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Role of PR in Establishment of the Democratic Institutes in Post-Soviet Georgia

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**D I S S E R T A T I O N**

(Abstract)

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## INTRODUCTION

### Actuality of the Topic

In the present-day Georgian communication space one can hardly find a word or a term, which can compete with the word PR. This word, or more exactly, the acronym, is often used in speech or written vocabulary by politicians, journalists, the representatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations, medical workers, teachers, students, businessmen, and it may be said, quite ordinary people as well, which if you ask them to explain what is implied in the essence of the shortened form of this word combination – immediately answer that it designates the arrangement for the society show-off. Next question whether the meaning of this word is negative or positive, they immediately point to the negative content of it and the appearance of their face features immediately changes. Unfortunately, among the words expressing this reality we come across “white” and “black” PR, which in the explanation of their users is used according to the essence and meaning of the action. To use it with evil intention, i.e. with negative burden, is black “PR”, and with good intention – white “PR”. It should be mentioned that those definitions cause great worry and even indignation among the specialists of this field, which our society and the representatives of all its stratum applied so wrongly, so undeservedly to that most positive, important, interesting and useful activity, having only one concrete goal – to promote establishment and maintenance of the harmonious relations between people and to achieve well-being of the society with this reason. To explain why the attitude of our society has been so incorrectly and non-objectively established towards this field, is probably both simple and complicated. It is simple because in case of expressing the meaning of one of the basic foundations of democratic social order in simple, easy to understand language, it will be, probably, most easy to determine and to practically use the usefulness of the designation and meaning of this field by the society. As for the difficulties, we should search for this in the memory of the totalitarian regime and the depths of its heritage, because as much difficult is the transformation of such mentality on the style and order of the democratic rule so much complicated is operation of new governing or democratic structures for the society members having old, totalitarian and post-Soviet mentality.

When the talk starts on democratic rule, which foresees delegating of the administration or powers to definite group of the society by people through free elections, naturally the demand

arises in the society to establish partnership relations with the government, for the relations based on the principle of justice, openness, transparency, accountability and on the trustworthy relations. Just for guarantee of such relations in the western developed democracies there is being formed the institute of relations with the society, i.e. of “Public Relations”, which is some kind of litmus and barometer for determining the degree of democracy.

In the present-day Georgia extremely negative attitude exists towards PR from the viewpoint of public disposition. The reason is too serious – within the long period the state institutes use PR only for presentation of their own selves, for lobbying their own interests at the expense of full ignorance of the public interests and manipulation of its consciousness. Our society has not deeply felt the mutually beneficial result from “PR” activity, expediency and benefit of PR use for settlement of its vital interests and the well-being, which is the first and foremost designation of the “PR” as science and art. The conclusion is only this: in the present-day Georgian reality the sphere of public relations is still in the process of establishing as a democratic institute, the Georgian society possesses no right, objective and full information on the essence and significance of these institutes, skills, experience and the level of training the PR managers, i.e. specialists in the field of public relations, is still too poor. The model of manipulating the public consciousness is strong in the society. According to this model, “the desirable” is too distanced from “the real” and, correspondingly, formation of illusionary coincidence and delivery of these concepts to the society is being done in the imaginary, virtual dimension. Proceeding from the said above, actuality of the topic we have chosen becomes understandable.

### **The Level of Topic Theoretical Elaboration**

The concept of “PR” has become a visiting card of the XXI century, because in the contemporary world it is used as efficient science and art for achieving the relations, communication and agreement between the society and different subjects. And “image-making”, formation of benevolent image for different subjects, through any possible way and value, is just specially distorted essence and form of the “PR” and in the form of the “PR” of different nuance establishes its place in the society just for its own harm. “Such attitude to the issue opposes the principles of social responsibility of the civil society institutes. In fact, this incites the society towards deception, especially to realization of egoistic interests of individual subjects” (L. Kapanadze, E. Khakhutashvili, Public Relations, Tbilisi, 2003, the Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State

University, p 5). It should be mentioned that such attitude to the PR and use is quite characteristic to other post-Soviet societies, such as, for example, Ukraine and Russia.

“Special worry is caused by colonization of “Public Relations” market – “black PR”, which is designated for the purpose-oriented manipulation of the public consciousness. In some historical models of PR, such as “fooling the society”, “informing the society”, “cooperating with the society”, the attention is concentrated on both commercial and political practice and the norms of the first primitive mutually opposing moral in the educational process, which “works quite efficiently” (L. Kakabadze, E. Khakhutashvili, Public Relations, Tbilisi 2003, the Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, p 7).

Webster explains in the third edition of his dictionary that the term “Public Relations” is defined as “science and art, establishment of mutual understanding and benevolence between individual persons, forms, establishments and the society”. Different scholars and research workers have accepted about 500 formulations of “Public Relations” (PR) and all of them exist. Renowned American scholar Rex F. Harlow defined “Public Relations” according to the XX century special literature and on its basis presented his own explanation, in which conceptual and operational aspects of the public relations are represented. According to his definition: “Public Relations” – is special function of management, which is designated to establish the relations, mutual understanding and cooperation between the organization and the society, to realize management of the problems and the processes of disputable issues; and to help the authorities in studying the public opinion and response on it, to determine the authorities’ responsibility in settlement of the issues concerning the public interests; to assist the authorities to efficiently change their positions in compliance with the current demands, to timely leave the system with kind warning; to help to forecast development of tendencies, to use scientific methods, based on moral norms of relations, as main means in the work” (Harlow, Rex F. Building a Public Relations Definition // Public Relations Review. - 1976. Winter. – Vol.2 N4 – P.36).

In the former post-Soviet space the most accepted is the definition, introduced by Sam Black: Public Relations – it is art and science to achieve mutual understanding and harmony between people, which is based on legal principle and full information. Definition of PR involves words – truth, full information and harmony, which make a basis for establishing the communication between different strata of the society.

Edward Béarnaise, one of the first professionals in PR, suggests such a form of definition: PR is an expert, who conducts consulting with the society. He tries to define socially important indicators, to reveal, on the basis of analyses, compliance and in-compliance of the activity between the client and the society connected with him, recommends the client to substitute the model of activity, positions in compliance with the society requirements to achieve the set goal. When the client's behavior changes, his attitude to the society also changes, that's why PR expert should manage to convince the society in rightness of the client's activity.

The basis of PR is benevolent attitude to the partners, be it in politics, business, or non-governmental sector. PR is the most important part of any governing system in the West, which is connected with the society, people. There is sense in existence of "Public Relations" in conditions of democratic society. The totalitarian system, which hypocritically acts in the name of people, in fact, ignores them. It was so in the former Soviet Union, real demands, ideas and characters of people and the strata of population, despite permanent ideological assertion, in reality were considered to be of minor importance. Orders and punishment were major means of governing in all the public spheres and the obligation of population was to obey implicitly "wise orders" from the top. Those opposing these orders were severely punished to be an example for others. In the totalitarian society the function of the relations with the society, or according to the then accepted term, with "the people", imposed on the ideological departments of the Communist Party central committees, which through punitive mechanisms and manipulation with the public opinion successfully achieved their goals – to show to the world the whole powerfulness and advantage of the Soviet totalitarian empire from the viewpoint of "taking care" of the people.

Fortunately, dismantling of the totalitarian ideological governing has started since 1985, which was accompanied with heated fight of the Communist Party ideological departments, oriented at manipulation of the public consciousness, for preserving their governing. However, as we have mentioned above, both totalitarian and democratic governance are absolutely separated from one another with their meaning and mechanisms, and the significance of the totalitarian ideological departments and democratic PR also differ in essence by their importance for the society, though some scholars stressed the importance of the PR managing function and are quite right in this, because as Rex Harlow explains: "Public Relations – is the management function, called to

assess the attitude of the society, to identify policy and activity of an individuality or organization in regard to the public interests and to fulfill the program of activity to be directed at achieving mutual understanding and apprehension of the masses” (Harlow, Rex F. Building a Public Relations Definition // Public Relations Review. -1976. Winter. -Vol.2.N4 – P.36).

Scholars Cutlip, Center and Broom point to the PR, as the mechanism of management function. They define it thus: “Public Relations – is a function of management, which strengthens or supports mutually useful relations between the organization and that society, on which its success or failure depend” (Cutlip S.M., Center A.H., Broom O.M., Effective Public Relations; 7<sup>th</sup> edition – N.J., Englewood Cliffs, 1994,-P.6).

To specify the PR functions in more details, it is desirable to appeal to the thoughts of renowned authors, which define these functions.

As the scholars say, Public Relations’ specialists are mediators between the presented organization and different groups of the society, which the organization deals with.

That’s why PR manager or PR man is responsible before both the organization on behalf of which he acts and also different groups of the society. The activity of such a mediator, his objectively high knowledge in achieving dependence of the relation, mutual understanding of the society and the organization, determines the main principles of work of the PR institutes and specialists. These main principles are determined by American scholars Doug Newsom, Alan Scott and Judy Van Slyke Turk.

The work of PR specialists should be evaluated on the basis of one criterion – personal trait of PR man is determined by his reputation, ethic of his behavior (Newsom Doug, Scott Alan, and Turk Judy Van Slyke. This is PR: The Realities of Public Relations: 5<sup>th</sup> ed. – Belmont, Cal., 1993 – P.4).

The articles, monographs have been recently published in Georgia, in which the new important aspects of public relations are clarified. The basic results of this theoretical research are considered and used in the present dissertation.

Thus, the analysis of the quality of theoretical elaboration of the topic under research, conducted by us, enables us to make some conclusions and to determine **the scientific problem** of the dissertation.

**One of the most important categories of our research is the role of PR in establishment of the democratic institutes in the post-Soviet Georgia. The concept of public relations itself, being an integral, organic part of the dissertation topic, enters the Georgian scientific terminology within the present context and also is filled with new content of the PR role meaning in the process of establishing the democratic institutes.**

- The present dissertation is the first attempt in the Georgian political and social science of research of political culture of the society, determination and importance of the role of PR, as the sphere of relations with the society, on the establishment of the state structures.
- When we talk about the political culture, as a political category, as representation of the reality in the scientific knowledge, we should by all means underline incomplete and limited understanding of this category because the real process is being developed and constantly changed through political socialization.
- The characteristic trait of real practice is “one-dimension logic”. Political, economic and social changes are being studied separately. All this, obviously, facilitated accumulation of knowledge, but now we research the new problem in its wholeness, i.e. we place in the centre a human being and the society, changes of its value orientations, the means of their realization in the society and the role of PR in all these processes.

### **The Purpose and Tasks of the Research**

It is foreseen in the present dissertation as to how much the present problems are elaborated and the fact that there exists a whole number of disputable, less studied issues, that’s why all the efforts are concentrated on the complex analysis of those social-political processes, which provide evolution of the orientation of traditional values in the Georgian society in the democratic, liberal direction, the influence and importance of the public relations, as purely democratic institute, on these processes in establishing the state institutes. This analysis enables to elaborate theoretical conceptions, which promote presentation of PR in the social-political

processes of the contemporary Georgian society and its practical regulation at the state-legal level, also formation of efficient social and political technologies, which take into consideration the specificity of evolution in the consciousness of the society in the present-day Georgia and facilitate establishment of positive social disposition and vital strategy of the sustainable development.

The research tasks of **the first group** were connected with the revealing of those methodological prerequisites and fundamentals, which will help us in clarifying the regularities and tendencies of the current processes, in their transformation under the influence of radical changes ongoing in Georgia.

In addition, the following concrete tasks were set:

- Discussion of theoretical methodological principles and determination of the conceptual fundamentals of research in the public relations as the institute promoting the democratic processes;
- Analysis of basic aspects of changeable legal and political culture of the Georgian society;
- Separation of the PR aspects in the political processes and analysis of the dynamic of political and democratic values;
- Reveal of the PR role in the development of political institutes and in the course of democratic processes, in the dynamic of changes in the mentality and values orientation of the society and establishment of political culture.

The research tasks of **the second group** imply analysis of the data of monitoring dedicated to reveal of the real and declared values, norms and advantages, which enables elaboration of the conception of the strategy for PR active participation in the political and public processes.

The following **concrete tasks** are implied in this part of research:

- Reveal of the PR role in the establishment of democratic, state and political institutes in the post-Soviet Georgia (the Parliament of Georgia, the Council of Justice of Georgia, Supreme Court of Georgia);



- Transformation of PR role in the post-“Revolution of Roses” period (state structures, NGO sector);
- The role of PR manager in implementation of the PR policy;
- Determination of the role of media in implementation of PR policy;
- Elaboration of relevant recommendations for further development and practical use of PR in Georgia on the basis of the present research.

**Scientific novelty** is determination and study of the PR role in establishment of the democratic institutes in the post-Soviet Georgia. This concretely implies the following:

- For the first time in the Georgian social science the PR role in establishment of democratic state institutes is studied and for this the experience of western scholars is used, in which the topic on the role of PR in public and political life, has long become the subject of serious attention;
- The theoretical conception has been elaborated, which substantiates the main tendencies of PR role and status changes in the political and social processes ongoing in Georgia;
- New methodological approach has been elaborated, which is based on the public and political relations developed in the background of PR;
- The conclusion has been established and substantiated about the development of the public and political culture of the population of the present-day Georgia being a necessary and indispensable process, the successful course of which depends on not only the radical changes in the social-political spheres of life, but on new priority values and life strategies, which intensively influence the public relations;
- On the basis of empiric research and monitoring the specificity of that social-political determinant is revealed, which determines the position of the public relations, as the sphere, in the democratic society and their role in building the democratic institutes;
- On the database of empirical research, the tendencies are analyzed of life strategies establishment, which are being formed under the influence of the Georgian society transformation. It is shown that the progress in the development of public relations in the society is directly proportional to the progress of democratic values, being based on the principles of openness, transparency and accountability between the society and the authorities.

**The object of research** was the process of transformation of political and public relations culture of the post-Soviet Georgian society, as the system of essential structural, institutional and mental changes. **The subject** was determination of the PR role in establishment of state institutions in the process of democratic development of the present-day Georgian society. Scientific knowledge, as Karl Popper mentions, is considerably determined by building a theoretical hypothesis and accumulation of empiric data, and probability of definition (explanation) is determined by positive disposition of the researcher to definite means of explanation. Theoretical and empiric apprehension of the present social-political processes does not exclude, but fills each other.

The empiric data play the role of intermediating form of practice, which proves or negates the truth of theory, and theoretical apprehension of vital activity of the contemporary society facilitates deeper understanding of the present and more reliable prognosis of the near future. In this direction we have used modern principles of pluralistic, dialogue and tolerant knowledge, which are comparatively acceptable and useful for analyzing the phenomena of different direction of mass consciousness, the phenomena, which involve orientations, norms and stereotypes being of value for the Georgian political culture.

For more correct understanding of this problem, we used in our dissertation the works of M. Weber, G. Almond, G. Bingem Powel, J. Russell, J. Dalton Kiare Strom, S. Verba, E. Heywood, M. Heidegger, I. Habermas, H. Gadamer, V. Diltvi and others. The author shares the position of H. Gadamer on hermeneutics being the instrument for criticism of false consciousness and distorted forms of communication, be it the ideology having claims on the absolute truth or scientism, as the method of solving the problem.

Research of contemporary social-political processes, which influence the evolution of PR role, supposes establishment of new value priorities, radical change of those basic values of the citizens, which make the basis of their mentality, use of such fundamental philosophical conceptions, as is monistic understanding of the history, active conception of being, the principles of the conceptions of social philosophy and public culture. As we consider, this will provide unbiased, correct and objective knowledge, and also correct and deep understanding of current processes.

**Considering the interdisciplinary specificity, the base of the references** was: the works of complex character: politological, psychological, sociological and journalistic research works, which highlight social-political aspects of the behavior of people in the society, the role and significance of the public relations institute in the western developed democratic formations, also pre-historical prerequisites of establishing the public relations institute in the post-Soviet space, in the countries with transitional democracy and the problems connected with the course of this process.

An important source also was the materials of conferences, “round tables”, seminars, the articles published in the periodicals, conventions, normative acts, parliament resolutions, which involve essential information for the analysis of people’s disposition to the problems of public relations in conditions of change of values.

A significant group of sources was represented by the works of the western scholars – Z. Freud, K. Jung, G. Lebon, K. Horn, R. Benedict, which familiarize us with the ideas on mass processes of consciousness. The attention is specially concentrated on the processing of those sources, in which the influence is described of the social and political transformation on the processes of evolution of mass consciousness. These are the works of E. Fromm, G. Marcuzet, E. Reich, H. Ertega-Gasset and others.

The next group of theoretical works involves the works connected with the specificity of Georgian problematic and includes such authors, as I. Chavchavadze, E. Iberi, R. Surguladze, T. Kiknadze, L. Kutubidze, M. Lomidze, L.Kapanadze, E. Khakhutashvili, M. Tsatsanashvili, V. Ramishvili, B.Chedia, N. Devdariani, G. Tevzadze, V. Shubitidze, G. Nodia, S. Qamarauli, M. Dumbadze, T. Gunashvili and others.

**Theoretical and practical significance of the dissertation** is most essential, because study of the PR role, place and status in the contemporary society and the conclusions, made in result of this study and research, give us an opportunity to understand and apprehend the importance of PR role in the current social and political processes.

The condition of PR, as the sphere, its participation in the political and social processes and its social status, which keeps changing permanently under the influence of social and political processes ongoing in Georgia and worldwide, requires new theoretical comprehension.

Successful development of a country seriously depends on the development of PR, as the science and art.

Research of public relations, as an important aspect of the political culture, is of great theoretical and practical importance, because without comprehensive scientific analysis of the PR role and status in the social, political and cultural spheres of life, it is impossible to evaluate the changes connected with the political and social reforms ongoing in the society.

In the post-Soviet Georgia the role and designation of PR is essentially being changed. We make an attempt in our work to apprehend and characterize the peculiarities of public relations in conditions of social and political transformation of the modern Georgian society, on the basis of which more serious and thorough analysis of the present problem can be conducted, educational and special courses can be prepared. The research materials can be used in elaboration of the principles of state policy in regard to PR issue, in preparing the relevant legislative acts.

Finally, the materials and general statements of the dissertation, in our opinion, fill up the vacuum existing in the public relations sphere in the Georgian scientific literature.

### **Structure of the Dissertation**

The dissertation work consists of the introduction, four chapters, conclusion, the list of sources of the references and supplement.

### **Summary of the Dissertation**

**Chapter 1 – “Historical and Theoretical Methodological Fundamentals”** – consists of four paragraphs: **“Historical Prerequisites of PR Formation”**, **“Theoretical Aspects of PR Formation”**, **“PR as Integral Element of Political Processes”**, and **“Media as Main Actor of PR Realization”**.

**Chapter 1, paragraph 1 – “Historical Prerequisites of PR Formation”** – discusses the historical prerequisites, environment, promoting aspects of PR formation, as science and art, along with the space of those public relations, which conditioned the most important function of PR to settle the social demands and requirements for development and well-being of the socium. This paragraph deals with the PR development historical stages in the United States of America,

which is undoubtedly recognized as the home country of PR, (**starting period** – 1600-1799, initial period of colonization, American revolution, **establishment of relations** – 1800-1899, civil war, conquer of the West, industrial revolution, **retaliatory actions** – 1900-1939, the era of progress, “garbage rummagers”, the World War I, cold war of the 90s, movement of consumers, **planning** – 1940-1979, World War II, cold war of the 50s, movement of consumers, **professionalism** – 1980-up to the present day, development of global communications).

It was interesting for us to analyze the essence of PR problems in Russia, as the former metropolis and in Ukraine, as one of the post-Soviet republics, where like in Georgia the “colored” – “orange” revolution – took place.

In Russia the initial point of the political PR market formation is considered to be the 1995 parliamentary elections. The presidentials, which followed the parliamentary elections, legitimated PR, as the most important means in struggle for power.

In Russia, as in other republics of the post-Soviet space, establishment of PR started in conditions of social-economic crisis, acute political struggle and confrontation. The process of public relations establishment was being accompanied with all the psychological and social problems, caused by the domination of the administrative-commanding system of the former Soviet Union, from the both ideological and public life viewpoint.

The post-Soviet state reality is apparently seen in the reality of Russia, when despite ongoing democratic changes the ruling elite failed to apprehend the vitally important role of public relations institute for successful advance of the process of democratization and fails to perceive properly the power and actuality of the processes ongoing in the world geopolitical space, and the dangers, connected with the process of globalization both in the post-Soviet space and on the territory of the Russian Federation within the context of new world order.

Political consulting has become “princess” of the Russian PR, to be more exact, quite profitable sphere of business. According to the experts, in such agencies 60-70% of orders come on political PR. Just this is the essential factor of difference of the Russian market from that of the West. At the Russian market the leading place is occupied by the financial and crisis PR and the whole number of contradictions is caused by low political culture of leaders and parties – the main subjects of the politics.

Ukraine, like other republics of the post-Soviet space, intensively joined the process of democratization. The public relations, as an action, as a form and institute of democratic governance, has become vitally necessary for establishment of result-oriented state institutes, development of democratic values in the society, an increase of consciousness of open society, as the organism of a new type.

The experts consider that in the Ukrainian society the level of mutual understanding and constructive relations is very low among the state organizations, their management structures, political parties and public unions, new institutes of entrepreneurial, commercial and other market type. The confrontational character of their relations is not caused by only imperfect legal base, which is obliged to settle these relations, but is conditioned by intensive lobbying of its interests in these institutes and absence of representing the public significance of its activity. Openness, transparency and accountability, characteristic to the civil society is still very low, and on the contrary, paternalistic dispositions are powerful on the part of the state, often taking a dangerous form and can appear in the society as the beginning of not only disconnection, civil contradiction, but also of the break of statehood. Ukraine, as well as Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, has become the epicenter of democratic changes ongoing under the aegis of “colored” revolutions.

Through the PR technologies, used during the “orange” revolution, manipulation of consciousness of one part of the society took place, which actively supported the revolutionary changes. The methodic of these manipulations was based on the yet unknown for the public quite alien, different, too modern visualized effects and in this intensively were used media, internet, cultural-show arrangements, music, graphic, design, efficient mass media, fliers, booklets, posters, caps, brooches, kerchiefs, bracelets, ties, with the orange attributes, which always, everywhere would remind the people expectations of something new, hope. In addition to the outward attributes, these technologies intensively used the technology of waging the informational war with all permitted and non-permitted forms and expressions, methods of violence, often even the blackmail. The then authorities were in quite different informational space and dimension and failed to oppose the manipulators armed with new strongest political technologies. The “orange” revolution made Ukraine face state and political crisis, in result of which the issue of the country political unity was under danger and the country hardly managed to overcome the danger of breaking into two parts.

From the 90s, in the post-Soviet Georgia, as in other post-Soviet republics, the attempts began of establishing the PR as a democratic institute, which was followed by formation of several organizations. Proceeding from the today existing tendencies, existing PR companies and state PR structures are engaged mostly in “image-making” (i.e. the process of forming desirable positive image at any price) than in the real PR-activities, which foresee establishment of mutually beneficial, mutually advantageous relations between the society and the organization in favor of public interests.

In the present-day Georgian reality the sphere of public relations is still in the process of being formed as a democratic institute. The Georgian society has no correct, objective and full information yet on the essence and importance of this institute, the level, qualification, experience of PR managers, i.e. the specialists of this field, training is still very poor. The model of manipulation with the public consciousness is very strong in the society, when the “desirable” is far distanced from the “real” and correspondingly, formation of illusionary coincidence of these concepts and their supply to the society takes place in the illusionary, virtual dimension.

**In chapter 1, paragraph 2 – “Theoretical Aspects of PR Formation”** – the author mentions that to study and analyze the theoretical aspects is the most important precondition for introduction of the public relations, as of a democratic institute, into the real practice and life. That’s why this part of the present work discusses the considerations and analysis of the PR-researcher-theoreticians and practical scholars, which is based on the theoretical base and considerations (Edward Bernase, Rex Harlow, Sam Blake, S.M. Cutlip, A.H. Center, and G.M. Broom, Dou Newsom, Judy Van Slyke-Turk, Din Krukenberg, Alan Scott, Fraser F. Seytel, Philip Kotler, Margaret Sullivan, Tatyana Repkova Valentin Korolko, Sergei Karamurza, L. Kapanadze, E. Khakhutashvili, E.N. Pashentsev, Bertran Claude-Jean).

This paragraph of the dissertation analyzes the theoretical aspects of the establishment of relations with the society, which involves initial tendencies of scientific and professional research of PR formation, as science and art, experience of PR research-classical theoreticians and contemporary scholars, peculiarities of their approaches and the methods of implementation in practice. This part of the work discusses the hard results and problems, which follow distorted interpretations of PR theoretical definitions and wrong implementation of PR content into life,

first of all for the society security and for carriers of PR policy, because they are responsible with their reputation and image before the society.

**The chapter 1, paragraph 3 – “PR, as Integral Element of Political Processes”** – is dedicated to revealing and designation of public relations – PR – as the most important element of the political processes for their positive directing, which serves the only one purpose – development and well-being of the society.

Politics is purely human phenomenon. It is the issue of human beings co-living practice. It is the means for settling the social issues. The political issue generates from the social problem. At present, in the state structures staff of all the developed countries, a special subdivision exists, which plays an indispensable role in the democratic state and in frequent cases conditions the level of state structure organized functioning in the country, because is, in direct proportion, connected with the main cornerstone of the democratic state functioning – the society and provides its direct and uninterrupted relation with power declared by this very society, provides information, transparency and accountability of the power before the society, and on the other part, promotes increase of the society responsibility, supplies it with the information about the social and political processes ongoing in the country, increases the level of the civil education and of the population and the public relations culture, facilitates preparation of the wide circles of the population for joining the process of making the decisions of state importance, guarantees appearance of demand for establishment and preservation of harmonious relations in the society and among the population. In Georgia today low level of PR culture, lack of knowledge on it and often ignoring the importance of designation of PR sphere by the society and the power, condition more deepening of contradiction and non-confidence between these two subjects, violation of the transparency principle and, generally, sharp decline in the level of civil culture and civil relations, which finally causes appearance of the autocratic disposition in the power, increase in number of autocratic leaders in the country and more weakening of the existing still weak democratic system. The PR managers, on the example of the world developed democratic countries, together with the representatives of power, participate in the decision-making process and at the same time are lobbyists and supporters of different social groups of the society in these processes (press, social groups, citizens, etc).



In Georgia, despite the fact that PR has passed certain way of development, this sphere is not yet developed properly, established and recognized according to its importance, neither on the part of science as the subject of research, nor on the part of practical researchers, because the society, without rare exceptions, proceeding from the PR managers activities (it concerns both the state PR and partially businessmen and NGO sector) does not feel the beneficial influence of this institute on solving their problems and satisfying their interests of vital importance. This directly points to very low degree in development of these institutes and weakness of the civil society. In the western developed democracies prognosis of the PR institute, as of political and public life development, is very impressive – the PR role and function will reach unimaginable scales in the near future, because this sphere is an integral part of the ongoing process of globalization and motive force.

**The chapter 1, paragraph 4 – “Media as Main Actor of PR Realization”** – is dedicated to the role of media in functioning of the public relations sphere. It analyzes the role, function and designation of media as the most important integral part of the democratic state, of main medium and mediator between the state and the society within the context of PR relations. This paragraph discusses how media functions in the rank of defender and controller of democratic principles (openness, transparency, accountability), without which it is impossible to establish and provide the system of public relations and it also describes the problems that “the fourth power” in Georgia faced and faces today in respect to freedom of speech and expression, editorial independence and professional dilettantism, what role was played by media in establishment of the idea of parliamentarism from the 90s of the last century and how it expressed the concrete challenges and achievements, which accompanied the process of new Georgian state formation and the course of democratic reforms both in legislative, executive and judiciary power, and in the NGO sector, whether media managed to stand all the challenges of professional ethic and civil conscientiousness during the “Revolution of Roses” and what its status of dignity is like in the process of political pressure and of maintaining editorial independence, what the relations are between journalists, PR managers and state structure heads in the democratic state, when they, based on the democratic principles and obligations, execute the most important function – familiarization of the society with the information on vitally important issues.

Development of technological processes has made the media the most powerful lever for determining the rule of life and human consciousness. The result of successful cooperation of media and public relation is “good press”, in the content of which the specialists of this field imply perfect and positive highlighting of the phenomenon.

The leaders of commencement of the democratization process in Georgia, the then President (Eduard Shevardnadze) and the Parliament Chairman (Zurab Zhvania), who headed the team of “young reformers” in the government of Georgia, understand well the essence of a democratic state and the role of media in establishment of democratic values. This period in the latest history of Georgia differs with special attitude to media, the importance of apprehension and evaluation of its function, which first of all is connected with unimpeded delivery of the public information to media from the state structures and transparency of information on all those processes of state importance, which were underway in the country in that period. The Parliament of the first convocation can be considered as an example of unprecedented high promotion and attitude.

The reform in the judiciary system in Georgia, from the viewpoint of highlighting, was characterized by peculiar specificity. Firstly it was delivery of the new legal culture to the society, for which first of all it was necessary to familiarize just the journalists and obtaining of their support in the realization of these common public interests.

In the process of judiciary reform (1998-2002), the journalists working in the sphere of judiciary journalism mostly faced the following problems: problem in the language of laws, legal nihilism of the citizens and no knowledge of their rights, strong tendencies of “informal law” in the post-Soviet reality, etc.

Start of judiciary reform and its successful realization was considerably facilitated with mass media involvement in this process. Press-secretary and PR service saw their major designation in providing the media with maximum information. Mass media were supplied with the information in on-line regime at any time of day and night, on the activities of the Council of Justice, course of the judiciary reform. The aim of the press-service was to supply information to mass media and the wide circles of the society on the mentioned processes through direct involvement of media, use of transparency, openness and accountability principle and to provide with these strategy the increase of legal consciousness of the society, to show positive results of the

judiciary reform, quick and cheap profit of justice. After change of the old Soviet judiciary system and appointment of new judiciary corps, media and the PR structure of the Council of Justice actively participated in strengthening of the newly-appointed judges and showing advantages of the new judiciary system compared with the old one. This was firstly connected with appearance of confidence and respect in the citizens and journalists towards the new court.

At this stage of Georgia's democratic development, just the judiciary power policy, familiarization with the activities of its separate structures, new faces in the judiciary system, objective, just and unbiased judges, the mode of their life, moral and business reputation needed the so-called "promotion", or popularization and judgment. Along with court debates on the criminal, civil and administrative cases having wide public response, the interest of journalists increased in the law and justice practice. According to the evaluation of the "Legal Education Association" in the then Georgian society the degree of confidence in court made up 78%, formation of which was largely contributed by both printed and electronic media. It should also be mentioned here that the media experts and researchers most positively evaluate the degree of media freedom in Georgia and in their evaluation they conventionally divide into the media of the period of pre-"Revolution of Roses" (till 2003) and of post-"Revolution of Roses" (after 2003). In this comparison they separate the state pressure, control and the degree of editorial independence as the parameters of the crucial line. We shall deal with the topic, essence, nature, motivation and mechanism of realization of the "Revolution of Roses" in further chapters, though it should be said that mass media played a special role in preparing and realizing the colored revolution under the aegis of obligatory democratic changes. In this, mass media were headed by their leader – broadcasting company "Rustavi-2" and its authorities, which as an interested party and mass media participated in the process of decision-making by the revolutionary political authorities, which is a gross violation of the democratic media principles and professional ethic.

**Chapter 2 of the dissertation – "Formation of the State Institutes and PR Role in this Process" – consists of four paragraphs: "PR Role in Establishment of Parliamentary Institute in Post-Soviet Georgia", "Judiciary Reform and PR", "Revolution of Roses and PR", and "Intensification of NGO Sector and PR Role in this Process".**

**Paragraph 1 – “PR Role in Establishment of Parliamentary Institute”** – discusses the PR role in formation of the legislative body – the parliamentary institute, analyzes the social-political environment in Georgia of that period and all those most important pre-conditions, which promoted appearance and formation of the demand in PR institute in the then society, discusses the course of establishing the parliament – the main democratic institute of the country, on one hand and, on the other, how the newly-formed PR department conducted its work with media, representatives of the society and other subjects of the civil society, how the purposes and tasks, which the representatives of Georgia’s political authorities, the then President and the team of “reformers” consisting of young politicians possessed, were achieved in result of the work of this department, and what was not achieved due to existing problems.

On 24 August 1995 the authorities of Georgia adopted the most important state law – the Constitution and on 5 November of the same year multi-party democratic parliament was elected. The country supported establishment of new state formation – the democratic state and the process of its building started. Democratization put on the agenda the need of building the new democratic institutes. The process of forming the PR services starts in Georgia, namely, in state structures, just from that period. In that period, the newly-elected Parliament of Georgia became the most important leader, which had to establish in the country the new civil relations, both at the legislative level and through its practical fulfillment. The establishment of the parliament staff structures also started along with the law-making activities. In this structure the role of public relations department was first played by the press-service. Then, a bit later, the issue was put on the agenda to attribute wider burden to the establishment of public relations department and its activities. In the parliament of the first convocation in 1995-1999 about 300 journalists and video-operators were being accredited every year, which meant the important interest and wish in highlighting the parliamentary life by mass media. TV, newspaper publications of the printed media and photo archives is still preserved in the Parliament of Georgia and, proceeding from its content, it can be easily called “good press”, which undoubtedly can be considered the merit of the public relations department.

**Paragraph 2 – “Judiciary Reform and PR”** - analyzes the conditions promoting the start of judiciary reform in the country, contradictions accompanying the course of this reform on the part of both media and public relations, the main aspects characterizing support of media and the

society in this process and the role played by the public relations structure in success of the judiciary reform.

The judiciary system is called the backbone of the democratic state. The judiciary authorities are a guarantee of stability in the democratic country, a main regulator, forming balance in the state branches: between the legislative and executive power. The ground for starting the judiciary reform in Georgia was prepared by the efficient work of legislative body, the parliament, when within nearly two years (1995-1997) the Soviet legislative base, the Soviet law was completely changed and the supreme legislative body of the country adopted in succession a number of most important legal documents: the new civil code, new civil legal procedure code, new criminal code, criminal legal procedure code, new administrative code, administrative legal procedure code, new taxation code, the law on foreign investments, law on entrepreneurs, etc. These new laws laid the basis for formation of completely new civil relations in the country, gave a start to new legal culture. These processes, of course, were ongoing with great difficulties, because the ideological support of the old state formation, the old Soviet court were being replaced with the new civil relations built on democratic principles and with the market economy principles. The Parliament of Georgia, as the supreme legislative body, worked much in this direction in 1995-1998. The judiciary reform, first of all, foresaw changes at both theoretical (legislative) and practical level. Through the efforts of the Council of Justice of Georgia, which headed the fulfillment of judiciary reform in Georgia and represented the body, staffed with the representatives of legislative, executive and judiciary power, worked on the parity principle, chaired directly by the President, the judiciary corps of the Soviet period has been fully changed, the new reforms were conducted and the judges came into the judiciary system, who knew new democratic legislation. This process was conducted through delivering of information to the wide circles of the population, improving of their legal knowledge in parallel, and kindling the interest of the society in these processes.

The strategy and tactic of the task, set from the viewpoint of relation of the judiciary reform with the society, were correctly determined, which further on was proved by the results and this was first of all guaranteed by observing the following four components. It was necessary for fulfillment of the judiciary reform: 1. President's political will; 2. Existence of the group of reformers; 3. Close relations with the international organizations; and 4. Close relations with

mass media. For providing successful PR campaign for the reform, active and efficient activity of each component conditioned support of the society to necessary and quick implementation of judiciary reform, caused by coordinated and organized action of all four components.

The work of the group of reformers was of greatest importance in that period from the viewpoint of public relations. It was the merit of each member of this group Zurab Zhvania, Mikheil Saakashvili, Lado Chanturia, Sul Khan Molashvili that they, as young leaders, were well aware of the importance of relations with the press and public, delivery of information to the population through press in regard to the most important issues of the judiciary reform, technical details of preparing the qualification exams, the process of holding them, the issues of providing objectivity and transparency, the criteria of evaluation and the rule of selecting the judges.

In the process of judiciary reform implementation, the PR manager faced the task to not only conduct popularization, promotion of a concrete organization, in this case the Council of Justice, its purposes and tasks, but to explain and interpret to media and through it to the society (international and non-governmental organizations, citizens) the essence, significance of new legal culture, democratic judiciary system and the need for its introduction.

**Chapter 2, paragraph 3 – “Revolution of Roses and PR”** – discusses the preconditions and reasons, which prepared the ground for fulfillment of the colored revolution in Georgia in 2003. Within the context of the then social-political circumstances, expediency and regularity of the need of the “revolution of roses”, as aggressive democratic transformations are analyzed. The author deals with the international experience and the role of media and NGOs, main subjects of the civil society, while implementing revolutionary PR technologies in the process of power change.

The latest history of the post-Soviet Georgia can be conventionally divided into the periods of “pre-Rose Revolution” and “post-Rose Revolution”, because in evaluating these two periods the difference becomes apparent in the democratization degree and sharp decline with different parameters. The democratic reform, started in the country from 1995, showed that to achieve the most important statehood changes is possible (legislative reform, judiciary reform, development of civil sector and independent media), if in the country exists the political will of supreme power, team of reformers, motivated, unbiased media and support of the international

organizations. From this viewpoint, the process slowly, but with visible progress, was ongoing in the country in such regularity that started legislative and judiciary reforms should have been followed by the reforms in other spheres, namely, in the system of law enforcement and security bodies and executive power. These changes were immediately demanded by the existing reality. The judiciary reform was not finished yet, which naturally foresaw radical changes in direction of all the subjects of judiciary system, namely, the reform in prosecutor's office and the Bar was needed badly. The situation was intensified by the political aspect – new elections, and the expectations for change of the power (the age of the then president, expiring of the presidential term, indefiniteness from the viewpoint of young presidential nominees, hard geopolitical reality and permanently problematic issue of search for strategic partner)). All this was accompanied by hard social-economic condition, unemployment, economic problems, corruption in the law enforcement bodies of old structure. In such background the youth wing of the political authorities of the country (Z. Zhvania, M. Saakashvili, N. Burjanadze), the representatives of the “team of reformers”, fixed open confrontation with the then president and joined the power acting within the radical opposition, though this team also represented the then authorities of the country and equally divided the political responsibility on the existing reality. In the experts' opinion, the export of political technological model of “bloodless” change of power was conducted from the West. Media took an active part in the fulfillment of this process, especially TV broadcasting company “Rustavi-2”, which in the regime of propaganda continued broadcasting with modern, latest psychological or visual PR technologies, manipulated with the public consciousness, showed the situation was negative and accelerated destructive task fulfillment through gross violation of the media professional ethic. All the reforms that logically should have come to successful completion were suspended in this process. The struggle for power, the lust for seizing the power, has tensed the situation; the arranged parliamentary elections were declared falsified and forced dismissal of acting President Shevardnadze from his post took place. 7 years have passed from the “colored” revolution. The analysts and experts are already summing up the results of the democratic revolution. The situation from the viewpoint of democratic changes and improvement of social well-being has tensed and worsened: limitless concentration of power in the President's hands, primacy of the ruling party – “National Movement”, restriction of freedom of speech and full control over the electronic mass media, nearly one-party parliamentary governing, ignoring of the oppositional thought, high level of

unemployment, inefficiency of the social and health care reforms, formation of repressive police rule, belittling of the judiciary power and full control on the part of the political party authorities, appearance of gulf of confidence between the society and the power, formation of the antagonistic disposition, which is promoted by inactivity of the PR departments and structures, sharp increase of social injustice and seizing of country well-being by the ruling governing clans, oppression of business and disappearance of middle class, ignoring of the contacts with the population on the part of state PR services, hiding of the public information, disregard of transparency and accountability, operation of repressive criminal legislative and sharp increase in number of prisoners and probationers. The revolutionary authorities, who fully control the main essence of the relations with the society – media, keep using PR for manipulation when in the existing reality gulf exists between “desirable” and “real”. Pro-power mass media keep expressing irresponsibly the virtual illusionary well-being. Lawless use of PR in this condition aggravates more the aggression in the society and forms the ground for social outburst, and respectively in such a society the need grows for “harmonious relation” with those governing subjects, which are charged with the obligation to think and take care of the society well-being.

**Chapter2, paragraph 4 – “Intensification of NGO Sector and PR Role in this Process”** – presents the condition of the post-revolutionary society, intensification of the revolutionary euphoria and sharp restriction of the democratic parameters, existing before, at the political-ruling level. The author analyzes the efforts of civil society subjects, in the background of ignoring and prohibiting of democratic values, to struggle for preserving the freedom gained before the revolution and the values (free media, independent and unbiased court, inviolability of the private property, transparency and accountability of the state structures). It should be mentioned here that the charge and readiness, formed in the Georgian society, to found firm terms of public relations system, the opportunity for which was given to it undoubtedly by the existing reality and social-political environment, are becoming weaker and disappear in the society due to intensification of the model of manipulation. This paragraph discusses the social-political environment, which has formed pre-conditions for the activities of civil subjects of post-revolutionary Georgia. It analyzes why it became necessary on the part of these subjects (human rights protection NGOs, acting judges, which the power considered unreliable and dismissed from their posts, the representatives of open and closed mass media, lawyers) to unite and to start



struggle for saving the democratic values. Mass media worked hard, through correctly planned PR, for gaining the public support and widening awareness.

The first NGO, which called for defending the independent court, was the “Association of Georgian Judges”. The service of PR managers was founded in this association, which shouldered the obligation to clarify the details of the campaign started against the judges, to mobilize mass media, and to help the society in being aware of the problem. PR manager, as it is characteristic for the critical situation, first of all managed to mobilize mass media, a group of journalists from different information agencies, working on the legal issues, was formed. They were regularly, practically in on-line regime, supplied with information on the disciplinary legal proceedings ongoing in the Supreme Council of Justice. It should be said about the journalists that mass media concentrated special interest in this process.

“Rebellious” judges were immediately supported by the human rights protection NGOs: “Constitution Article 42”, “Association of Georgian Young Lawyers”, “Centre for Protection of Constitutional Rights”, “Former Political Prisoners for Human Rights”, “International Centre of Conflicts and Talks”, Association of Judges, Network of Caucasian Women”, “International Union of Journalist ‘Objective’”, “Movement ‘Multinational Georgia’”, which openly fixed their position in support of judges against pressure on the part of the state. Several press-conferences were arranged with the participation of the international organizations and diplomatic corps accredited in Georgia. All this conditioned foundation of coalition of NGOs in Georgia “Civil Society for Democratic Georgia”. Today, in post-revolutionary Georgia, the degree of NGOs activities is quite restricted, majority of these organizations express protest against worsened degree of democracy in the country, which is connected, first of all, with the problems of receiving public information from the state establishments and their transparency.

**The dissertation chapter 3 – “PR Condition in Georgia of post-“Revolution of Roses” Period (classification and analysis of empiric material)” – consists of two paragraphs: “Evaluation of Public Relations as Institute”, (subparagraph – “PR Management Institute and its Essence”), “Analysis of Modern PR Condition”, (subparagraphs – “Analysis of Experts”, “Analysis of Politicians and Acting PR Managers on PR Condition in Present-day Georgia”).**

**Chapter 3, paragraph1 – “Evaluation of Public Relations as Institute”**, analyzes the function of PR, as the institute and its practical importance in the successful work of state and not only state structures. It discusses it as the most important part of the modern governing system, which is responsible before its own employees and the society and which apprehends its function and obligations as the moving force necessary for development of the society.

In regard to PR functions well-apprehended and established opinion exists among scholars. Public relations – PR – as the function of governing, foresee the public thought, analyze those disputable issues, which positively or negatively act on the work and plans of the organization, delivers consulting to the authorities of all levels in the organization in regard to adopted decisions.

A list of obligations of the PR department work is not always alike in different companies, though a certain set of standard functions exists, without which the work of PR department is impossible.

The set of these functions and their priorities are as follows: to determine common PR policy, to prepare the corporation statement, corporation publicity, corporation produce publicity, contacts with state bodies, relations with local population, contacts with clients, institutional advertising, charitable activity of the corporation, publications for the company staff, reception of guests, coordination of all directions in the company PR activity and full and partial integration into subdivisions, organization and fulfillment of training and educational programs.

PR, with its nature and the content of its tasks to be executed, is directly connected with the function of strategic management. To act as much professionally as possible and to receive the society’s timely support while establishing efficient relation with it, there exist two ways of using PR institute by the top link of the organization authorities: to form PR department in the organization structure or permanent contact with specialized commercial companies for consulting. The relations with the society represent one of the functions of staff PR employees, which also imply consulting for managers and practical assistance for them. The main person of the PR institute is PR man, i.e. PR manager, which directly participates in fulfillment of all the functions.

**Subparagraph of chapter 3, paragraph 1 – “PR Management Institute and its Essence”** – discusses the essence of the PR man or PR manager institute, as the most important integral part of public relations system and its significance for the system functioning. All the evaluations, expressed by theoretical and practical scholars, equally belong to PR manager, as it is just he who is main moving force and executor of PR policy. The PR art is formed by the person, who leads the PR. In many organizations this function is performed by PR manager or press-secretary.

As PR (public relations) is a complex discipline, which widely uses and at the same time integrates the data of many social and humanitarian sciences, the specialists of this field require comprehensive knowledge and sufficient supply of skills to efficiently master their work. Professional PR managers need to be a skilled researcher, an initiative leader, a wise advisor, and should be able to conduct perspective planning, to conclude relations with different audiences, to approach the solution of serious problems in an unordinary way, to be sociable in unusual situations and should stand the greatest tension.

Settlement of serious problems, management of orientation in critical situations often demands collective work, knowledge of working as one team, tolerance towards the opposing thoughts. PR man, listening to different ideas, finally adopts the decision independently and it is of great importance to him to convince people in possibility to solve the complex problems. In critical and speedy-going situations the organization members appeal to a professional PR man for recommendations and proposals. PR manager should be respected and absolutely trusted not only because of his post, but for his personal features as well and this should be gained only by a frank man with the ability to critically evaluate the situation. PR manager requires courage and venture to avoid any effort of concealing the facts.

One of the main activities of the public relations discipline and, proceeding from this, of PR manager, is Publicity (advertising, popularity), which can be achieved by the relations with mass media. If we look through the history of PR development, just journalists were the first PR managers.

So that PR manager, proceeding from the interests of his company, can manage to deliver desirable information to the society, the journalists are, surely, implied in this communication

process. He should manage easily, correctly and in the understandable for the people language, present this information so that the society would manage not only to get this information, but to apprehend it and make it operate, i.e. to make it be involved. This is possible only in case the society feels and sees mutual benefit of this information and when PR manager is a good interlocutor and communicator.

Decisive importance is attached to the coordination between the service head and the press-official. In any moment the press-official should manage to contact his boss and to deliver information to him. Press-official and his boss should make up one team, which jointly settle the strategic issues concerning their service, and according to this strategy they conduct their further activities. It is also of great importance that PR manager and press-secretary should be well aware of the weak and strong personal sides of their boss for further determination of the relations with press. Work burden of PR manager is too hard. It is connected with spending of great energy, both emotional-psychological and physical, with time-limit, or permanent stress, time-pressing, speed of decision-making, So that PR manager could manage to fulfill complex official and important tasks at full-value level and with emotional balance, along with the special professional education he should be trained in the following fields: planning, management, advertizing, analytical work, production relations, economic relations, communications, social relations, education sphere, and political life.

**The third chapter 3, paragraph 2 – “Analysis of Modern PR Condition”** – presents analysis of the public relations sphere in present-day Georgia. This analysis involves various important aspects of development of this process. General brief excursus continues with the topic of empirical research, which consists of further two subparagraphs titled: **“Analysis of Experts”** and **“Analysis of Politicians and Acting PR Managers on PR Condition in Present-day Georgia”**. The introduction of the third paragraph discusses at what stage this important institute of democratic state and social-political governing is in our country. This institute itself determines the degree of democracy in the state, facilitates democratic and harmonious development of the society and strengthening of fundamental principles of the civil society – openness, transparency and accountability.

In the words of American scholar Harold Bergson, today PR has reached such condition, when PR men dictate to the organization what to say, but what to do as well. In the 1960s PR

specialists mostly formed and simply spread notifications, given to them by the top officials – “how to tell better about this”, in the end of the 60s, when social security, environment protection, etc turned to be necessary, PR men put the following question: “What shall we tell the society?” and finally, from the 90s PR entered the new stage, the organization top officials ask the PR men: “What should be done?”

The concept of “public relations”, less known and unusual for the former Soviet political culture and mentality some time ago, entered our life in recent years. Some tens of books were written on this topic: articles and materials are being published in newspapers and journals today; courses are being prepared; seminars and conferences are being held, and noisy presentations are being arranged. The process of forming the public relations professional unions and associations is intensively ongoing in Ukraine, Russia; here in Georgia it is less intensive, because they never talk about it in mass media. In a word, the present concept has become in fashion and a real visiting-card of the new time. No wonder, as the entire civilized world has not only become accustomed to it, but also transformed PR into efficiently working science and the art of mutual understanding and consent between different subjects of the civil society. However, in the present-day Georgia the concept “PR” and “to make PR” is used only within negative context, only for belittling someone or to express something negative.

**Paragraph 2, part 1 – “Analysis of Experts”** – is the research conducted by the author, presented in the form of focus-groups and is dedicated to evaluation of PR sphere, analysis of problems and the views on its development, which involve the interviews of PR sphere specialists and of scholars and practical workers interested in this sphere.

**Paragraph 2, part 2 – “Analysis of Politicians and Acting PR Managers on PR Condition in Present-day Georgia”** – is also sociological research, which uses the deepened interview method with famous politicians and acting PR managers from the influential services , which analyze the importance of PR sphere and practical experience aspects in their public and political activity in Georgia, their mistakes and achievements in important decision-making within the context of relations with the society.

## **Conclusion**

In the conclusion of the dissertation the author presents the conclusions obtained in result of the author's theoretical and empirical research. These conclusions present concrete recommendations for development and improvement of public relations sphere in Georgia to strengthen in the society the democratic tendencies and those fundamental values on which are based democratic state order, openness, transparency, accountability and strengthening of the social justice principle, as the most important principle of democratic state development.