and joining other Georgian non-Government organizations. Together they created “10 steps towards the freedom”, which was a principle that they suggested to be followed. These 10 steps were (Anon., 2012):

#1. Reformation of the Soviet system. Avoiding/limiting promotion of post-soviet employees to high governmental positions.

#2. Implementation of the rule that would control/confiscation of incomes/commodities of the people working in government.

#3. Inviolability of private ownership; improvement of business environment; cancellation of rules limiting free entrepreneurship; stability of fiscal policies and legislation.

#4. Elaboration of political strategy concerning unity of Georgian territorial the unity.

#5. Appointment mayors of Poti and Tbilisi by-elections; Ratification of the European Charter of Local Self-Government; Implementation of laws concerning the administrative-territorial arrangement.

#6. Removal of Russian military bases from Georgian territory before the year 2007; Elaboration of plans and strategies to be integrated into NATO and EU; Establishment of professional army and cancellation of mandatory call ups.

#7. Implementation of Jury in the court; decentralization of juridical organizations; Appointment of heads of Police and procurators by voting;

#8. Covering pension and salary debts until 2006; Putting government sector salaries at the level of consumption basket (CPI Market Basket); Prioritizing of health programs towards vulnerable social groups.

#9. Empowerment of educational institutions; implementing a system for educational grants and scholarships; at least doubling the spending on education; Establishment of standardized State Examinations.

#10. Implementation laws concerning freedom of speech and media; Transformation of the state television into public media.

The manifesto shows us that there were many issues in the country. Strengthening civil society helped the country improve its social environment as well as economic. Most of the suggested reforms have been implemented, which will be discussed deeper in a further chapter.

I think “Kmara” and other social movements can be seen as progressive movements⁶, as they strived for new social arrangement, the arrangement which would be fair to every social class, which would not be corrupted.

If we analyze the lifecycle of “Kmara”, we will see that it went through all the phases that have been discussed in the theoretical part. It emerged because they knew that there was something wrong in the country. The corruption, as well as other characteristics of “closed society”, were developing. Then, on the second stage, it grew more and more people joined

⁶ More explanation about types of movements can be seen in the theoretical part (3.3.3. Types of Social Movements).

the movement. On the third stage, we can see that they achieved success, meaning that their demand in terms of changing government which would work on their requirements has been accomplished. Lastly, the movement went to decline., as they got results, they dissolved.

In terms of Strategy and actions, there were legal protests, as the revolutionaries were protesting peacefully, within the bounds of the law. The range of protest was local, although it has been supported internationally.

4.2.3. The Revolution

When the government attempted falsification of votes in Georgia, one of the main four elements of democracy⁷ – active participation of the citizens – saved the country. The election of November the 2nd was not unordinary regarding the falsification. It was “normally” falsified, to which the society has been used to. Although, the awareness of civil society was increased which helped and the nonviolent revolution to be accomplished. The Georgian society decided not to accept falsification of elections anymore.

At the **beginning** of November 2003, a number of protesters was not really critical, although a week before succeeding in revolution, the situation became explicit. Additionally, the interest in the situation was increased from foreign media. The interest was developing from Washington as well. After the revolution, the “conspiracy theory” was speared, according to which, the revolution was organized and financed by George Soros, analogous to the revolution in Serbia. The fund actually financed the movement “Enough (Kmara)”, but of course, this would not be enough for maintaining the whole revolution.

On the 23rd of November, the revolution achieved its goal, the government was changed. Even though this date is considered as the day of success, the revolution is a longer and deeper process, it does not happen just by changing presidents. As discussed in the previous chapter of the theoretical part (3.3.3. Types of Social Movements), the objective of the revolution is to change the whole regime. In Georgia, fundamental reforms had to be done to proceed towards democratization.

⁷ The main four elements of democracy according to Larry Diamond is discussed in the theoretical part of the thesis (3.2.1. Theory of Majority).

5. Interviews

I would like to start by analyzing interviews with anonymous respondents. They are in 24-52 age range. Current occupations: individual entrepreneur, sole proprietor and financial analyst. The interviewees were sceptical towards the Shevardnadze regime, they felt limited by corruption and nepotism. They felt financially insecure and the non-existent infrastructure used to cause a huge struggle.

As one of the anonymous interviewees explains, *“Political situation got intense in 2003, with the help of the new political power, by Saakashvili being in the lead. We (as pupils) stopped going to schools, parents were afraid of the unstable situation. As the situation was getting fiercer, the feeling of protest was increasing, people became more aware of the circumstances. Almost every family (except for the political elite) was ready to riot. The feeling of hope was increased. Slowly unstable political situation transformed into a public demonstration. If some families were not able to go to a protest, they were surely watching television, rooting for the protestors and hoping for the change to happen.*

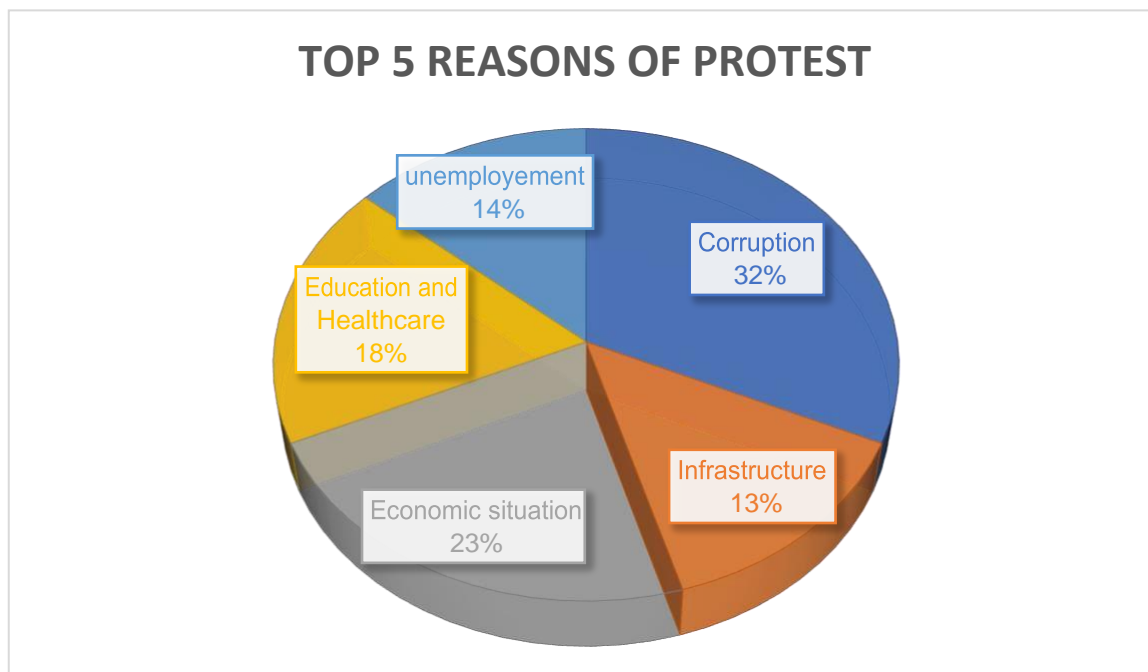


Figure 6 Own creation. Data is based on interviews

When remembering the situation in 1990s, some of the main reasons for protests were: corruption, poor economic situation, lack of infrastructure, old-fashioned healthcare and educational institutes, unemployment, poor social conditions, low pensions, autocratic regime, inequality between the social classes, injustice and power abuse by governors, especially by Aslan Abashidze - the leader of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara, the existence of Russian military bases in the country.

None of the anonymous respondents was able to attend the protests. They explained: *“I have not participated in the revolution, because of the financial situation in the family, children were too young, and transportation from my city to the capital was not easy. although I was rooting for the people who were there. I think every progressively thinking citizen would have gone if they were able to.”*

Mr Giorgi Meladze, one of the key members of “Kmara” mentions another, deeper reasons for the situation. He argues that *“elitism, which existed in Georgia by that time, creates injustice. Political parties were not able to provide real solutions, it caused frustration, nihilism, alienation towards democracy. Institutions were not developed, there was mistrust towards the government. The illegal criminal world was evoking, which replaced the court and other functions of the government. Shadow economy and social tension diminished the whole country.”*

Mr Bakar Berekashvili, political analyst describes another aspect of the pre-revolutionary environment. Besides deindustrialization, economic instability and chaotic social order, he mentions other troubles that drastically prevailed in post-soviet life of Georgia. He explains that *“Politically, it was a hybrid state ruled by ex-communist nomenclature cadre Eduard Shevardnadze, who helped to overcome political instability caused by civil war, but completely failed to transform state successfully. Shevardnadze also morally supported a dual transition of Georgia, meaning that he endorsed the reforms to replace the communist economic system with capitalistic one and to support political pluralism in political life”.*

According to Mr Koba Khabazi, member of the United National Movement⁸, *“when the governments change, there are very complex reasons behind it. The Georgian nation did not want to believe that they deserved an unsuccessful, failed state. The Georgian people believed that we deserved a better country, and there was a spirit, ready to fight for it”*.

This aspect is very important, as it explains the Relative Deprivation. As it describes the difference between the expectation (feeling that a person/nation deserves) and the actual reality of what people have. Therefore, looking at the Relative Deprivation of Georgia, we can see the occurred inequality and injustice was enough for causing the social protest.

As Mr Meladze explains, *“sometimes people have an inner protest, however, realization of the inner protest is most important, as well as implementing goal-oriented actions. This requires time and learning. Often, it is not appreciated enough. The culture of activism teaches us that you should not keep the feeling of protest inside, rather try to do something”*.

Mr Khabazi also mentioned and compared situations between pre-revolution and post-revolution periods. *“I remember before the revolution I personally went to meet people living in Gelauri region, near Kobuleti, where people gathered and collected signatures with demands of having electricity 2 times a day, in the morning for 2 hours and in the evening for 3. After the revolution, in 2006 I was participating in new elections and went to the same place to meet people. They have collected signatures with the requirement of having streetlights outside the city”*. This shows the transformation of needs and expectations in society. After the revolution, the dynamics of the Deprivation has changed.

Before we start analyzing the situation after the revolution, it is interesting to discuss the preparation and transformation of the social movements, especially “Kmara”. As Mr Meladze describes *“at that times active society was very narrow, everybody knew each other. We did not have internet and social media which had its advantages, it made the decision-making process easier”*.

As I mentioned in one of the previous chapters, “Kmara” was established to protest against the rectorate of the University, as it was corrupted. *“the first phase was focused on the university, after that it became clear that we had the capability to manage bigger protests, we had every moral right for this. Often, there is a moral barrier in activism: “Do*

⁸ The party was founded by Mikheil Saakashvili, ex-president of Georgia. It was the opposition party against Shevardnadze in the Rose Revolution.

I have a right to teach others how to live?”, which can be very obstructing. Even today, many left as well as radical right-wing⁹ parties emphasize on this and use it against the culture of activism”.

On the interview with Mr Meladze, 10 steps for freedom¹⁰ have also been discussed. As he says *“Inspiration of the reforms came from the Serbs, although our proposal was different from theirs, they did not talk about precise reforms, it was more of a general concession. We decided that it was important to have some kind of agreement with the government. It brought more clarity on our demands, which was helpful for the society as well, as they would have a better idea of what was going on and why should they have acted in that time. I believe that in the beginning, the government did not take social movements seriously. We were dealing with the post-soviet elite, for whom the idea of social movement was unconvincing”.*

All the participants, including both anonymous and experts, agreed that the influence from the USSR on Georgia’s political, economic and social situation was tremendous. As historian and associate professor Mrs Garishvili articulated *“at that times Ministry of Internal Affairs was infiltrated by Russo-Soviet security services. Russia was using energy careers and foreign trade relations to pressure Georgia’s politics.*

⁹ More explanation about Left and Right-wing parties is discussed in theoretical part.

¹⁰ Detailed information can be seen in one of the previous chapters (4.2.2. “Enough!”).

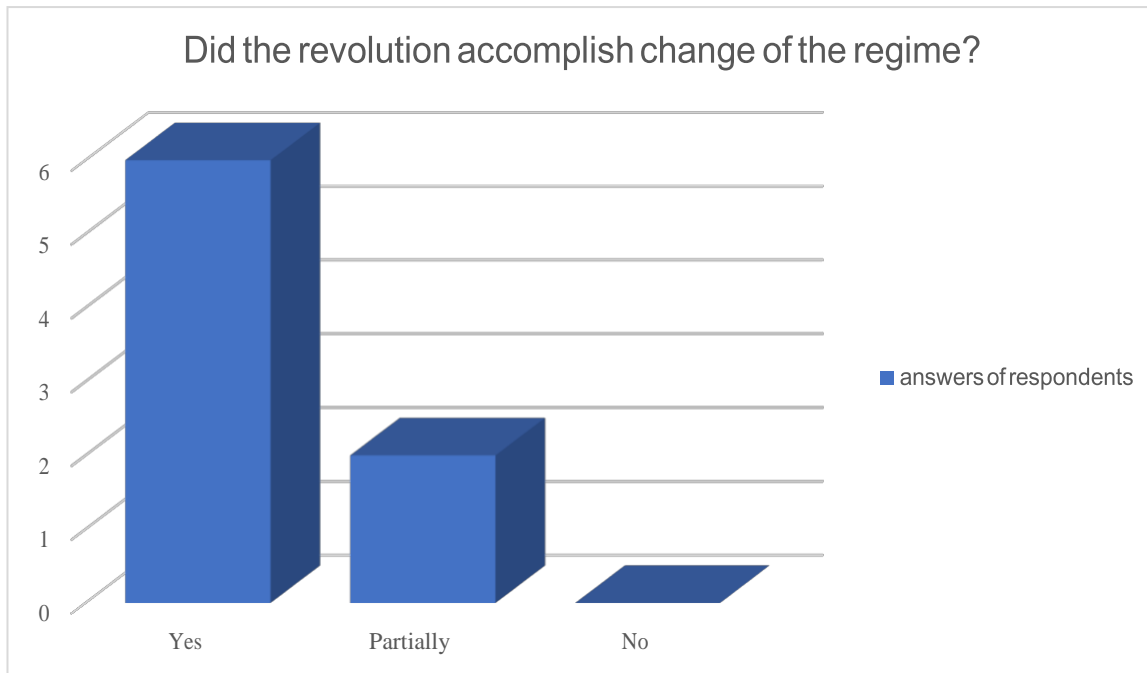


Figure 7 Own creation. Data is based on interviews

I think the most important question is if the revolution accomplished changing the existed regime. Interviewees had different opinions on that, we can say that there were two main controversial ideas suggested. Mrs Garishvili and Mr. Khabazi agreed that after the revolution whole new country was created. *“We have created a new state, where pro-European actions were concrete and specific rather than verbal”*, stated Mr Khabazi. Furthermore, Mrs Garishvili argued, *“new governmental institutions were established: we can see the whole transformation of educational (establishment of the national state exams) and healthcare (screening, creation 100 new small hospitals) systems, huge changes in administrative police, houses of justice, the autonomous republic of Adjara became part of the development of the whole country, which was impossible in the previous decade, as the A. Abashidze was against it for the whole time”*. Other economic and social aspects were also mentioned during interviews, such as creating an investment/business-friendly environment, dealing with corruption and nepotism in every aspect of economic activities. Diversification of international trade, increase in pensions, etc.

On the other hand, Mr Berekashvili and Mr Meladze had a controversial vision on the post-revolution situation. *“If you look at it from the very narrow perspective, the revolution accomplished to change the regime, as it changed political class and helped to form new political elites. However, in a deeper context, it did not change an ideological*

habitué of the previous regime. More precisely, it did not question the legitimacy of liberal democracy or neoliberal capitalism that was initially inaugurated by the hybrid regime of Shevardnadze. After the Rose Revolution, Georgia became a Darwinist neoliberal state. Neoliberalism was celebrated after the Rose Revolution, under the political rule of the eccentric right-wing president of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili, which put stronger emphasis on neoliberal hegemony. Since the revolution, neoliberalism has been presented as the victorious western ideology that has triumphantly defeated communism” argued Mr Berekashvili. Mr Meladze also has a similar opinion “the government did change, although the soviet style of ruling has not changed entirely. However, some steps were taken”.

6. Results and Discussion

The theoretical part of the thesis is divided into 3 parts: Politics, Civil Society and Democratization, Social Movements. Political ideologies and political economy have been contained in the first chapter. We can see that they are and have always been influenced by one another. Moreover, in the further section, Tyranny of the Majority and types of societies are described. Which is used later in the practical part to analyse the reasons of dissatisfaction in society. Furthermore, the last section of the theoretical part is about social movements, its emergence and typology, as well as Relative Deprivation theory. The theory is used to describe main interests, motivations and goals of protestors.

The practical part of the thesis is focused on the Rose Revolution which took place in 2003. The Soviet Union and command economy had a huge impact on Georgia. Relative Deprivation theory explains the motivations of different people into the development of a social movement. I have used the theory and tried to explain what the reasons and motivational aspects of the protest were.

As mentioned, political and economic factors had a major influence in evoking the revolutions. In my opinion, in Georgia there was Fraternalistic Relative Deprivation¹¹. Since the nepotism and corruption were some of the biggest issues in the country, the groups of people that did not have “friends in the high positions” felt deprived to groups that were privileged by abusing power. The Deprivation was also Aspirational because individuals’ abilities were not changed, but desired values, as well as the desire in general, was increased. Shevardnadze’s regime has been described as post-soviet and authoritarian. Mr Berekashvili though, who mentioned positive aspects of Shevardnadze’s regime. He argues that Shevardnadze prepared the background for liberal democratic consolidation by setting up relevant formal legalistic conditions.

All respondents, without exception, agree that Georgia’s social, political and economic situation has been influenced by the Soviet Union. The scar from the system was massive and effected not only the economy but also the way of thinking and stereotypes.

¹¹ More information about types of Relative Deprivation can be seen in the theoretical part of the thesis (3.3.1. Relative Deprivation Theory).

When discussing changes of the regime, answers were not analogous. Some interviewees argue that the regime was entirely changed, others debated that from the broader perspective it only changed political class and helped forming new political elites.

The role of “Kmara” as a social movement was also a subject of discussion. As described, it was a youth movement composed by enthusiastic young people disappointed by the pessimistic era of Shevardnadze. I think, the biggest contribution was the principle of reforms – “10 steps towards the freedom” – that was suggested by “Kmara” and other NGO/social movements.

According to the anonymous respondents, their lives have been changed after the revolution. They felt the reduction of corruption, better financial conditions, developed infrastructure and institutions, reforms against criminal issues. The social conditions got better; unemployment has been reduced.

7. Conclusion

To summarise all findings, in 90's Georgia was considered to be a static society, where steady stereotypical system existed with dogmatic and conservative governors. The government tried to falsify the results of elections. This became one of the main reasons for society to become active. However, by that time social movements did not seem like trouble for the post-soviet government. This was the point where "Kmara", one of the key social movement in the revolution, started active participation. The life cycle of the movement went through all the stages, discussed in the theoretical part.

In case of Georgia, political and material deprivation became the reason for society dissatisfaction, which lead to the demonstration and caused government change. During the Rose Revolution, social protests were conditioned mostly because of the poor economic situation, corruption and the electoral fraud; Social protest was successfully completed, it caused government change, where acting regime type was transitional (hybrid).

As a conclusion, we can say that the revolution succeeded in changing many reforms, strengthening country's social conditions and the overall economy – the GDP was increased, corruption index has changed, it moved from 2,4 (in 2002) to 5,6 (2019). However, it had some flaws, as the new regime did not question the legitimacy of liberal democracy or neoliberal capitalism, the leading government party was eccentric right-wing, which put stronger emphasis on neoliberal hegemony.

I have mentioned in the previous chapter – "Enough!" (Kmara!), the social movement together with other NGOs worked on the principle of suggested reforms – "10 steps towards the freedom". After the revolution, most of the steps/reforms have been achieved. I would like to emphasize some of them.

Step #3. Inviolability of private ownership; improvement of business environment; cancellation of rules limiting free entrepreneurship; stability of fiscal policies and legislation.

- The business environment has considerably improved in the country. Georgia was considered as one of the most business-friendly countries. Saakashvili engrossed on foreign investment in the country.

Step #6. Removal of Russian military bases from Georgian territory before the year 2007; Elaboration of plans and strategies to be integrated into NATO and EU.

- Russian military bases were moved from the Georgian territory by 2008. In March 2005 negotiations about the issue came forward. Georgian and Russian ministers signed a joint statement, which stated that withdrawal would begin in 2005 and conclude in 2008 (Sokov, 2005).

Step #8. Covering pension and salary debts until 2006; Putting government sector salaries at the level of consumption basket (CPI Market Basket); Prioritizing of health programs towards vulnerable social groups.

- Pensions and salary debts were covered. in between 2004 – 2006 in the public sector average salary grew by 67%, likewise, in some fields of private-sector salaries expanded by 208%, pensions grew 5.5times. during 1996 – 2004 years it was approximately 7 – 14 Lari¹², by 2009 it was approximately 77.6 Lari¹³ (USAID, n.d.),.

Step #9. Empowerment of educational institutions; implementing a system for educational grants and scholarships; at least doubling the spending on education; Establishment of standardized State Examinations.

- Educational institutions have definitely empowered. System for educational grants and scholarships have been implemented. Standardized State Examinations have been established (USAID, n.d.).

However, there were a couple of steps that haven't been enforced: **#4.** Elaboration of political strategy concerning the unity of Georgian territorial unity; and **#7.** Implementation of Jury in the court; decentralization of juridical organizations; Appointment of heads of Police and procurators by voting.

To answer the main research question: “what is the connection between the social movements and political economics?”, we can say that social movements are most active when they feel Relative Deprivation, when they feel inequality of income distribution, when the country's political or economic reforms are performing poorly. On the other hand, if civil society wants democratization, they will be protesting for the state's better economic and political situation. Therefore, social movements are created or become more active.

¹² According to today's exchange rate (March 2020), it equals to approximately \$2.18 - \$4.36

¹³ According to today's exchange rate (March 2020), it equals to approximately \$24.21

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