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**s a r C e v i - C O N T E N T S**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **demografia – DEMOGRAPHY** |  |
| ***Avtandil Sulaberidze, Joseph Archvadze, Vladimir Sulaberidze –*** The Migration and Potential of Georgian Population from the Period of Gaining Independence Until Today | **7** |
| ***avTandil sulaberiZe, ioseb arCvaZe, vladimer sulaberiZe –*** saqarTvelos mosaxleobis migracia da potenciali damoukideb­lo­bis aRdgenidan dRemde (gafarToebuli reziume) | **20** |
| **ekonomikuri Teoria – ECONOMIC THEORY** |  |
| ***revaz gvelesiani –*** socialuri sabazro ekonomikis koncefciis damokidebuleba ZiriTad sazogadoebriv RirebulebebTan | **26** |
| ***Revaz Gvelesiani –*** Relationship of Social Market Economic Conception Towards the Main Social Values (Expanded summary) | **35** |
| **saxelmwifo marTvis problemebi –**  **PROBLEMS OF STATE MANAGEMENT** |  |
| ***nugzar paiWaZe –*** saxelmwifo da municipalur mosamsaxureTa organizaciuli qcevis marTva da misi srulyofis gzebi | **37** |
| ***Nugzar Paichadze*** *–* Management of Organizational Behavior of Governmental and Municipal Employees and the Ways of Perfection (Expanded Summary) | **44** |
| **transportis ekonomika – ECONOMIC OF TRANSPORT** |  |
| ***Boris Gitolendia –*** Ways of Approximation and Further Compatibility of Georgian Transport System with the European and International Standards | **46** |
| ***boris giTolendia –*** saqarTvelos satransporto sistemis evropul da saerTaSoriso standartebTan daaxloebisa da Semdgomi Tavsebadobis gzebi | **52** |
| **jandacvis ekonomika *–* ECONOMIC OF HEALTHCARE** |  |
| ***Tengiz verulava*** *,* ***nino besiaSvili*** *,* ***mirian Todria, zviad lobJaniZe***  ***\_*** aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebis ganviTarebis problemebi saqarTve­l­oSi | **60** |
| ***Tengiz Verulava,******Nino Besiashvili, Mirian Todria, Zviad Lobzhanidze***  *\_* Nonprofit Medical Organizations in Georgian Healthcare System (Expanded Summary) | **69** |
| **biznesi – BUSINESS** |  |
| ***vladimer basaria –*** sakuTreba da mewarmeoba | **72** |
| ***Vladimer Basaria –*** Property and Entrepreneurship (Expnded Summary) | **82** |
| **magistrantebisa da doqtorantebis samecniero naSromebi**  **SCIENTIFIC WORKS OF UNDERGRADUATES AND DOCTORAL STUDENTS** |  |
| ***iza bukia \_*** mogebis gadasaxadis estonuri modeli - ekonomikuri zrdis perspeqtiva | **84** |
| ***Iza Bukia –*** The Estonian Model of Profit Tax – The Prospect of Economic Growth  (Expanded summary) | **88** |
| ***lela guledani*** *\_*mcire inovaciuri sawarmoebis klasteris Seqmnis meTodika saqarTveloSi | **91** |
| *Lela Guledani –* Methodics of the Cluster Creation of Small Innovative Enterprises in Georgia (Expanded summary) | **99** |
| ***Tamar buwaSvili*** ***\_*** xarjTefeqturi pirveladi jandacva da misi ekonomikuri sargebeli | **101** |
| ***Tamar Butsashvili******\_*** Cost-effective Primary Healthcare and its Benefits (Expanded summary) | **107** |
| ***giorgi bregaZe \_*** turizmis pirdapiri ekonomikuri sargeblianobis gamoTvlis meTodologiuri sakiTxebi | **109** |
| ***Giorgi Bregadze –*** Methodological Issues in Measuring Tourism Direct Economic Benefits (Exspanded summary) | **118** |
| ***lia metoniZe \_*** saxelmwifo marketingi da misi roli marTvis procesSi | **121** |
| ***Lia Metonidze –*** State Marketing and its Role in the Management Process (Expanded summary) | **124** |
| ***Otar Soselia –*** Some Issues in Improving the Organization of Labor Remuneration System in the Construction Sector of Georgia | **126** |
| ***oTar soselia –*** Sromis anazRaurebis sistemis organizaciis srulyofis zogierTi sakiTxi saqarTvelos samSeneblo seqtorSi | **130** |
| ***Lasha Arevadze –*** Estimation of Government Spending Multiplier in Countries in Transition | **135** |
| *laSa arevaZe \_* samTavrobo danaxarjebis multiplikatoris Sefaseba gardamavali tipis ekonomikebisaTvis | **151** |

**demografia**

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**THE MIGRATION AND POTENTIAL OF GEORGIAN POPULATION FROM THE PERIOD OF GAINING INDEPENDENCE UNTIL TODAY**

***Summary.*** *The article deals with the migration processes of Georgian population during 1992-2017. Based on the materials of the general population censuses of 2002 and 2014, it analyzes the dynamics and structure of the migrants. The article also presents characteristics of the migrants, according to the directions of migration and its primary causes. On the basis of the sociological research, it studies the motivation of the migration behavior of the Georgian students as the potential migrants in terms of employment and education*.

***Key words:*** *potential migration, education, employment, emigration, population census.*

**Introduction**

Georgia is among one of those countries, where external migration played and still plays an important role in the formation of population and workforce. Consequently, the article aims to briefly present positive and negative factors currently affecting the migration of the Georgian population from the quantitative as well as qualitative standpoint. In this regard, the work pays basic attention to the potential migrants, namely, to the migration behavior and motivation of the student-youth, the knowledge of which is vital and necessary in terms of social-demographic and economic viewpoint for any country, especially for the authorities and wider society of a country with a small number of population.

**Research methodology**

The research of migration problems was always hindered by current recording of migration, as well as inaccurate statistical information concerning population census, especially, after the transformation of the Recording Institute in the Post-Soviet period and its replacement by the new form of registration. The thing is that the inaccurate recording of the migration is a direct result of the incorrect methodology employed until the year of 2012. Since 2012, Geostat created a new methodology of recording external migration, which significantly lowered incorrect recording of the mentioned migration. Regarding country’s internal migration, the movement of the population inside the country is no longer controlled and thus is not recorded.

Within the article, the qualitative indicators of the potential migration are primarily studied on the basis of the 2018 research conducted by the Ilia State University’s Institute of demography and sociology concerning migration problems among the student-youth, as well as on the results of researches conducted by Georgian scientists, etc.

**Migration of Georgian population from the period of gaining independence until today**

After the country gained its independence, the negative net migration of external migration started having an impact on the rate of size of Georgian population. As a result, lower natural increase of population cannot cover the higher negative net migration of the external migration, which leads to the decrease of the Georgian population and depopulation. According to the 2014 population census, 223 villages have become depopulated.

Emigration primarily underwent the process involving three factors: on the one hand, there occurred ethnic migration, when after the collapse of the SSSR, tens of thousands of other nationalities living in Georgia returned to their historical motherland; on the other hand, the emigration of the large masses of refugees, that came from the lost territories as a result of ethnic conflicts, stipulated the high rate of migration. The third factor was the high level of unemployment, which still exists today, caused by the social-economic collapse and family poverty.

On the verge of depopulation, under the circumstances of zero natural growth of population, the fact that emigration exceeded immigration determined not only an important reduction of the population, but also the deformation of age-sex structure (increase of demographic aging) and change in the national contingent. Emigration is especially intensive among the members of the population who are capable of working and are in an active reproductive age.

Since April of 2017, the introduction of the visa-free travel regime within the countries of the European Union, gave a new impulse to the dynamic of migration process. It is true that by regulations the total annual duration of the days one can spend on the territory of the European Union is limited by 90 days, although not a small number of those people who left the country (more than 4 thousand Georgian citizens) have already “managed” to violate the above-mentioned time limit and have exceeded the period of their stay on the territory of the European Union.

If during 1990-2000, the negative external net migration amounted, on average, to -19.2 individuals annually on every 1000 souls of the population; the same figure substantially decreased in the years of 2000-2017, although its intensity still remains fairly high (-8.5). Therefore, we have witnessed the reduction of the negative net migration lately, which indicates, on the one hand, to the quantitative changes in the emigrational and Immigration flows, and on the other hand, to the probable decrease of the number of potential emigrants.

Despite the fact that after the middle of the 1990s, the economic development of Georgia acquired the characteristics of stabilization, and according to certain years, there even occurred a double figure economic growth (1996, 1997, 2003, and 2007); this has actually not had any substantial impact on the migration flows of the population. In the aftermath of gaining the independence, the emigration of the population takes place with different intensity, especially among those individuals who are most capable of working and are in a reproductive age. Amongst those people who left the country, 85% are between 20 and 50 years of age, whereas the share of the mentioned age group in the total Georgian population is only 40.2%.The key to the explanation of this phenomenon lies in the structure of employment and the number of jobs. Compared to the beginning of the 1990s, in 2014 the population of the country decreased by 1740 thousand individuals, and the number of the hired workers by 1436 thousand, which is 82.5% of the reduced population. As of today, the share of the hired workers in the population is nearly 2 times lower than it was in the beginning of the 1990s (22.2% and 41.4% respectively). For the purpose of comparing, in the USA, where the number of the hired employees is especially high, and the correlation between the hired employees and the self-employed individuals is approximately 8:1 (in Georgia 1:1.5), the share of the hired workers, in this country, does not exceed 45% of the total number of the population. The analogous indicator of Georgia during the beginning of the 1990s was quite near to the mentioned American figure (41.4%), whereas today it lags behind 2.2 times and more.

On the contemporary stage the migration processes of Georgia are essentially associated with the neoclassical theory of migration. Inasmuch as the Georgian economy is characterized by the high share of labor compared to the capital, and a low market salary. At the same time, the developmentally advanced countries of Europe stand out by the low share of labor in comparison to the capital, and the high salary for the hired individuals. Exactly this distinction compels Georgian population toward emigration to the highly developed foreign countries. The decrease of the work force together with its human capital did not lead to a significant growth of their salary in Georgia. In spite of the fact that the Georgian emigrants (especially illegal workers) working in the highly developed foreign countries, receive a smaller salary, compared to Georgian standards, in those countries the salary of even the dilettante workers still significantly exceeds the existing income of those people who are toiling at a highly qualified jobs in Georgia. This is the main reason why the emigrants refrain from returning to their motherland.

Besides economic factors, emigration from Georgia is also associated with such social-demographic factors of sociological theories as are: receiving education, exile, the desire to live in better conditions, etc. These factors significantly determine the positives of migration in the receiving developed countries and the negatives in Georgia. Consequently the bigger the difference between the positive and negative factors of migration, the higher is the expected emigration toward other countries and the possibility of staying there.

During 1960-2000, on average, the absolute size of the external migration’s negative net, as well as intensity increased steadily throughout decades, and Georgian population lost more than 1404 thousand people as a result of outer migration. The 1990s were especially important for Georgia, when, according to various estimations, Georgian population lost substantially more people from external migration than they did during the previous 30-year period. Based on the data of estimations, during 1990-2000, Georgia lost 19% (1026 thousand people) of the quantity of population in 1989 from external migration, that is, nearly every fifth of the population went away from the county [Tsuladze G. 2007: 61-67].

When we talk about the modern period of migration, we must pay attention to the general population censuses conducted in Georgia in 2002 and 2014, the results of which are assessed differently by specialists. According to the results of the 2002 census, the quantity of Georgian emigrants amounted to 113.7 people, and in 2014 census much less – 88541 individuals. In both instances the figures are illogical and incorrect. The thing is, at the same time, according to the calculations of the statistics department of Georgia the negative net of external migration amounted to 930 thousand people in Georgia between the census periods of 1989-2001 [Population of Georgia. Statistical collection, 2003: 67]. Regarding the years in 2002-2014, because of the incorrect recording methodology, the figure was positive 24 thousand, whereas based on the assessing indicator, the net migration was negative – 320 thousand people [Tsuladze G... 2016: 18]. Therefore, the intensity of migration in Georgia was higher before 2000 than since 2002.

The above-mentioned is confirmed by the figure 1 below, which shows the dynamic of calculated and pre-calculated data of 1994-2014 net migration derived from the results of the population censuses of 2002 and 2014. Distinctions in the migration balance, according to certain years, are crystal clear, especially during 1994-2002.

**Figure 1The dynamic of the net migration of Georgian population 1994-2015**

Note: evaluative data during 2002-2011projection by Tsuladze G.; since 2012 based on the data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs’ border police.

The negative balance of external migration, according to Geostat’s official data, before recalculation, amounted to 135.2 thousand people in total during 1990-2000 periods. After recalculation, the net migration became 879.5 thousand for the same period, that is, 6.5 times more! The transition to a new methodology of recording migration by Geostat from 2012 determined the improvement of migration indicators; the result is that since 2013, both indicators (official and evaluative) of the net migration, more or less, coincide with each other.

Despite incomplete recording of migrants during 2002 and 2014 population censuses, it gives us certain idea on the qualitative characteristics of external migration, and can be used in order to explain the migration behavior of emigrants and immigrants.

The dynamic of migrants’ circulation in light of their gender during 2002-2014, where we can discern that, among males, emigrants exceeded immigrants until 2013 and their quantity became equal during 2013 and 2015, whereas in 2017 the number of immigrants overtook and exceeded that of emigrants. As the structure of the immigrants shows us, the majority are Georgian citizens, which indicates to their growing desire to return home. With regard to the tendency of reduction of male emigrants during the last 3 years since 2015, it is possible to suppose, on the one hand, that there occurred decrease in their quantitative potential and on the other hand, it refers to the change of their migration behavior.

As opposed to men, emigrants still exceed immigrants among women and unlike men, the analogous reverse process does not occur among women for the time being. However, based on the age structure of emigrants in 2017; there is a tangible prevalence (5.3%) of women above the age of 65 in comparison to men (2.2%). This gives us ground to suppose that there will be more people willing to return to their homeland. Even more so, by 2017, among the immigrants above the age of 65, the share of women (7.3%) was substantially higher than that of men (3.1%).

Consequently, the quantity of pensioners is expected to grow in the next 5 years, which will add on to the harsh social conditions in the country and make them even more stressful. Therefore, the government of the country must necessarily take into account the above-mentioned during the transition to the new pension system.

It is noteworthy that according to the 2014 population census, the number of teachers increased among women emigrants, and they constituted a majority. Their profession makes it easier for them to get jobs as babysitters, caretakers, servants and other occupations abroad which require low qualification and are typical of the secondary labor market. Those kinds of jobs are rejected by the local population who possess higher education. Despite the fact that by working in emigration on low-qualification jobs, they experience disqualification, in comparison to the income they receive at home, they are compensated for by 4.5 times higher salary in the receiving country, which forces them to agree to endure cabal, exploitative conditions of their new jobs. On top of that, they have families at home who are dependent on the salaries of emigrants. Not taking into consideration various taxes, the money earned by the emigrants abroad is used for financing their children’s education, treatment of their parents and relatives. Among the difficulties encountered abroad, those women primarily emphasize the predicaments of getting used to harsh climate and hardships of taking care of their health because of the stressful working environment. 84% of the returned women and 91% of the men declared that before going in emigration their health was in good shape, but after leaving their country 50% of the women and 39% of the men experienced deterioration of their health. The reasons for the deterioration of the women’s health are stressful working conditions (50%), as well as unhealthy social environment (12%) and humidity of the foreign climate. The share of the women who became ill with neurosis is quite large among those females [Shelia M. 2017: 122-124].

Based on the population censuses of 2002 and 2014, compared to 2002, in 2014, in the age structure of women as well as men emigrants, there occurred a distinctive growth of people aged 15-64 and the share of the age group above 65. This phenomenon, to some extent, confirms the above-mentioned about the increase of the number of those emigrants who want to return to their homeland. Under these circumstances, the reduction of the share of immigrants under the age of 15, in our opinion, must basically be caused by the increase of their age, and transition into the age group of 15-64 and less by the return to homeland together with their parents. Moreover, the high indicator of immigration of male and female individuals below the age group of 15 must be caused, on the one hand by the birth of emigrants in the receiving country during 1990s, and on the other hand by taking an underage family member (child) in emigration by the family.

With regard to the age-sex structure of the emigrants during 2002-2014, we can say that the number of the emigrants below 65 among both men and women is more or less stable, whereas the share of the emigrants above 65 is decreasing. The mention fact can be explained by those emigrants’ overcoming various difficulties (finding a job, studying, solving the issues of everyday living conditions, acquiring the status of a refugee or citizenship, etc.) in the receiving country and their desire to not return to their homeland for the time being or at all. The decrease in the number of emigrants above the age of 65, as was mentioned before, is associated, on the one hand, with the reduction of the potential of those population who want to emigrate abroad and who are above 65 in Georgia, and on the other hand, with the issue of immigration age. However, other causes (illness, nostalgia for the family members, etc.) must not be excluded.

As a result of the age-sex changes of the 2002-2014 migrants, the age-sex pyramid of 2014 Georgian migrants has the following form (Fig. 2).

**Figure 2Age-sex pyramid of the migrants in 2014.**

Created in accordance with the data of the 2002-2014 Georgian population censuses As opposed to 2002, by 2014 the share of Georgians in the national structure of emigrants rose from 60.9 to 83.8%, especially among women (from 56.3 to 87.2%) and the share of other nationalities decreased: Azerbaijanians to 5.9%, Armenians to 5.0%, Russians to 0.9%, Ossetians to 0.7%, Greeks to 0.4%. At the same time, until 2000, the majority of these nationalities returned to their homeland (except for Ossetians, whose considerable portion remained on the territories of Akhalgori and Tskhinvali after the 2008 war between Russia and Georgia), and today their emigration abroad, together with Georgians, is primarily determined by employment and improvement of their financial conditions. Simultaneously, there was an increase in the number of those emigrants who went abroad in order to study (from 6.6 to 11.0%), reunite with their families or create a new family.

The increase in the number of those people who wanted to create a new family or return to their families is not surprising in the light of living abroad for a longer period of time. If by 2000, up to 40% of emigrants lived abroad for more than 5 years, by 2014, this figure rose to 68.8%. In comparison to those people, the share of the emigrants who lived abroad up to 5 years decreased from 58.0% in 2002 to 18.5% in 2014. This indicates to the significant decrease in the emigrants’ potential in Georgia.

By 2014, 70,8% of the emigrants worked, 10.3% studied, 5.6% searched for a job, and a small portion underwent treatment (1.7%), as well as used social assistance (1.1%). 7,1% of them has different reasons for being abroad and 3.4% did not specify as to their motivation for emigrating.

It is noteworthy that if by 2002, 64.1% of the total number of emigrants lived in Russian Federation, by 2014, after the war between Russia and Georgia, their number dwindled 2.5 times. The decrease in the number of women (from 56.7% to 11.5%) as well as men (from 69.4% to 34%) was also stipulated by the strict visa regime imposed by Russia against Georgian citizens. Under these circumstances, the number of the migrants living abroad remained the same in Turkey (11.3%), and increased in Italy (10.9%), in Germany (7.1%), in the USA (5.7%), in Spain (4.1%), in France (3.7%) and in other countries. Furthermore, the migrants, in the light of gender, are represented in the following way: the largest number of men (39.9%) lives in Russian Federation; their share in other countries varies from 3 to 8%. As regards women, the largest number live in Greece (24.1%), then come Italy (17.0%), Turkey (13.8%), Russia (11.5%), Germany (7.1%), and the USA (5.3%). Their number in other countries is below 4%.

It is apparent from the data of the 2014 population census that from the total number of the emigrants with higher, professional and secondary education almost half (49.3%) with the share of more than 10% are represented in the following countries: in Russia (21.6%), in Greece (16.2%), in Turkey (11.5%), and in Italy (11.1%). Among those people 64.4% of the ones possessing higher education live in Russia, Italy, Greece, Germany and the USA. Unfortunately, the majority of these people are principally illegal migrants working in the spheres of teaching, engineering, medicine and technical fields. However, they do not employ their own occupation, and therefore, occupy the place in the secondary labor market, which causes their actual disqualification. Additionally, because of the high demand of the specialists with higher education in Russia, the number of migrants would have been even higher if it was not for the strict visa regime with Russia and the deportation of emigrants in 2010.

Furthermore, based on the analysis of the material of the 2014 population census, we can assert that on every level of educational structure, the biggest share of those emigrants who have higher education live in Germany, USA, Italy, Greece, Spain and France. As opposed to them, the largest share of the emigrants with professional education falls on Greece, Russia and Italy. With regard to the emigrants who possess only secondary education, their number in Russia exceeds that of other countries, and they are highly represented in the general structure of educational levels.

In connection to the emigration from regions abroad, albeit the fact that the data of the 2014 population census is not complete in terms of emigration, it still presents some insight. According to the data of 2002-2014, in majority of cases, (88.5 thousand individuals) women emigrants exceed that of the number of men, and a city population emigrated more often than that of a village. The intensity of emigration is the highest from the regions of Imereti, Tbilisi and Kvemo Kartli. Guria, Adjara, Racha-Lechkhumi and Kvemo Svaneti are characterized by a relatively low intensity of emigration. The high intensity of emigration from the regions is stipulated by a relatively big population (high potential of emigration), and a low level of life – poverty. In contrast to Adjara, a small size of population, together with poverty, a high level of aging and consequently, the decrease in potential migrants in Guria, Racha-Lechkhumi and Kvemo Svaneti determined the low intensity of emigration from those regions. With respect to Adjara, the low level of emigration here is primarily determined by a relatively high income generated from its resort potential, “pendulum migration”, established as a result of neighboring Turkey, actually excludes a long-term migration, etc.

Generally, more than a million individuals took part in the inner migration in Georgia (assuming all those people who changed their permanent place of residence within the borders of Georgia). The majority of the inner migrants fall on Tbilisi (33.1%) and then Imereti (15.1%), Samegrelo-Svaneti (9.6%) and Kakheti (8.6%), which is stipulated by a high level of unemployment in those regions. The least number of the inner migrants come from the regions of Racha-Lechkhumi and Kvemo Svaneti (1.1%), Mtskheta-Mtianeti (3.3%) and Guria, where, despite a high level of unemployment and poverty, the low number of migrants stems from a high level of demographic aging.

**Potential migrationof students in the near 5 years (2018-2023)**

**(General results of the research)**

The general population censuses of the 2002 and 2014 manifested that among the factors for emigrating abroad the two factors are essentially highlighted: employment and the motivation to receive education. Taking into consideration the fact that in upper ages the migration potential of population gradually diminishes, whereas in youngsters, especially among students, the motivation for going abroad is prominent, it is interesting to get their opinions as potential migrants about the possible motives, reasons and factors of going abroad.

It became clear that 42.7% of the interviewed students plan on going abroad. Provided there are more than 100 thousand students in Georgia, it follows that approximately 43-45 thousand students are determined to leave the country. The average duration for studying at university level (baccalaureate, master’s) is nearly 4-5 years, taking into account the number of the relevant contingent. Consequently, the contingent of those students who want to go abroad reaches over 10 thousand on every course. At the time when, recently, the average number of the youngsters enrolled at higher educational institutions is within 30-35 thousand.

It must be noted that the two main motives for exiting the country are receiving-increasing education and getting a job. The share of the people who have those two motives is more than 9/10 of the ones willing to go abroad. Approximately 3/5 of the people willing to go abroad plan on leaving within the next 3 years, and 2/3 of them are determined to leave later. The motivation to exit the country is higher among women than among men; as a result, 59.6% of the interviewed student men and 52.0% of the women (on average – 55.6%) are prepared to stay in the country.

Long-standing statistics of the world migration bears witness as to the fact that the half of the migrants do not return home. The results of the mentioned research wholly fit into this context, according to which nearly half of the people (49.8%) willing to go abroad plan to return to their homeland. 47.0% of the ones willing to go abroad plan to make a decision about staying abroad after graduating. 3.4% of the students reach a final decision to not return to their homeland.

If we consider the number of the whole contingent of students, 5 thousand of the ones who are willing to go abroad annually will make a decision whether to return or not after finishing their studies abroad. Among those youngsters, 350-400 have already made up their mind about not returning to Georgia. Based on the fact that the negative migration balance of Georgian citizens annually amounts to nearly 15 thousand, we can assert that approximately 1/3 of those students consists of the contingent who have just finished their university studies, as a rule first stage (baccalaureate) in Georgia and are leaving the country to seek education and “try their luck”.

In contrast to the usual labor migrants, whose motivation to go abroad is based on the wish to improve their trivial financial conditions, students’ decision, as the above-mentioned data confirmed, carries a “binary” character – study and work (or both at the same time).

It merits mention that there is not a single clearly defined factor in the motivation to go abroad. Several circumstances play defining role here. For example, 34.2% assumes that there are more chances to find a job in Georgia once you get your diploma abroad; 12.1% thinks that going abroad to study will give them an opportunity to find a job and stay there to live. On top of that, among men to find a job is a prevalent motive, whereas women prefer to employ themselves in studying.

The geography of exiting the country possesses multiple vectors and people primarily are ready to depart for Germany (37.2%), the USA (16.8%), the United Kingdom (11.4%), Italy (5.4%), France and Russia (3.4%).

The survey showed that nearly every fifth student (21.3%) does not speak any other (foreign) languages save their own native tongue. Approximately half of the students (48.8%) know English language, 22.4% speak Russian and 6.6% know German. In addition to that, 14.9% of the students are proficient in two languages and 3.4% in three. Among those students who know Russian 56% also speaks another foreign language (51.9% speaks English and 4.1% German).

Almost 3/5 of those who know English plans on moving to the countries (the USA, the United Kingdom), where English is an official language. For the rest of them, knowledge of English is the means to enhance their education or find work in other countries. In this respect, Germany deserves to be highlighted because of the fact that the contingent wanting to go there exceeds 5.6 times the number of those students who are among the goers and also speak the language (37.2% and 6.6% respectively)

In contrast to the mentioned, the number of people who want to go to Russia is 6.6 times lower than the number of those who speak Russian language. Among large countries, Russia is the only one, where significantly less people want to go as opposed to the number of those who know Russian. In the same way, the number of those individuals who want to depart for Turkey exceeds nearly 1.6 times the number of those youngsters who know Turkish language (2.4% and 1.4% respectively).

Amongst those people who know a foreign language, the quotient of knowing a language is 1.18, which lags behind the average European indicator by almost 1.4 times (European Union – 1.6 and more). It is interesting that 60% of the students of European Union knew 2 and more languages in 2017. Furthermore, according to the situation in 2007 only 6% of the students did not know any languages.

According to the 2017 data, the unemployment level among the youth below 25 years-of-age is 28.9%, whereas among the rest of the population it is 2.3 times less and only 12.4%. Moreover, the number of those who receive salaries within the students’ age range of 16-24 is only 16.3%, whereas the same indicator for people aged 25 and above is 1.8 times higher and amounts to 29.2%.

Therefore, low salary and generally unsatisfactory level of well-being, as well as a low perspective of finding a job and a high rate of unemployment among the youth are the primary factors, which substantially increase the youngster’s motivation to go abroad. Despite the fact that today the contingent of those students who want to stay home exceeds almost 1.3 times the number of those students who plan on going abroad, from among the goers, who have a distinctly determined time limit for staying abroad, the average time period of being abroad is limited by nearly 2.5 years. However, it forces one to ponder that 43.4% of the goers do not have an established determination about *when they are going to return home.* 3.9% confess openly that they are permanently leaving Georgia, just when about 10 years ago the share of such a contingent constituted 2.8% [Chelidze N. 2008: 103].

For a country like Georgia, which does not include a large number of population, the readiness of the contingent of several tens of thousands of youngsters to go abroad and stay there, poses a serious threat to the social-economic and demographic development of the country.

**Motivation for education**

As the research showed us, within the structure of the Georgian students’ educational needs the economic and business-administrative occupations are prominent (45.6%). In addition, girls (46.7%) choose these specialties more often than boys (44.5%). According to the chosen specialties, girls exceed boys in terms of natural sciences and social-political fields. Humanities are equally chosen between the two genders, whereas in other fields, especially in the field of engineering, the number of the boys exceeds that of the girls. It must be stressed that the boys essentially study in the field of agriculture, which supposedly and sadly indicates that the girls are less interested in the fields of agriculture and in small business.

Among the students who wish to go abroad, 26.9% of them intend to leave only in order to continue their studies. However, the majority of those youngsters (59.0%) plan to mix studying with a job. The share of the girls (63.6%) who want to go abroad only for their studies is almost twice (1.7 times) the number of the boys.

Among those students who went abroad to study, 13.2% gave primacy to those countries, where they expected a close relative or a friend to be living, who would assist them if necessary. Those students who went abroad to continue studying, basically, took into consideration the following factors while deciding on a country: the existence of the university or college where he/she wanted to carry on studying in the chosen country – 40.6%, more possibilities of acquiring professional experience – 19.8%, more chances of employment – 17.6%; it is notable that the majority of the students (40.6%), essentially, choose the country according to the desired university or college existing in the mentioned country. Under these circumstances, the fact that 53.5% of the students have not chosen a university yet carries a negative character.

From amongst the criteria of choosing a university or a college, students, primarily, took into account the following factors: more chances of studying and working – 32.2%, the opportunities to take part in various grant programs – 11.2%, more chances of internship – 10.6%. It is notable that 28.8% of the respondents did not answer to the survey questions, which, in our opinion, indicates to the fact that they neglected the criteria of choosing an educational institution.

It is interesting that the majority of the students (62.9%) want to continue studying on a master’s program, 10.1% on doctoral programs, 2.2% on a medical residency, and 13.7% on various short-term programs, which point to the students’ desire to get a high level professional education. In this regard, it must be mentioned that only 9.4% of the students plan to carry on studying abroad on bachelor programs.

It is also interesting that 65.5% of the students intend to continue studying in the field of already acquired profession, 23.2% plan on choosing a related occupation, 17.3% go for professions with a larger profile, and 5.6% plan to change their profession.

Based on the results of the research, 56.4% of the interviewed students plan to return to their homeland, 50.2% will reach a decision whether to return or not after finishing their studies, and 3% do not intend to return at all. If we consider the issue in light of gender, the following picture will emerge: 52.6% of the girls and 45.7% of the boys will return in any case; 45.3% of the girls and 49.6% of the boys will make a decision about returning after they graduate; 2.1% of the girls and 4.7% of the boys do not want to return to their country.

If we consider that a certain portion (even small) of the students will reach a decision to not return to their country after graduating, it is possible that a fairly large number of youngsters will stay abroad. This, on the one hand, will reduce the indicator of population reproduction, which is low as it is, in terms of demography, and on the other hand, in terms of economy, the country will lose a human capital possessing a high education [International Migration Report 2015 Highlights UN New York, 2016].

**Labor emigration**

Today, the level of unemployment within the age group of below 25 is 28.9%, whereas in the population aged above 25 the same indicator is 2.3 times lower and constitutes only 12.4%. In comparison to the other part of the population, the level of economic activity is 1.6 times lower among youngsters (44.3% and 69.3% respectively) and almost twice as low the level of employment (31.6% and 60.7% respectively). Amongst the youngsters aged below 25 only every third is employed and every sixth is a hired worker. This fact essentially increases the motivation within the mentioned age group to emigrate for labor.

6.7% of the interviewed students intend to go abroad exclusively in order to start working; the number of those people who plan to go abroad in order to mix studies and work is nearly 4 times higher than the above-mentioned contingent.

The survey showed that a substantial number (44.5%) of the advanced bachelor and master’s students are studying and working simultaneously. According to the most cautious estimations, the number of the employed students in Georgia exceeds 30-35 thousand, which is a third of the whole contingent of students.

The average monthly income of the students is fairly low, approximately 480 GEL (479.8 GEL), because of their improper qualification, a random or a part-time job. This figure is substantially – nearly 2.2 times - lower compared to the income of those people who are employed in the national industry.

To the following question: *after graduation, when being offered a job, what would be a minimum salary that you would agree to?* According to the interviewed students’ answers, the indicator of the estimated average salary amounted to 837 GEL. This figure exceeds almost by ¾ to the actual average salary of the employed students (480 GEL). However, the mentioned figure lags behind the existing average monthly salary at the time of the survey by almost ¼.

In this regard, according to the data of 2017, the level of unemployment among the youth aged below 25, compared to the other part of the population, is 2.3 times higher as was mentioned before. Besides, the number of students receiving a salary among the age range of 16-24 is only 16.3%, whereas among the population aged 25 and above the said figure is 1.8 times higher and reaches 29.2%.

Within the next 3 years, because of the low salary in the country, nearly every fourth of the employed students (24.4%) intends to go abroad. This figure substantially exceeds the data derived from the analogous research 10 years ago, (in 2008 – 17.4%) [Chelidze N. 2008: 103].

In case of going abroad, more than half of those students (50.3%) already employed think that the most acceptably type of work for them is based on the *employment according to their own occupation;* 17.2% of the students think that the main factor is a *high-paying job.* According to the survey of 2008, 58.8% of the students were willing to work on an illegal job in case of emigration if they could not arrange for a legal one [Chelidze N. 2008: 103]. Our research came to the conclusion that in case they cannot find a legal job abroad, a significant number of them (62%) does not plan to start working illegally.

The students are only going to agree to work abroad if their salary will, approximately, be at least 1000 dollars. This figure exceeds the average salary in Georgia nearly 2.5 times, and 5 and more times - to the actual salary of the employed students in their own country. The survey showed that the higher the students’ salary in their homeland, the more their demands toward the salary abroad.

The correlation of the foreign salary with the actual figure earned at home is multiple times more. In particular, on average, after finishing studies, a student is willing to start working in his/her own country for the salary of minimum 837 GEL, whereas when starting a job abroad the corresponding minimal bar, calculated in Georgian Lari, exceeds 2500 GEL (3 times more). In addition, this difference is the higher the lower the figure of the salary earned at home. For instance, among the employees who earn 300 GEL this difference amounts to 8.35:1, whereas among those who earn more than 1000 GEL the mentioned figure reaches nearly 2.7:1. The expectation of a high salary abroad is fairly great among the students, which indicates that if the difference between the indicators of the high and low-paying jobs of the students in their homeland is approximately 3.3:1, as a result of starting a job abroad, the difference between the figures of the probable salaries there is within the boundaries of 30%. This fact should be considered as the reflection of the respondents’ high optimism and the expectations which are great, although not guaranteed.

The motivation of the student-youth to go abroad is unambiguously associated with their financial position. This reason, as a motive to exit the country, was given by nearly 4/5 (78.6%) of the responding students. The contingent of the people who want to leave their homeland is especially large among those students who see a lack of prospect in terms of finding a suitable job (47.5% of the interviewed and 48.6% of the responding youth). In terms of making a comparison, only every tenth of the interviewed students mentioned the simplification of the visa regime as the motive to leave the country. Furthermore, while mentioning various motives (hard financial position of a family, wish to save up some money); the salaries of the employed students did not vary significantly from each other (approximately within the range of 1000 GEL). In our opinion, this is caused by the existential threat of the impossibility of finding a job in own country.

In case of going abroad to work, most students – nearly half (49.8%) – associate the prospect of a future job with their own occupation, which exceeds by almost 3-3 times other acceptable circumstances.

The salary of those students who intend to go abroad to continue working is considerably higher (by nearly 20%) than the salary of those students who are employed in their country (580 and 480 GEL respectively). This indicates to the rather big motivations and ambitions of the contingent of the students who want to leave the country.

The fact that the motivation for labor migration is great in Georgia, exerts a serious influence not only on the demographic structure of the country’s population, but also on the size of the money transactions conducted by the labor migrants in order to send money to Georgia. Currently, among the population older than 15, the share of the youth younger than 25 is 15%, in the economically active population the figure is 9.4%, and in the economically inactive population - 22.8%. With this in mind, by the most cautious estimations, 12-15% of the money transfers conducted from abroad to Georgia fall on the mentioned age group. In other words, only during 2011-2017, the youngsters aged below 25 conducted money transactions from abroad amounting to at least 1.1-1.4 billion US dollars. This figure is 2.4-3.0 times higher than the size of the budget allocations expended from the budget of Georgia on higher education during the same period, and is equal to the size of the income received by the whole Georgian population during one calendar quarter. As we can observe, the size of the transactions is quite solid, although, on the whole, against the background of the losses, which are caused by the mass drain of the energetic, ambitious and competent youth, because of the lack of employment in their own country, the effectiveness, economic and social profitability of the mentioned transactions are significantly less noticeable.

**Conclusion**

The contribution of Georgia to the world’s international migration far exceeds (nearly 20 times!) the share of its population within the world population. Nowadays, approximately 1% of the world’s migrants come on Georgia. This fact indicates to the high mobility of the Georgian population.

Until 2030, against the background of the positive net migration of the developed countries, negative net migration remains to be Georgia’s essential tendency in terms of external migration. Nevertheless, because of the decline in the migration potential, it is expected that the negative balance will decrease quantitatively in time. Therefore, the developed countries will still retain the status of the receiving country, and Georgia will remain the distributor of migrants. By 2040, the net migration of the external migration of Georgia is expected to be within the boundaries of a zero, that is, the quantity of goers and comers will become equal.

In this regard, it is necessary to formulate a long-term and effective national migration policy for the optimization of the internal and external migration processes (which the country never before possessed), where the primary importance must be attached to creating appropriate conditions in order for emigrants to return, as well as to solving the problems of youth.

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**saqarTvelos mosaxleobis migracia da potenciali**

**damoukidebelobis aRdgenidan dRemde**

**gafarToebuli reziume**

saqarTvelo im qveynebs miekuTvneba, romelTaTvisac gare migracia mosaxleobis da samuSao Zalis formirebaSi mniSvnelovan rols Tama­Sob­da da TamaSobs. aRniSnulidan gamomdinare, statiis mizania warmoa­Ci­nos Tanamedrove etapze saqarTvelos mosaxleobis migraciaze moqmedi dadebiTi da uaryofiTi faqtorebi.

statiaSi dasabuTebulia, rom saqarTvelos migraciuli procesebi eqvemdebareba migraciis zogad kanonzomierebebs da migraciis arsebuli Teoriebidan gamomdinareoben. Sesabamisad, migraciis neoklasikuri da socologiuri koncefciebis fonze mocemulia, saqarTvelos studentTa, rogorc potenciur migrantTa, ucxoeTSi migraciis motivaciebi da pirobebi, romelTa SemTxvevaSic isini ukan dabrundebian.

qveynis damoukideblobis mopovebis Semdeg, mosaxleobis bunebrivi mateba veRar faravs gare migraciis maRal uaryofiT saldos da aRiniS­- nebasaqarTvelos mosaxleobis raodenobrivi kleba. deformacia ganicda mosaxleobis asakobriv-sqesobrivistruqturam da mimdinareobs demog­ra­fiuli dabereba. aRiniSna depopulacia. 2014 wlis mosaxleobis aRwe­ris monacemebiT gaukacrielebulia 223 sofeli.

emigracia ZiriTadad samfaqtoriani procesiT warimarTa: erTi mxriv, ssrk-s daSlis Semdeg TavianT istoriul samSoblos daubrunda saqarTveloSi mcxovrebi aTeul aTasobiT sxva erovnebebis war­momad­ge­ne­li; meore mxriv, eTnikuri konfliqtebis Sedegad dakarguli teri­to­riebidan emigracia gazarda devnilTa didma masam da mesame, socia­lur-ekonomikuri kolafsiT, dRemde arsebuli umuSevrobis maRali doniT da ojaxis siRaribiT gamowveuli emigracia.

emigraciul process axali impulsi misca evrokavSiris qveynebis mier 2017 wlis aprilidan saqarTvelos moqalaqeTaTvis uvizo mimosv­lis reJimis SemoRebam. marTalia, regulaciebiT evrokavSiris terito­ria­ze yovelwliurad erTdrouli yofnis xangrZlivoba 90 dRiTaa li­mi­tirebuli, magram qveynidan gasulTa arc Tu mcire raodenobam (4 aTas­­ze metma saqarTvelos moqalaqem) ukve „moaswro" evrokavSirSi yof­nis va­debis darRveva.

1960-2000 ww. gare migraciis Sedegad saqarTvelos mosaxleobas da­akl­da 1404 aTasze meti adamiani, saidanac 1990-2000 wlebis periodze mo­di­oda 1026 aTasi kaci (73.1%). SefasebiTi monacemebiT, 2000 wlisTvis 1989 welTan SedarebiTsaqarTvelos mosaxleobis raodenobis 19%-mde Semcirda.

gare migraciis uaryofiTi saldo weliwadSi mosaxleobis 1000 sulze Tu 1990-2000 ww. saSualod Seadgenda -19,2 kacs 2000-2017 wlebisa­T­vis igimniSvnelovanad Semcirda, miuxedavad imisa, rom misi intensi­voba 2-jer da metad Semcirda, igi mainc sakmaod maRali rCeba (-8,5). aRniSnuli mianiSnebs erTi mxriv,emigraciuli da imigraciuli nakadebis raodenobriv cvlilebebze, meore mxriv ki, potenciur emigrantTa sava­raudo Semcirebaze,

1990-iani wlebis dasawyisTan SedarebiT 2014 wels qveynaSi mosax­le­o­ba Semcirda 1740 aTasiT, xolo daqiravebiT dasaqmebulTa raode­noba – 1436 aTasiT, rac Semcirebuli mosaxleobis 82,5%-ia. amJamad mo­sax­leobaSi daqiravebiT dasaqmebulTa wili daaxloebiT 2-jer ufro dabalia, vidre es iyo 1990-iani wlebis dasawyisSi (Sesabamisad, 22,2% da 41,4%). aRniSnulis Sedegad qveynidan gasulTa Soris 85% 20-dan 50 wlam­de asakisani arian, maSin rodesac am asakobrivi jgufis wili sa­qarTvelos mTel mosaxleobaSi mxolod 40,2%-ia.

2002-2017 ww. migrantTa brunvis dinamika sqesobriv WrilSi gviCve­nebs, rom mamakacTa Soris 2013 wlamde emigrantebi sWarbobdnen imig­rantebs, xolo 2017 wels imigrantebma gadaaWarbes emigrantebs. es SeiZ­leba aixsnas erTi mxriv, maTi raodenobrivi potencialis Semcirebaze, meore mxriv, migraciuli qcevis cvlilebaze – savaraudod maT samSob­loSi dabrunebis gazrdil survilze. mamakacTagan gansxvavebiT qalTa Soris analogiuri ukuprocesi jer-jerobiT ar fiqsirdeba.

aRsaniSnavia, rom 2014 wlis sayovelTao aRweriT, qal emigrantTa Soris, pedagogTa raodenoba gaizarda da umravlesobas warmoadgenen. maTi profesia uadvilebs ucxoeTSi ZiriTadad dasaqmdnen ZiZebad, momv­le­lebad, moaxleebad da meoradi bazrisTvis damaxasiTebel dabalkva­li­ficiur samuSao adgilebze. ucxoeTSi arsebuli sirTuleebidan qa­le­bi ZiriTadad gamoyofen klimatTan Seuguebas da daZabuli samuSao reJims. qalTa janmrTelobis daqveiTebis mizezi daZabuli samuSao reJi­mis garda (50%) arajansaRi socialuri garemo (12%), da haeris sinestea. maT Soris didia nevroziT daavadebulTa wili [Selia m. 2017: 122-124].

2002 welTan SedarebiT 2014 wels, SesamCnevad gaizrda 15-64 wlis da 65 wels gadacilebul imigrantTa asakobrivi jgufis wili, rac gar­kveulwilad adasturebs zemoTqmuls, emigrantTa samSobloSi dabrune­bis msurvelTa raodenobrivi zrdis Taobaze. am fonze 15 wlamde asakis imigrantTa wilis Semcireba, Cveni varaudiT, ZiriTadad gamowveuli un­da iyos am asakis emigrantTa asakobrivi zrdis Sedegad, 15-64 wlebis asa­kob­riv jgufSi gadasvliT da naklebad – ojaxTan erTad sam­Sob­lo­Si dabrunebaze.

2002 welTan SedarebiT 2014 wlisTvis emigrantTa erovnul struq­turaSi 60,9%-dan 83,8%-mde gaizarda qarTvelTa wilida Semcirda sxva erov­nebaTa wili: azerbaijanelebis – 5,9%-mde, somxebis – 5,0%-mde, ru­sebis – 0,9%-mde, osebis – 0,7%-mde, berZnebis \_ 0,4%-mde. amasTan, Tu 2000 wla­m­de am erovnebaTa didi nawili sakuTar samSobloSi dabrunda, dRe­i­­saTvis (garda osebisa, romelTa mniSvnelovani nawili 2008 wlis ru­seT-saqarTvelos omis Semdeg okupirebul axalgoris da cxinvalis te­ri­toriaze darCa) maT ucxoeTSi emigracias qarTvelebTan erTad, Ziri­Ta­dad, dasaqmeba da materialuri pirobebis gaumjobeseba gansazRv­ravs. amasTan, gaizarda saswavleblad wasvlis (6,6%-dan 11,0%-mde) da sakuTar ojaxTan dabrunebis an ojaxis Seqmnis mizniT wamsvlelTa raodenoba.

sakuTar ojaxTan dabrunebis an ojaxis Seqmnis mizniT wamsv­lel­Ta raodenobis zrda, ucxoeTSi cxovrebis xangrZlivobis zrdis fonze gasakviri ar unda iyos. Tu 2000 wlisTvis 5 welze meti xangrZlivobiT cxovrobda 40%-mde emigranti, 2014 wlisTvis, es maCvenebeli 68,8%-mde gaizarda. maTgan gansxvavebiT, 2002 wlis 58,0%-dan 2014 wlisTvis 18,5%-mde Semcirda 5 wlamde ucxoeTSi mcxovrebTa wili, rac aseve miuTi­Tebs saqarTveloSi emigrantTa potencialis Semcirebaze.

2014 wlisTvis emigrantTa 70,8 % muSaobda, 10,3% swavlobda, 5,6% eZebda samuSaos, xolo maTi mcire nawili mkurnalobda (1,7%) da sar­geblobda socialuri daxmarebiT (1,1%). maTgan 7,1 % sxva mizeziT aris ucxoeTSi, xolo 3,4%-ma ar miuTiTa.

aRsaniSnavia, rom Tu 2002 wlisTvis ruseTis federaciaSi cxov­robda mTel emigrantTa 64,1%, 2008 wlis ruseT-saqarTvelos omis Sem­deg maTi raodenoba 2014 wlisTvis 2.5-jer Semcirda, rac aseve gana­pi­ro­ba ruseTis mier saqarTvelosTan savizo reJimis gamkacrebam. am fon­ze uc­xoeTSi mcxovreb migrantTa raodenoba igive doneze darCa Tur­qeTSi (11,3%), xolo gaizarda italiaSi (Seadgina 10,9 %), germaniaSi (7,1%), aSS-Si (5,7%), espaneTSi (4,1%), safrangeTSi (3,7%) da sxva qveynebSi.

umaRlesi, profesiuli da saSualo ganaTlebis mqone emigrantTa saerTo raodenobidannaxevarze meti (60,5%), 10%-ze meti wiliT: ruseTSi (21,6%), saberZneTSi (16,2%), TurqeTsa (11,5%) da italiaSi (11,1%) arian war­­modgenilni. maTgan umaRlesi ganaTlebis mqoneTa 64,4% ruseTSi, ita­liaSi, saberZneTSi, germaniaSi da aSS-Si cxovroben. samwuxarod, ma­Ti umravlesoba ZiriTadad aralegaluri migranti maswavleblebi, inJi­nrebi, eqimebi da teqnikuri dargebis warmomadgenlebi arian, Tumca sa­ku­Tari specialobiT ar muSaoben da Sesabamisad, Sromis meorad ba­zar­ze „moRvaweoben", rac iwvevs maT dekvalifikacias.

rac Seexeba regionebidan ucxoeTSi emigracias, 2002-2014 wlebis monacemebiT, umravles SemTxvevaSi, emigrantebSi (88,5 aTasi kaci) qalebi sWarboben mamakacebs da qalaqis mosaxleobidan meti iyo emigracia, vid­re soflidan. emigraciis intensivoba yvelaze maRalia imereTidan, Tbi­li­sidan da qvemo qarTlidan. emigraciis SedarebiT dabali intensi­vo­biT gamoirCeva guria, aWara, raWa-leCxumi da qvemo svaneTi, rac aWa­ris­gan gansxvavebiTsiRaribesTan erTad ganapiroba am regionebis mosax­leo­bis raodenobrivma simcirem, daberebis maRalma donem da po­tenciur mig­rantTa Semcirebam. rac Seexeba aWaras, aq emigraciis dabal dones Ziri­Ta­dad gansazRvravs misi sakurorto potencialidan miRebu­li Sedare­biT maRali Semosavlebi, TurqeTTan mezoblobiT Camoya­li­bebuli „qan­qa­riseburi migracia", rac faqtobrivad gamoricxavs xangrZ­li­vi vadiT migracias da sxv

zogadad, saqarTveloSi Siga migraciaSi monawileoba miiRo mili­on­ze metma adamianma (igulisxmeba yvela piri, vinc Seicvala mudmivi sac­xovrebeli adgili saqarTvelos farglebSi). yvelaze meti Siga mig­ranti Tbilisze (33,1%) da Semdeg imereTze (15,1%), samegrelo-savaneTze (9,6%) da kaxeTze (8,6%) modis, rasac umuSevrobis maRali done ganapi­ro­­bebs, xolo yvelaze cota – raWa-leCxumsa da qvemo svaneTze (1,1%), mcxe­­Ta-mTianeTze (3,3%) da guriaze (3,1%) modis, rasac miuxedavad umuSevrobis da siRaribis maRali donisa, am regionebSi demografiuli daberebis maRali done gansazRvravs.

mosaxleobis 2002 da 2014 wlebis sayovelTao aRwerebis Tanaxmad mo­sax­leobis zemo asakebSi migraciis potencialis TandaTan Semcirebis fonze, studentTa, rogorc potenciur migrantT sociologiuri gamo­kvle­vis Sedegad aRmoCnda, gamokiTxul studentTa 42,7% apirebs sazR­var­gareT wasvlas. imis gaTvaliswinebiT, rom saqarTveloSi 100 aTasze meti studentia, gamodis, rom daaxloebiT 43-45 aTas students ganzra­xuli aqvs saqarTvelos datoveba. umaRles saswavlebelSi (bakalav­ria­ti, magistratura) swavlis saSualo xangrZlivobis (daaxloebiT 4-5 we­li) da – Sesabamisi kontingentis ricxovnobis gaTvaliswinebiT, sazR­var­­ga­reT gasvlis msurvel studentTa kontingenti yovel kursze 10 aTass aRemateba, maSin, rodesac saSualod umaRles saswavleblebSi Caricxuli axalgazrdebis raodenoba bolo wlebSi daaxloebiT 30-35 aTasis farglebSia.

aRsaniSnavia, rom qveynidan studentTa gasvlis ori mTavar motiv­ze (ganaTlebis miReba da SromiTi saqmianoba). modis sazRvargareT wasvlis msurvelTa 9/10-ze meti. maTgan daaxloebiT 3/5 saqarTvelos dato­vebas apirebs uaxloes sam weliwadSi, 2/3 ki – mogvianebiT. gasvlis motivacia gogonebSi ufro maRalia, vidre vaJebSi.

studentTa ricxovnobis gTvaliswinebiT, yovelwliurad sazRvar­ga­reT wasvlis msurvelTagan, 5-aTasiani kontingenti gadawyvetilebas – samSobloSi dabrunebis Taobaze miiRebs ukve ucxoeTSi ganaTlebis mi­Rebis Semdeg, aqedan 350-400 axalgazrdas aqvs Camoyalibebuli gadawyve­ti­-­leba saqarTveloSi ardabrunebis Taobaze. gamomdinare iqidan, rom yo­velwliurad saqarTvelos moqalaqeebis uaryofiTi migraciuli sal­do Seadgens daaxloebiT 15 aTass, SeiZleba iTqvas, rom maTi daaxlo­e­biT erTi mesamedi is kontingentia, romlebmac exlaxans daamTavres sa­qarTveloSi umaRlesi ganaTlebis, rogorc wesi, pirveli safexuri (ba­kalavriati) da miemarTeba codnisa da „bedis saZieblad" sazRvar­ga­reT.

sazRvargareT wasvlis motivaciad, studentTa 34,2% miiCnevs uc­xo­eT­Si swavlis Semdeg saqarTveloSi dasaqmebis ufro met perspeqtivas; 12,1% iqve dasaqmebisa da sacxovreblad darCenis saSualebas. amasTan, ma­makacebSi sWarbobs muSaobis, xolo qalebSi – swavlis motivi.

qveynidan gasvlis geografia sakmaod mraval veqtorulia da gam­gzavrebis mzaobas gamoxataven ZiriTadad: germaniaSi (37,2%), aSS-Si (16,8%), gaerTianebul samefoSi (11,4%), italiaSi (5,4%), safrangeTsa da ruseTSi (3,4%).

gamokiTxvam aCvena, rom TiTqmis yoveli mexuTe studenti (21,3%) ar flobs mSobliuris garda arc erT sxva (ucxo) enas. studentebis TiTq­mis naxevari (48,8%) flobs inglisurs, 22,4% – rusuls, xolo ger­manuls – 6,6%. amasTan, 2 ucxo enas flobs studentebis 14,9%, xolo 3-s – 3,4% maT Soris, vinc icis ucxo ena, enis codnis koeficienti Sead­gens 1.18-s, rac saSualo evropul maCvenebels TiTqmis 1,4-jer CamorCeba (evrokavSiri – 1.6 da meti).

saqarTvelos studentTa ganaTlebis moTxovnilebis struqturaSi aSkarad gamokveTilia ekonomikis da biznes-administrirebis specialo­bebi (45,6%). arCeuli specialobebis mixedviT gogonebi sWarboben vaJebs sabunebismetyvelo da socialur-politikuri mimarTulebebiT, Tanabra­daa arCeuli humanitaruli specialobebi, xolo danarCeni mimarTu­le­biT vaJTa raodenoba aRemateba gogonebs, gansakuTrebiT, sainJinro-teqnikuri mimarTulebiT. aRsaniSnavia, rom agraruli specialobebiT Zi­riTadad vaJebi swavloben, rac samwuxarod mianiSnebs imaze, rom sof­lis meurneobis dargebiT, gogonebi naklebad arian dainteresebulni.

ucxoeTSi wasvlis msurvel studentTagan mxolod swavlis gagr­Ze­lebis mizniT wasvlas apirebs 26,9%, Tumca maTi umravlesoba (59,0%) apirebs swavlas SeuTavsos dasaqmeba.

saswavleblad wamsvlel studentTa mier qveynis SerCevisas Ziri­Tadad gaTvaliswinebul iqna: arCeul qveyanaSi uaxloesi naTesavis, an megobris cxovreba, is umaRlesi saswavlebeli, romelSic surs swavla – 40,6%; profesiuli gamocdilebis – 19,8% da dasaqmebis meti SesaZ­lebloba – 17,6 %; am fonze negatiuria is rom studentTa 53,5%-s jer ar SeurCevia umaRlesi saswavlebeli.

sainteresoa, rom studentTa umravlesobas (62,9%) swavlis gagr­Zeleba surs magistraturaSi, 10,1% – doqtoranturaSi, 2,2% – samedi­cino rezidenturaSi, 13,7%-s calkeul moklevadian programebSi, rac miuTiTebs studentTa survilze miiRon maRali donis profesiuli ga­naT­leba. sainteresoa, rom studentTa 65,5% apirebs Tavisi specialobiT swavlis gagrZelebas, 23,2% – monaTesave specialobiT, 17,3% – ufro far­To profiliT, xolo 5,6% apirebs specialobis Secvlas.

2017 wlis monacemebiT 25 wlamde axalgazrdebSi umuSevrobis done 28,9%-ia, maSin rodesac mosaxleobis danarCen nawilSi – 2,3-jer ufro dabali – mxolod 12,4%. amis garda, xelfasis mimRebTa raodenoba 16-24 wlis studentebSi mxolod 16,3%-a, maSin rodesac 25 da meti wlis mo­sax­leobaSi – 1,8-jer ufro maRali – 29,2 %.

studentebis saSualo Tviuri anazRaureba (daaxloebiT 480 lari) erovnul meurneobaSi dasaqmebulTa xelfasTan SedarebiT daaxloebiT 2.2-jer dabalia. saswavleblis damTavrebis Semdeg samuSaos SeTavazebis SemTxvevaSi, gamokiTxuli studentebis pasuxebiT, xelfasis savaraudo saSualo maCvenebeli 837 lars Seadgens, rac TiTqmis ¾-iT aRemateba da­sa­qmebuli studentebis faqtobriv saSualo anazRaurebas (480 lari), Tum­ca mainc TiTqmis ¼-iT CamorCeba erovnul meurneobaSi gamokiTxvis momentisaTvis arsebul saSualo Tviur anazRaurebas.

dasaqmebul studentTagan, qveyanaSi dabali anazRaurebis gamo, uaxloes sam weliwadSi sazRvargareT wasvlas apirebs TiTqmis yoveli meoTxe (24,4%), rac mniSvnelovnad aRemateba aTi wlis win analogiur monacemebs. (2008 w. – 17,4%). amasTan, 2008 wlis gamokvleviT, studentTa 58,8% emigrirebis SemTxvevaSi apirebda aralegalur muSaobas, Tu amas kanonierad ver moaxerxebdnen [WeliZe n. 2008: 103]. Cveni gamokvleviT ki mniSvnelovani nawili (62%) ar apirebs aralegalurad saqmianobas. saz­Rvar­gareT samuSaod wasvlis SemTxvevaSi sakuTari specialobiT dasaq­meba surs naxevarze mets (50,3%); wasvlis mTavar faqtorad maRal­anaz­Raurebad samuSaos miiCnevs studentebis 17,2%.

sazRvargareT muSaobaze studentebi im SemTxvevaSi apireben da­Tanxmebas, Tuki anazRaureba daaxloebiT 1000 dolari mainc iqneba, rac daaxloebiT 2.5-jer aRemateba saqarTveloSi saSualo xelfass da 5-jer da metad – dasaqmebuli studentebis Sromis faqtobriv anazRaurebas.

aRsaniSnavia, rom swavlis damTavrebis Semdeg studenti Tanaxmaa sakuTar samSobloSi muSaoba daiwyos minimum 837 laris anazRaurebis pirobebSi, maSin, roca sazRvargareT sasurveli anazRaurebis minimalu­ri Tamasa 2500 lars aRemateba (3-jeradi sxvaoba). Tanac, es sxvaoba miT ufro maRalia, rac ufro dabalia samSobloSi anazRaurebis sidide. Tu samSobloSi studentTa maRal da dabalanazRaurebad maCveneblebs So­ris gansxvaveba daaxloebiT 3.3:1-zea, sazRvargareT sasurvel xelfasTa sidideebs Soris sxvaoba 30%-is farglebSia, rac respodentTa zeopti­mizmisa da, arc Tu garantirebuli perspeqtivis mqone molodinebis ga­movlinebad unda miviCnioT.

ucxoeTSi studenti-axalgazrdobis wasvlis motivacia calsaxad materialur mdgomareobas ukavSirdeba (78,6%). gansakuTrebiT maRalia igi sakuTar qveyanaSi dasaqmebis uperspeqtivobis gamo (gamokiTxulTa 47,5% da pasuxis gamcemTa 48,6%).amasTan, sxvadasxva motivis dasaxelebis dros (ojaxis mZime materiluri mdgomareoba, fulis dagrovebis survi­li) dasaqmebul studentTa Semosavlebi mniSvnelovnad ar gansxvavde­bodnen erTmaneTisagan (daaxloebiT 1000 laris farglebSi), rac, Cveni azriT, samuSao adgilebis sakuTar samSobloSi ver povnis egzisten­ciuri safrTxiTaa gamowveuli.

sazRvargareT samuSaod wasvlis SemTxvevaSi TiTqmis naxevari (49,8%) samuSaos perspeqtivas sakuTar specialobas ukavSirebs, rac faqtobrivad 3-3-jer aRemateba sxva misaReb garemoebebs.

sazRvargareT axalgazrdobis migraciis motivaciaze seriozul gavlenas tranzaqciebis moculoba. yvelaze mokrZalebuli SefasebiT, 25 wlamde axalgazrdebze saqarTveloSi ucxoeTidan ganxorcielebuli fuladi gzavnilebis 12-15% modis. mxolod 2011-2017 wlebSi 25 wlamde axalgazrdebma sazRvargareTidan saqarTveloSi, sul cota, 1.1-1.4 mlrd. aSS dolaris fuladi tranzaqcia ganaxorcieles. es Tanxa 2.4-3.0-jer aRemateba imave periodSi saqarTvelos saxelmwifo biujetidan umaRles ganaTlebaze gaRebuli asignebebis moculobas da utoldeba saqarTve­los mTeli mosaxleobis erTi kvartalis manZilze miRebuli Semosav­le­bis moculobas. Tumca sakuTar qveyanaSi arasakmarisi samuSao adgi­lebis gamo, energiuli, kompetenturi da ambiciuri axalgazrdebis ma­sob­rivi gadinebis mTliani zaralis fonze, sakmaod soliduri mocu­lobis tranzaqciebis efeqtianoba, demografiuli ekonomikuri da so­cialuri sargeblianobis TvalsazrisiT mniSvnelovnad fermkrTaldeba.

amdenad, maRali umuSevroba, samuSaos Sovnis mcire perspeqtiva, da­­­ba­li anazRaureba, ganaTlebis da kvalifikaciis donis amaRlebis Seu­­sa­bamo institucia, da zogadad keTildReobis aradamakmayofilebeli do­ne, is ZiriTadi faqtorebia, romlebic axalgazrdebis sazRvargareT was­v­lis motivacias arsebiTad zrdis. es ki seriozul safrTxes uqmnis mcirericxovani saqarTvelos socialur-ekonomikur da demografiul gan­viTarebas.

2030 wlamde, evrokavSiris qveynebis migraciis dadebiTi saldos fon­ze, saqarTvelosaTvis gare migraciis ZiriTad tendenciad uar­yo­fi­Ti saldo darCeba, Tumca migraciuli potencialis Semcirebis gamo, mi­­si raodenobrivi klebis tendenciaa mosalodneli da 2040 wlisTvis sa­­qarTvelosaTvis gare migraciis saldo 0-is farglebSia mosa­lod­ne­li.

am TvalsazrisiT aucilebelia gare da Siga migraciuli proce­se­bis optimizaciis grZelvadiani da efeqtiani erovnuli migraciuli po­li­tikis SemuSaveba (rac arasdros gaCnda qveyanas), sadac primati emig­rantTa dabrunebis saTanado pirobebis SeqmnasTan erTad, axal­gazr­du­li problemebis mogvarebas unda mieniWos.

**ekonomikuri Teoria**

**ECONOMIC THEORY**

***revaz gvelesiani***

*Tsu profesori, ekonomikuri politikis kaTedris xelmZRvaneli, ekonomikuri politikis qarTul–germanuli institutis direqtori*

**socialuri sabazro ekonomikis koncefciis damokidebuleba ZiriTad sazogadoebriv RirebulebebTan**

***reziume.*** *ekonomikuri politikis koncefcia SeiZleba ganisazRvros ro­gorc ekonomikuri politikis moqmedebis zogadi CarCo-pirobebi, misi safuZveli da orientiri. rodesac aseTi koncefcia racionalurobis prin­cips emyareba, igi warmoadgens zogad da masStabur mizanTa kargad gaaz­rebulsa da myar sistemas. igi aseve moicavs wesrigis politikis principebs, maTTan Tavsebadsa da miznis mimarT konformul saSualebebs. am po­ziciidan ki ekonomika sxva araferia Tu ara bevrad ufro masStabur sazogadoebriv mizandasaxulobaTa Semadgeneli nawili. ekonomikuri politikis koncef­cia aadvilebs racionaluri ekonomikur-politikuri gadawyvetilebebis miRebas da moqmedebis SesaZleblobaTa winaswari arCevis saSualebas gvaZ­levs. swored is adgens intervenciis wess, rogorc saSualebaTa gamoyenebis kriteriums (Tuchtfeldt, 1982, gv. 202).*

***sakvanZo sityvebi:*** *ekonomikuri politikis koncefcia, ekonomikuri wesrigis politika, ZiriTadi sazogadoebrivi Rirebulebebi, sabazro Tavisufleba, socialuri Tanasworoba, ekonomikur-politikuri gadawyvetileba, socia­luri sabazro ekonomika.*

**Sesavali**

ekonomikuri politikis saSualebaTa gamoyenebis procesis racio­nalurad warmarTvis mizniT unda gaviTvaliswinoT intervenciis sami wesi: miznis mimarT konformuloba, koncefciis mimarT konformuloba da sistemis mimarT konformuloba (Streit, 2005, gv.307). pirvel rigSi unda gan­vixiloT ramdenad uwyobs xels mocemuli saSualeba miznis ganxor­cie­lebisaken swrafvas. aseTi saSualeba SeiZleba Sefasdes Tu ramdenad aris is miznis mimarT konformuli. amis Semdeg saSualebebi unda SevafasoT koncefciisa da sistemis mimarT konformulobis safuZvelze. amiT dgindeba ramdenad konformulia RonisZieba koncefciasTan damokidebulebaSi, rac winaswari arCevanis gakeTebis saSualebas gvaZlevs.

ekonomikuri politikis iseT RonisZiebaTa Ziebis procesSi, romleb­mac Tavidan unda agvaSoros dasaxuli miznisgan gadaxveva, Tavdapirvelad aucilebelia Semowmdes Tu ramdenad mniSvnelovania mosalodneli Sedegi uSualod ekonomikuri politikis miznebTan damokidebulebaSi. miznis mimarT konformulad unda miviCnioT yvela is RonisZieba, romelic mie­sa­dageba ekonomikuri politikis problemis gadaWras. miznis mimarT kon­formulobiT xasiaTdeba mizanSewonili RonisZiebebic.

racionaluri ekonomikur-politikuri gadawyvetilebis misaRebad aucilebelia Semowmdes da gaviazroT miznis mimarT konformul saSua­lebaTa mniSvneloba (gvelesiani, 2013, gv.17-18). es unda ganxorcieldes mizanTa mTel sistemasTan damokidebulebaSi, im miznebis CaTvliT, rom­lebic ZiriTad Rirebulebebad aris aRiarebuli (gvelesiani, 2017, gv.14-15). gadawyvetilebasTan dakavSirebuli danaxarjebis Sesamcireblad saWiroa iseTi kriteriumi, romelic Sefasebas gaaadvilebs. unda gamovikvlioT agreTve ekonomikuri politikis programidan gamomdinare konkretuli problemis gadawyvetisaTvis romeli saSualebis gamoyenebaa dasaSvebi. ase­Ti programa aris ekonomikuri politikis koncefcia. igi gvawvdis sakmaris da erTmniSvnelovan informacias arsebiTi da politikurad mniSvnelovani konsensusis Taobaze. saqme exeba im konsensuss, romelic gulisxmobs, rom ekonomikas, rogorc sazogadoebriv mizanTa ufro momcveli sistemis Semad­­ge­nel sferos, daqvemdebarebuli adgili uWiravs. es mdgomareoba gan­sazRvravs mis Rirebulebas. am garemoebis gaTvaliswineba gviadvilebs davadginoT mizani sistemis mimarT konformulobiT xasiaTdeba Tu ara.

sistemis mimarT konformuloba swored is kriteriumia, romliTac izomeba rac mTavaria mocemuli ekonomikuri politikis koncefciaSi. Zi­riTad RerZs warmoadgens koordinaciis is meTodebi, romlebic ekonomikas axasiaTebs, rogorc daqvemdebarebul sferos (qvesistemas). mniSvnelovania swored am sayrdeni RerZis amorCeva, vinaidan ekonomikis, rogorc qvesis­temis arseboba koordinaciis meTodebis funqcionirebazea damokidebuli.

ekonomikuri politikis koncefcia saSualebas gvaZlevs, rom ekono­mikuri politikis garkveuli gadawyvetileba moqmedebaTa maqsimaluri rao­denobis uSualo Semowmebis gareSe miviRoT. swored koncefciis safuZ­velze dgindeba maTi (gadawyvetilebaTa) Tavsebadoba sazogadoebis ufro mas­S­tabur miznebTan, rac ekonomikuri politikis konkretuli miznebis realizebas xels uwyobs.

ekonomikuri politikis koncefcia dakavSirebulia wesrigis poli­tikasTan, razec swored koncefciiT nebadarTul saSualebebsa da wesrigis principebs Soris damokidebuleba miuTiTebs. koncefcia swored maSin aris Tanmimdevruli da myari, rodesac masSi mocemuli instrumentebi, ekono­mikuri wesrigis principebi da sxva, konkretuli gadawyvetilebis miRebis TvalsazrisiT, koordinirebuli da harmoniuli moqmedebis pirobas akma­yo­filebs. ase rom, sabazro koordinacia SesabamisobaSia sakuTrebis xelSeu­xeblobis principTan. kerZo moqmedebebi, romlebic konkurenciis safuZvel­ze xorcieldeba, srul TanxmobaSia ekonomikur-politikuri marTvis moT­xovnasTan, romelic sainformacio politikisa da monacemTa cvlilebis saSualebiT xorcieldeba. sabazro moTxovnebTan SeuTavsebeli iqneboda kerZo ekonomikuri moqmedebebis koordinirebulobis saxelmwifo marTvis pirdapiri Zaladobrivi formiT Canacvlebis mcdeloba. aqedan, upirveles yovlisa, moqmedebis Tavisuflebis aspeqtiT, mniSvnelovani praqtikuli Sedegi gamomdinareobs. saqme exeba imas, Tu ramdenad gamarTulad funqci­onirebs koordinaciis principze damyarebuli konformuli sistema.

ekonomikuri politikis koncefciaSi mocemuli wesrigis politikis elementebze gansakuTrebiT aisaxeba is zegavlena, romelsac ekonomikuri po­litikis tendenciebze axdens sazogadoebis saboloo miznebi da maTi interpretaciebi. ekonomikuri wesrigi, romelic safuZvlad udevs koncef­cias, TviTmizani ar aris. igi sazogadoebaSi arsebuli ZiriTadi Sexedu­le­bebis gamoxatulebaa. swored amis safuZvelze unda gaviazroT reguli­re­badi bazris ori aspeqti, romelTagan erTi koordinirebuli sistemis marTvas ukavSirdeba, meore ki imis dadgenas gulisxmobs, Tu ramdenad aris SesaZlebeli ekonomikur-politikuri movlenebis marTva. gadawyvetilebis miReba damokidebulia imaze, Tu rogor ganisazRvreba ekonomikuri aspeq­tiT individualuri Tavisufleba da samarTlianoba. rodesac aqcenti keT­deba mopovebuli socialuri statusis SenarCunebasa da samarTlianobis Sesaxeb subieqtur aRqmaze, maSin sabazro koordinacia da masze dafuZne­buli kerZo sakuTrebis avtonomia garkveul SezRudvasa da koreqtirebas saWiroebs. magram Tu aqcenti gadatanilia warmatebaze da individis unar­ze, miesadagos progresis momtan cvlilebebs, maSin subieqturi avtonomiis maRal donesTan erTad aucilebelia materialuri stimulebic arsebobdes. maT ganawilebas sruliad gansxvavebuli, magram yvelasTvis asatani da misaRebi Sedegebi unda mohyves.

koncefciam rom Seasrulos Tavisi amocana da ekonomikuri politikis moqmedebis myar da gamZle safuZvlad iqces, aucilebelia grZelvadiani politikuri konsensusis uzrunvelyofa. igi unda iTvaliswinebdes, rom ekonomika aris sistemis struqturuli rgoli da am mxriv misi miznebi ufro masStaburi sazogadoebrivi miznebis Semadgeneli nawilia. ekono­mikuri politikis koncefciis ganxorcielebisas unda gaviTvaliswinoT, rom praqtikuli nabijebis gadasadgmelad saWiroa: garkveuli dro; misi Sedegebi unda Sefasdes mxolod SedarebiTi analiziT; gaTvaliswinebuli unda iqnes ZiriTadi da Tanmxlebi moklevadiani da grZelvadiani zemoq­medebebi, romlebmac SesaZlebelia mizanTa konfliqtebi gamoiwvios. maTi mogvarebisaTvis ki aucilebelia Semowmdes, xom ar Seicvala ZiriTadi Ri­rebulebebis Sesaxeb arsebuli Sexedulebebi da miRweul konsensuss nawi­lobriv an mTlianad xom ar gamoecala safuZveli [Streit, 2005, gv. 296].

aqedan gamomdinare saWiroa, rom ekonomikuri politikis koncefciebi mudmivad mowmdebodes da droTa ganmavlobaSi maTSi cvlilebebi Sediodes. amave dros, konkretul garemoebaTa zegavleniT, miuxedavad ekonomikuri politikis gamtareblis Zalisxmevisa, SesaZlebelia, rom koncefcia da faq­tobrivi politika erTmaneTs daSordes. amiT koncefcia, rogorc praq­ti­kuli miznebis orientiri, mniSvnelobas rodi dakargavs. Tu masze uars vityviT, maSin Cvens winaSe Semdegi kiTxva gaCndeba: riT unda CavanacvloT igi, TiTqmis gauazrebeli intervenciebis safrTxe Tavidan rom aviciloT? msof­lio azrovnebaSi sulac ar igrZnoba iseTi modelebis deficiti, romlebic adamianTa Tanacxovrebis idealur mdgomareobas gvixatavs. saukuneTa manZilze yovlismomcvel sazogadoebriv cvlilebebs biZgs swo­red aseTi utopiebi aZlevda.

ekonomikuri politikis koncefciis Seqmnas igive mizezi aqvs, rac sazogadod \_ ekonomikuri politikis yvela problemas. esaa faqtobriv mdgomareobasa da sasurvel ekonomikur ganviTarebas Soris gansxvaveba. aucilebelia umravlesobis mxardaWeris mopoveba warmomadgenlobiT de­mokratiebSi koncefciebis ganxorcieleba SesaZlebeli rom gaxdes. es ki damokidebulia rogorc imaze, Tu ramdenad mimzidvelia maT mier Camo­yalibebuli miznebi, ise maTi miRwevis saSualebebze. isini ki teqnologiis Sesaxeb msjelobebis analizma unda cxadyos. sxva mxriv, raki saqme exeba miznebisa da saSualebebis individualur Sefasebebs, SeuZlebelia inte­resTa konfliqtebi Tavidan aviciloT. umravlesobis mxardaWeris mosa­poveblad aucilebelia, rom isini (miznebi da maTi miRwevis saSualebebi) sakmaris kompromisebsa da kompensaciebs gvTavazobdnen. gamoricxuli ar aris, rom koncefciis qomagebi SefasebiT msjelobebsa da marTvis Sesaxeb warmodgenebSi sazogadoebrivad Camoyalibebuli miznebis, wesrigis poli­tikis principebisa da Sesabamisi miznisadmi konformuli saSualebebis sa­ku­Tari kombinaciiT xelmZRvanelobdnen, rac Zalze waagavs idealuri koncefciis models. Tu aseTi modelis mixedviT SevafasebT, maSin mecnie­ruli Semowmebisas SeiZleba aRmoCndes, rom koncefcia, romelsac umrav­lesobis mxardaWeris mopovebis unari aqvs, umniSvnelo kompromiss gvTa­vazobs.

**ekonomikuri politikis koncefciebi da utopiuri Teoriebi**

utopiuri Teoriebi, romlebic idealur saxelmwifoebs gvixatavs, ekonomikuri politikis koncefciebisagan TavianTi ukompromiso xasiaTiTa da imiTac gansxvadeba, rom SeuZlebelia maTi mecnieruli Semowmeba. uto­piebi adamianTa sazogadoebis idealur mdgomareobas axasiaTebs, romel­sac „sazogadoebriv harmonias“ [Dahrendor, 1958, gv. 88] uwodeben. aseT naS-romebSi mocemuli ,,sazogadoebrivi harmonia~ ararealuria, amave dros aSkaraa maTi gaurkveveli da ukompromiso xasiaTi. utopiebSi warmod­ge­nilia cxovreba, romelSic mSvidoba sufevs, adamianis moTxovnilebebi srulad aris dakmayofilebuli, aRmofxvrilia uTanasworoba da ar arse­bobs araviTari Cagvra, daqvemdebareba da morCileba.

amgvar harmoniaSi ar xdeba interesTa Soris konfliqtebi, romelTa mogvareba aucilebelia imisaTvis, rom sazogadoebas arsebobis SesaZ­leb­loba hqondes. utopiur sazogadoebebSi yvela individualuri Sexeduleba harmoniulad Tanaarsebobs. sxvagvarad moazrovneebi, rogorc wesi, ar arseboben. maTi arsebobis calkeuli SemTxvevebi ki paTologiad iTvleba, xolo sxvagvarad moazrovne samSoblos mtrad cxaddeba. sazogadoebis interesebidan gamomdinare, aucilebelia maTi gadamzadeba, axlidan aRzr­da da gamosworeba. utopiebSi xSirad gaurkvevelia rogor apirebdnen indi­vidualuri Sexedulebebis grZelvadian harmonizebas. rac Seexeba inte­resTa konfliqtebs, avtorebi Tvlidnen, rom maTi aRmofxvris erTaderTi gza sazogadoebrivi pirobebis radikaluri cvlilebaa. am cvlilebebSi zogierTi socialist-utopisti gulisxmobs kerZo sakuTrebis gauqmebas da axali religiis an/da amqruli ekonomikis raRac formebis SemoRebas. sxvebis liberaluri poziciis mixedviT ki sazogadoebrivi jgufebis inte­resTa Soris grZelvadiani harmonia daisadgurebda Tu gavauqmebdiT yvela ekonomikur SezRudvas da ar SevaferxebdiT ekonomikuri cxovrebis buneb­rivi „kanonebis“ moqmedebas (Caurevlobis principi). interesTa Soris kon­fliqtebis ararsebobis kidev erTi safuZvelia aRzrdis qmediTi meTodebi da kontrolis efeqtiani meqanizmebi.

sazogadoebis ganviTarebis utopiuri modelis ZiriTad siZneles war­moadgens momavlis sazogadoebebSi gabatonebuli teqnologiebis defi­ci­ti. utopiebSi cdiloben gamocdilebis borkilebis damsxvrevas da mTeli sicxadiT warmogvidgenen imas, risi ganxorcielebac aqamde ar momxdara. aqve unda aRiniSnos, rom teqnologiebis deficiti ar exeba marto utopiuri sazogadoebebis proeqtebs. saqme is aris, rom utopiebi arafers ambobs imis Sesaxeb, Tu teqnologiurad rogor unda ganxorcieldes istoriaSi mo­cemuli periodis sazogadoebidan momavlis sazogadoebaze gadasvla. amis dasadastureblad marTebulad migvaCnia ekonomikur literaturaSi ga­moTqmuli mosazrebebi, romlis mixedviTac uSedegod dasrulda leninis mcdeloba, warmoedgina is konkretuli nabijebi, romlebic proletariatis revolucias komunizmamde miiyvanda. igive mouvida platonsac. rodesac igi Tavis „saxelmwifos” werda, darwmunebuli iyo, rom aTeisturi demokratiis gauqmebis Semdeg aristokratiuli wesrigi TavisTavad damyardeboda. mag­ram igi TandaTan rwmundeboda imaSi, rom SeuZlebelia revoluciis Se­degebis winaswar ganWvreta.

utopiebSi harmoniis damyareba SesaZlebelia mxolod „Caketil sazo­gadoebaSi” (poperi). utopiebi adamianTa Tanacxovrebis idealur mdgo­mareobas gamoxatavs, sadac yovelgvari cvlileba (maT Soris teqnikuri progresi) safrTxes uqmnis ideals. amitomac utopiebs statikuri xasiaTi aqvs da aseT modelebSi sazogadoeba cdilobs gaemijnos gare samyaros. sazogadoebis SigniT ki cdiloben Tavidan moiSoron gansxvavebuli azrov­nebisa da ganxeTqilebis Camomgdebni (Streit, 2005, gv. 299). aqedan gamomdinare, egzom sanatreli sazogadoebis ,,Seqmna~ calkeuli diqtatoris TviTmiznad iqceva xolme. maT cnobierebaSi adamianTa survilebi unda emorCilebodes im miznebs, romlebsac utopia ganasaxierebs. yvela utopia, did moaz­rovneTa mier gacxadebuli pretenziis miuxedavad, koleqtivistur msofl­mxedvelobas warmoadgens.

utopiis mniSvneloba, upirveles yovlisa, imaSi mdgomareobs, rom igi radikalurad upirispirdeba arsebul sazogadoebriv urTierTobebs da maTi kritikis formad gvevlineba. es iTqmis rogorc platonisa da moris, ise Tanamedrove socialist-utopistebis Sesaxeb; misi „kvleviTi xasiaTi” (Engelhardt, 1969, gv. 666) gasaTvaliswinebelia im aspeqtiT, rom gamoTqmul mosazrebaTa mecnieruli damuSaveba momavalSi moxdes; programuli xasi­a­Tidan gamomdinare, utopia moicavs sasurvel mizanTa kombinaciebs, rom­lebsac moqmedebis ucvlel principebad acxadebs.

es bolo aspeqti mniSvnelovania imiT, rom racionalur qmedebas warmoadgens [Popper, 1948a/2002, gv. 358]. igi saSualebas gvaZlevs, nebismieri moqmedebis saboloo mizani maqsimaluri sicxadiT warmovidginoT. sazo­gadoebasTan damokidebulebaSi es qmedeba moiTxovs, rom naTlad gvqondes gacnobierebuli misi saboloo miznebi. ra unda vqnaT Tu miznebi icvleba, rodesac Cven vcdilobT maTTan miaxlovebas? ras niSnavs is, rom Cveni Ta­namedroveebi sxva idealebs iziareben? ras niSnavs is, rom yvela Taobas Tavisi axali idealebi moaqvs? yovelive es eWvs badebs imis Sesaxeb saerTod arsebobs Tu ara saboloo mizani. sakamaToa miznebis mecnierulad for­mirebis SesaZlebloba. aseTi ram ki aucilebelia sazogadoebisaTvis, maT sayovelTao da gansakuTrebul mniSvnelobaze pretenziis gasamarTleblad ar aris sadavo agreTve is, rom zogierTi mizani, romelic adre miRweulad iTvleboda, mogvianebiT ganxorcielda. moqmedebaTa racionalurobis Tao­baze msjeloba mxolod maSin aris SesaZlebeli, rodesac Tavidanve naTe­li warmodgena gvaqvs miznebsa da maT Rirebulebaze. garkveul SeSfoTebas iwvevs is, rom miznis realizebaze mimarTuli politikuri moqmedebis Se­degebi SesaZlebelia sazogadoebisaTvis saxifaTo iyos. aseTi safrTxe­ebi ki imaSi mdgomareobs, rom:

- SesaZlebelia sazogadoebas ar gaaCndes idealis xorcSesxmis sakma­risi sulieri da materialuri resursebi da mxedvelobidan gamorCes uSualo da konkretuli naklovanebebis aRmofxvris aucilebloba;

- zogjer axali sazogadoebis Seqmnas xelisufleba cdilobs im TaobaTa daTrgunvis xarjze, romlebsac gardamavali xidis rols daakis­rebs;

- SesaZlebelia sxvagvarad moazrovneTa Zaladobrivi gardaqmna da damorCileba gamarTlebul taqtikad CaiTvalos, vinaidan isini safrTxes uqmnian utopiuri sazogadoebis ideebis xorcSesxmas (Streit, 2005, gv. 300).

savaraudod, safrTxeebs is gaurkvevlobebic emateba, romlebic da­kav­Si­rebulia imasTan, rom utopiebi moqmedebaTa teqnologias mokle­bulia. idealis xorcSesxmis mizniT auracxeli sazogadoebrivi cvlileba gan­xorcielebula. Tu maT Sesaxeb sakmaris informacias SevagrovebT, davrw­mundebiT, rom SeuZlebelia maTi racionaluri Semowmeba. saqme is aris, rom utopiurad orientirebuli programebi fsevdoracionalurobiT xasiaT­deba. Zalze viwroa is sfero, romelsac SeiZleba socialuri teqnika mivu­yenoT.

ekonomikuri politika mowodebulia, Tanmimdevruli diagnozirebis safuZvelze aRmofxvras konkretuli naklovanebebi da aqedan gamomdinare Sedegebi Semdgomi moqmdebebisas maqsimalurad gaiTvaliswinos. man unda aCvenos is, Tu rogor unda moxdes socialur teqnikaze dafuZnebuli Tan­mim­devruli reformebis ganxorcieleba [gvelesiani, 2013, gv. 11-13]. im SemTx­vevaSi, Tu ekonomikuri politikis sferoSi arsebuli problemebi racio­nalurad aris gaazrebuli, maSin maTi ganxorcielebis yoveli etapi, erTi mxriv, erTmaneTTan TanxmobaSi unda iyos. meore mxriv ki, sazogadoebis mdgomareobisa da ganviTarebis Sesaxeb globalur Sefasebebs unda See­sa­bamebodes. ekonomikuri politikis koncefcia, rogorc CarCo-programa, swo­red am mizans emsaxureba. Sefasebebsa da teqnologiis codnaSi ganxorcie­lebuli cvlilebebis mixedviT misi gadamowmeba periodulad unda moxdes.

**socialuri sabazro ekonomikis koncefciis winaaRmdegobrivi mizani**

istoriuli aspeqtiT socialuri sabazro ekonomikis koncefcia Camo­yalibda, rogorc reaqcia:

- im mzardsa da orientacias moklebul intervencionizmze, romelsac axorcilebdnen ganviTarebuli saxelmwifoebi orive msoflio omebs So­ris periodSi;

- centralizebulad marTvadi araefeqtiani ekonomikis Sesaxeb dag­rovil gamocdilebaze, romelmac sruliad daadastura mecnierulad Ca­moyalibebuli prognozebi;

- im strategiaze, romelic meore msoflio omis Semdgomi periodis pirvel wlebSi cdilobda siRatakis aRmofxvras biurokratiul-ekono­mi­ku­ri meTodebiT.

socialuri sabazro ekonomikis sulieri mamebi arian liberali mec­nierebi, e.w. fraiburgis skolis warmomadgenlebi: f. biomi, v. oikeni, f. meieri, a. miuler-armaki, v. riopke da a. riustovi. ludvig erhardi da alfred miuler-armaki is pirovnebebi arian, romlebmac scades mecnieruli varaudebi praqtikul politikaSi gadaetanaT.

ekonomikuri wesrigis politikis TvalsazrisiT socialuri sabaz­ro ekonomikis koncefcia regulirebadi sabazro ekonomikis konkretuli tipis Camoyalibebis mcdelobaa. am koncefciis mizania, rom „sabazro Tavisuf­lebis principi socialur TanasworobasTan daakavSiros” [Mueller-Armack, 1956, gv. 390]. amiT aRiarebuli iqneba individualuri Tavisuflebisa da samarTlianobis miznebi. koncefciis damokidebuleba ZiriTad sazoga­doeb­riv RirebulebebTan vlindeba imaSi, rom ekonomikis sferoSi indivi­dua­luri Tavisuflebis ganxorcielebisas gadawyvetilebis miRebis Zalauf­leba metwilad gadadis kerZo individebis xelSi; Tavisufali konku­renciis Sedegebis gakontroleba, upirveles yovlisa, emsaxureba samarT­li­a­nobis, rogorc yvelasTvis Tanabrad misaRebi pirobebis uzrunvel­yofis amocanas; ekonomikuri usafrTxoebis xelSewyoba individis saarsebo pirobebze zrunvasac gulisxmobs, romelic xorcieldeba rogorc qonebis dagrovebis, ise socialuri usafrTxoebis uzrunvelyos gziT; progress xels uwyobs sabazro koordinacia, romelic kontrolirebadi fasebis sa­fuZvelze konkurenciis formiT mimdinareobs. cxadia, rom rogorc Tavi­suflebasa da samarTlianobas, ise usafrTxoebasa da progress Soris konf­liqtebis mogvarebisaTvis ekonomikuri zrda ukeTes pirobebs qmnis [Streit, 2005, gv. 301-302].

ekonomikuri politikis miznebis ganxorcieleba xels unda uwyobdes ZiriTadi Rirebulebebis realizebas. „socialuri intervenciis regulire­bis principi” [Mueller-Armack, 1956, gv. 391] upirveles yovlisa, Sinaarsobrivad Seesabameba rogorc Semosavlebisa da qonebis samarTlianad ganawilebis, ise socialuri usafrTxoebis princips.

socialuri sabazro ekonomikis koncefcias safuZvlad udevs ori martivi principi:

- sabazro koordinacia xorcieldeba im proceduris safuZvelze, romelic konkurenciis procesSi fasebis regulirebas gulisxmobs. magram vinaidan konkurencia TavisTavad ar gvaZlevs amis saSualebas, saWiroa misi instituciuri uzrunvelyofa. saubaria imaze, rom „gamoiricxos konku­ren­ciis SezRudva, gakontroldes monopoliebi, oligopoliebi da kart­elebi da amiT - momxmareblis interesebidan gamomdinare - amaRldes konkurenciis efeqtianoba` [Mueller-Armack, 1956, gv. 391];

- ekonomikur-politikuri marTvis RonisZiebebi emsaxureba „socia­lur mizandasaxulobas da ar aferxebs sabazro meqanizmis muSaobas” [Mueller-Armack, 1956, gv. 391]. amiT dgindeba sistemisadmi konformuloba, rogorc instrumentebis gamoyenebis kriteriumi. gansxvavebuli zomebis gamoyeneba mowmdeba imis mixedviT Tu ramdenad Seasruleben isini maTze dakisrebul funqcias sabazro koordinaciis gabatonebul sistemaSi.

ekonomikuri politikis amocanebi gadanawilebulia or gansakuT­re­bul institutze, rac koncefciis kidev erTi maxasiaTebelia. antimono­poliuri samsaxuris amocanaa konkurenciis uzrunvelyofis mizniT Ronis­ZiebaTa gatareba, rogorc es gansazRvruli unda iyos konkurenciis Sez­RudvaTa akrZalvis Sesaxeb kanoniT. meore organizacia ki damoukidebeli centraluri bankia. saxelmwifo xelisuflebisaTvis fulad masaze kont­rolis funqciis CamorTmeva unda gavigoT, rogorc inflaciuri politikis prevenciis mcdeloba. am konteqstSi unda gaviazroT ,,saojaxo meurneobis stabilurobis” [Mueller-Armack, 1956, gv. 391] principic. Tumca Teoriasa da praqtikaSi es principi ar aris dakonkretebuli. gaurkvevelia, Tu ras niSnavs igi koniunqturis politikis aspeqtiT. dabolos, zemoaRniSnul „socialuri intervenciis regulirebis principTan” erTad unda davasa­xe­loT „sawarmoo solidarobis” principic [Rüstow, 1953, gv. 102]. igi unda gavi­goT, rogorc „SromiTi kanonmdebloba, romelic xels uwyobs sazogadoeb­riv cxovrebaSi mewarmis monawileobis gaaqtiurebas.”

**daskvna**

socialuri sabazro ekonomikis principebma politikuri mniSvneloba msoflioSi mas Semdeg SeiZina, rac isini 1949 w. diuseldorfSi germane­lebma (qristianul-demokratiulma kavSirma) Tavisi ekonomikuri progra­mis birTvad gamoacxades. omis Semdgom periodSi igi qristianul-demokra­tiuli kavSiris mier formirebuli yvela mTavrobis praqtikul ekonomikur politikas warmoadgens. masSi garkveuli SezRudvebis Setanisa da aqcen­tebis gadaadgilebis Semdgom, koncefcia TandaTan socialur-demokra­ti­ul­ma opoziciamac gaiziara.

koncefciasa da realobas Soris gaCenili Rrma bzari SesaZlebelia globaluri kontrolis Sedegi iyos [Tuchtfeldt, 1973]. socialuri sabazro ekonomika, arsebiTad ufro maRal moTxovnebs uyenebs koniunqturis poli­tikasa da marTvis Sesaxeb moZRvrebas (aseve „ganxorcielebis SesaZleb­lo­bas”). globaluri kontroli wesrigis politikis mixedviT sabazro koor­dinaciis Tavisebur gagebas emyareba. saxeldobr, igi ganisazRvreba, ro­gorc qcevis wesrigis politikaze orientirebuli movlena. es Tvalsazrisi ar iTvaliswinebs politikis kanonzomierebebs, rogorc xelis SemSlel faqtors, romelic ar gvaZlevs marTvis gegmis Tanmimdevrulad gamoyenebis SesaZleblobas. raoden gasakviric ar unda iyos globalur kontrols dRemde ar moutania damajerebeli Sedegi [Streit, 1981].

socialuri saxelmwifo Tavisi SinaarsiT xels uwyobs subsidirebis principis TandaTanobiT gandevnas, rac politikuri konkurenciis Sedegia. koncefciis gadatvirTvasa da gamofitvas ganapirobebs mwvave problema, romelic demokratiis erT gansazRvrul formas ukavSirdeba. saubaria keTildReobis saxelmwifosa da demokratiis im formaze, romelic mas (umravlesobis keTildReobas) emyareba. es problema sakiTxis eTikuri as­peq­tis miCqmalvas iwvevs. zogjer ki mas tabud aqcevs. saqme exeba gansxva­vebul interesTa jgufebis politikur ugulebelyofasa da maT mimarT oportunistul reaqcias. rasac isic aZlierebs, rom umravlesobis inte­resTa jgufebi (tnk-is ekonomikuri interesebi) da politikuri aqtiorebi erTmaneTTan kavSirSi arian rogorc personalurad, ise finansurad [Streit, 2003].

koncefciasa da realobas Soris gaCenili ,,bzaris” aRmosafxvrelad aucilebelia am dabrkolebebis identificireba da Tavidan acileba. ami­saTvis ki saWiroa: maTi Tavidan acilebis teqnologiis codnis gaum­jo­beseba rogorc ekonomikur urTierTzemoqmedebaTa, aseve politikuri nebis formirebis procesis TvalsazrisiT; rogorc ekonomikuri politikis instrumentariumis, ise politikuri meTodebis gaumjobeseba.

konkretulad unda Semowmdes, SesaZlebelia Tu ara: ekonomikur-politikur aqtivobaTa gardauvali koordinaciis gaumjobeseba, rodesac ekonomikuri politikis uamravi gamtarebeli arsebobs; interesTa jgufebis zegavlenis SezRudva ekonomikur-politikuri nebis formirebis procesze; gadawyvetilebis gamtarebelTa marTvis codnis gaumjobeseba ekonomikuri politikis RonisZiebaTa Sedegebis kontrolis safuZvelze. aadvilebs Tu ara es politikuri pasuxismgeblobis identificirebas da maTTvis (saWi­roebis SemTxvevaSi) sanqciebis dakisrebis SesaZleblobas [gvelesiani, gogoriSvili, 2012, gv.146].

amave dros, aucilebelia imis gacnobiereba Tu ra aris, rogorc eko­no­mikuri politikis koncefciis realizebisa da misi Semdgomi ganvi­Ta­rebis, ise ekonomikuri da sazogadoebrivi wesrigis Sesaxeb SexedulebaTa Camoyalibebis mTavari wanamZRvari. swored es aris rac SeiZleba farTo konsensusi im ZiriTadi Rirebulebebis Sinaarsisa da masStabis Taobaze, romlis realizaciac sazogadoebas surs.

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**RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMIC CONCEPTION TOWARDS THE MAIN SOCIAL VALUES**

**Expanded Summary**

Conception of economic policy may be defined as general frame-conditions of economic policy activity, its basis and indicator. When such conception is based on rationality principle, it is well realized and steady system of general and dimensional aims. It includes principles of discipline policy as well, compatible and conformal means towards the aim. Conception of economic policy simplifies making of rational economic-political decisions and gives opportunity to choose opportunities of activity in advance.

Economic discipline, which is the basis of the conception, is not an own goal. It is the reflection of the main point of view existing in the society. We have to realize two aspects of the market subjected to regulation, based on this, from which one is related to management of coordinated system, and the second means establishment of the fact how management of economic-political events is possible. Making of a decision depends on how individual freedom and justness is defined with economic aspect. When the accent is made on subjective perception regarding keeping of social status and justness, then market coordination and private property autonomy, based on it, needs limitation and correction. But if the accent is made on success and on the ability of an individual to appropriate amendments introducing progress, then existence of material stimulus, together with high level of subjective autonomy, is necessary. Their distribution is to be led by fully different, but supportable and permissible results for everyone.

Ensuring of long-term political consensus is necessary for the conception to perform its task and to become hard and durable basis of economic policy activity. It has to stipulate that the economics is a structural circle of the whole system and there in its aims, is part of more dimensional social aims. Separation of the conception and actual policy is possible under influence of certain circumstances, despite the effort of the executor of economic policy. The concept, as the indicator of practical aims, does not lose its importance. If we refuse it, the following question will arise: by what can we replace it in order to prevent danger of unadvised interventions? There is no lack of models, drawing perfect condition of humans’ cohabitation, in world thinking. Such utopias gave impulses to all encompassing public changes during centuries. Utopian theories, representing perfect countries, are different from economic policy conception with its uncompromising character and by the fact that its scientific control is impossible.

The main difficulty of utopian model of the society development is lack of technologies dominating in societies. Crushing of experience shackles is tried in utopias and the facts are represented, implementation of which is not performed yet. It is to be mentioned that lack of technologies is not related only to projects of utopian societies. Utopias say nothing about the fact how moving of the society of the period, given in the history, into future society is to be done technologically.

Conception of social market economics is an attempt to formulate certain type of regulative market economics in the view of economic discipline policy. Relation of the conception to the main public values is demonstrated in the fact that the power of making decision while performance of individual liberty in the sphere of economics is transferred to private individuals; Control of results of free competition, first of all, serves to the task of insurance of justness, as conditions equally permissible to everyone;

Promoting economic safety means taking care about living conditions of an individual as well, that is performed by means of accumulation of property and ensuring social safety; Market coordination promotes the progress, which flows in the form of competition based on controlled prices. It is clear that economic increase for settlement of conflicts between liberty and justness, as well as between safety and progress, creates better conditions.

**saxelmwifo marTvis problemebi**

**PROBLEMS OF STATE MANAGEMENT**

***nugzar paiWaZe***

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**saxelmwifo da municipalur mosamsaxureTa organizaciuli**

**qcevis marTva da misi srulyofis gzebi**

***reziume.*** *naSromSi ganxilulia organizaciuli qcevis Teoriul-meTodo­logiuri sakiTxebi da saqarTveloSi saxelmwifo da municipalur mo­sam­­saxureTa organizaciuli qcevis marTvis kritikuli analizis safuZ­velze gamovlenilia mocemul sferoSi arsebuli zogierTi naklovaneba da konkretuli RonisZiebebia dasaxuli maT gamosasworeblad.*

***sakvanZo sityvebi:*** *organizaciuli qceva; saxelmwifo da municipaluri samsaxuri; organizaciuli qcevis pirovnuli da jgufuri done; orga­ni­zaciuli qcevis marTva.*

**Sesavali**

sabazro ekonomikisa da sazogadoebaSi masTan dakavSirebuli so­cia­luri wesrigis formirebiT izrdeba saxelmwifo da municipalur mosamsaxureTa roli da pasuxismgebloba. axla, roca saxelmwifo mar­T­vis avtoritaruli sistema, romelsac axasiaTebda mkacri centrali­za­cia, Secvala marTvis demokratiulma sistemam, gansakuTrebuli mniSv­ne­loba eniWeba saxelmwifo da municipalur mosamsaxureTa profesiuli saqmianobis pirovnul faqtorebs. dRes nebismieri SromiTi koleqtivis saqmianobis efeqtianobis amaRlebis mniSvnelovani pirobaa momuSaveTa individualuri da jgufuri qcevis progresuli stilisa da formebis codna da maTi gamoyeneba personalis marTvis srulyofis mimarTu­le­biT.

mocemul problemaze mravali samecniero Sromaa gamoqveynebuli rogorc ucxoeli, aseve qarTveli mkvlevrebis mier. miuxedavad amisa, saqar­TveloSi masze zogierTi sakiTxi naklebad an saerTod ar aris Ses­wavlili. maT Sorisaa saxelmwifo da municipalur mosamsaxureTa orga­nizaciuli qcevis marTvasa da mis srulyofasTan dakavSirebuli sakiTxebi. swored am xarvezis nawilobriv gamosworebis erTgvari cdaa winamdebare samecniero statia.

**organizaciuli qceva: zogierTi Teoriul-meTodologiuri sakiTxi**

organizaciuli qceva socialuri qcevis saxesxvaobaa. socialuri qceva adamianTa mizanswrafuli aqtiurobis procesia, maTi interesebisa da moTxovnilebebidan gamomdinare. misi Teoriul-meTodologiuri sa­kiT­xebi damuSavebulia mocemul problemaze momuSave iseT cnobil mkvle­varTa mier, rogorebic arian: m. armstrongi, g. saimoni, d. xomansi, p. blau, d.znanecki, r. makiveri, t. parsonsi, m. veberi, v. vesnini, a. turCinovi, a. kibanovi f. liutenko, s. rezniki da sxvebi.

organizaciuli qceva, romelic ganixileba rogorc socialuri qce­vis gansakuTrebuli saxe, aris, erTi mxriv, pirovnebis organizaciis, rogorc socialuri institutis, funqcionirebis pirobebTan adaptaciis (Seguebis) sistema, meore mxriv \_ individebisa da socialuri jgufebis saqmianobis saSualeba konkretul organizaciul-administraciul gare­moSi.

organizaciaSi momuSaveTa qcevis Camoyalibebaze gavlenas axdens iseTi faqtorebi, rogoricaa: organizaciul-kulturuli urTierTobebi, qceviTi molodinebi, organizaciaSi TanamSromlebs Soris urTierT­q­me­debaTa praqtika da a. S. organizaciuli qcevis formebSia asaxuli so­ci­a­luri cxovrebis ZiriTadi subieqtebis \_ pirovnebis, pirovnebaTa jgu­fis, SromiTi koleqtivis Tvisebebi. organizaciaSi adamianTa qcevis modelebi yalibdeba individebisa da socialuri jgufebis urTierTq­me­debis kanonzomierebaTa safuZvelze. adamianTa saqmianobis swori xelm­ZRvanelobisaTvis didi mniSvneloba aqvs organizaciis, rogorc erTob­livi socialuri subieqtis, qcevis specifikis codnas, romelic war­moi­Soba socialur-organizaciuli, koleqtiuri, jgufuri da pirov­nuli qcevis urTierTqmedebiT.

organizaciaTa xelmZRvanelobis erT-erTi mniSvnelovani amocanaa, ekonomikuri da moraluri meTodebis gamoyenebiT uzrunvelyos momu­Sa­veTa Sromisadmi maRali motivacia, SeimuSaos maTi qcevis pozitiuri tipebi da amis safuZvelze daareguliros adamianTa qceva organizacii­saTvis sasurveli mimarTulebiT.

mocemul problemaze momuSave mkvlevrebi gamoyofen organiza­ci­uli qcevis Semdeg motivaciebs: a) miswrafeba TviTrealizaciisaken, anu kmayofilebis miReba muSaobisgan da profesiuli zrdisgan; b) samsaxu­reb­rivi movaleoba, roca profesiuli saqmianoba emyareba sazogadoeb­riv da organizaciul interesebs; g) programuli orientacia, anu misw­ra­­feba-uzrunvelyo individualuri interesebi; d) karieruli inte­rese­bi.

nebismieri SromiTi koleqtivis xelmZRvaneloba dainteresebulia, Tavis organizaciaSi damkvidrdes iseTi organizaciuli qceva, romelic maqsimalurad Seuwyobs xels organizaciis winaSe mdgomi amocanebis warmatebiT Sesrulebas. swored am mizniT mimarTaven qcevis normatiul-Tanamdebobrivi modelis agebas. misi mizania organizaciuli stabilu­robis uzrunvelyofa da gulisxmobs iseTi Sigaorganizaciuli paramet­re­bis damuSavebas, rogoricaa: momuSaveTa uflebebi, movaleobebi, ga­moyenebuli resursebi, kompetenturobisa da movaleobebis done. orga­nizaciuli qcevis Tanamdebobrivi modeli gansazRvravs saqmianobis sam­saxurebriv CarCoebs da momuSaveTa formalur statuss. organiza­ciuli qcevis normatiul-Tanamdebobrivi modeli emyareba ierarqiulo­bis princips.

rac Seexeba organizaciuli qcevis socialur-fsiqologiur mo­dels, igi emyareba TviTregulaciisa da TviTorganizaciis princips. igi ar aris mkacrad struqturirebuli. misi safuZvelia situaciuri mid­go­ma, romlis maxasiaTeblebi, rogorc wesi, ganisazRvreba piradi simpa­TiiT an antipaTiiT da emyareba pirovnebaTaSoris da jgufur komunika­ciebs. socialur-fsiqologiur modelSi qceviTi matrica yalibdeba individualuri warmodgenebis, faseulobebisa da idealebis safuZvelze.

organizaciuli qcevis subieqtebia: calkeuli momuSave, socialu­ri jgufebi da sxvadasxva SromiTi koleqtivebi. isini moqmedeben funq­ci­uri, normatiuli da sociokulturuli warmodgenebisa da SezRudve­bis CarCoebSi. jgufuri da koleqtiuri qcevis Tanafardoba da ierarqia ganisazRvreba organizaciis saqmianobis sagnobriv-miznobrivi mimarTu­lobis konfiguraciiT, misi funqcionirebis Siga da gare kontaqtiT, warmoebisa da Sromis faqtorebis unikalurobiT.

organizaciuli qcevis struqturaSi gamoiyofa pirovnuli, jgu­furi da saerToorganizaciuli done. organizaciuli qcevis pirovnuli done gamomdinareobs individis socialur-fsiqologiuri Tavisebure­bebidan. cxovrebiseuli gamocdilebis mqone pirovnebis faseulobiTi orientaciebi da mizandasaxulოbani, miRebuli sazogadoebriv garemoSi socialur jgufTan adaptaciisas, uSualo gavlenas axdens organiza­ciaSi adamianis qcevaze. amitomaa, rom pirovnebis sociologiur kon­cefciebSi pirovneba miCneulia ama Tu im socialuri faqtorebis mier formirebul specifikur warmonaqmnad.

struqturul-funqcionaluri skolis (a. reklif-brauni, d. Moreno) mier pirovneba gansazRvrulia rogorc rolebis erToblioba, romelsac asrulebs individi sazogadoebaSi [5, 69]. adamianis qceva damokidebulia mraval iseT faqtorze, rogoricaa: adamianis biofsiqologiuri unari, pirovnebis xasiaTi, Sesasrulebeli roli, specialuri kontrolis jguf­­Si miRebuli wesi, jgufis struqtura, jgufis darazmulobis xa­ris­xi da sxv. mocemul problemaze momuSave iseTi cnobili mecnie­rebis mosazrebiT, rogorebic arian: k. levini, g. mere, e. tolmeni da z. fre­idi, SeuZlebelia adamianis qcevis axsna pirovnuli faqtorebisa da ir­gv­liv arsebuli garemos erTmaneTisagan izolirebulad ganxilvisas [5, 69].

organizaciuli qcevis jgufuri done dakavSirebulia iseT cne­bebTan, rogoricaa: misi sistemis normebi, faseulobebi, darazmulobisa da saqmianobis meqanizmi. jgufi ganixileba pirovnebis, rogorc moqme­debis subieqtis realizaciis garemo. socialur jgufSi igulisxmeba saqmianobaSi saerTo monawileobaze dafuZnebuli adamianebis gaerTia­neba, romelic regulirdeba formaluri da araformaluri socialuri institutebiT. jgufur gaerTianebaTa warmoqmnis mizezia rogorc Sro­mis danawileba da specializebuli funqciebis gaCena, aseve socialur-fsiqologiuri gaerTianebebisa da sxva adamianebTan urTierTqmedebis mdgradi formebis Camoyalibebisaken adamianTa bunebrivi miswrafeba. arsebobs socialuri jgufisadmi sxvadasxva midgoma. magaliTad, socio­metriuli koncefcia yuradRebas amaxvilebs jgufTaSoris urTierTo­bebze. igi sazogadoebas ganixilavs rogorc erTmaneTis gadamkveT ada­mianTa jgufebs, romlebic, Tavis mxriv, arian romeliRac domi­ni­rebuli jgufis saxesxvaobebi. anatomiuri midgomiT, socialuri jgu­febi miiC­neva Sualedur rgolad sazogadoebis sistemaSi [5, gv.69].

mocemul problemaze momuSave mkvlevrebi jgufuri qcevis socia­luri efeqtis Seswavlam miiyvana daskvnamde, rom Sromis organizaciisa da qcevis koleqtiur meTodebs aqvs mniSvnelovani upiratesoba indivi­dua­lurTan SedarebiT, gansakuTrebiT maSin, roca jgufi misaRebia mas­Si Semavali wevrebisTvis. individTa erTobliobis jgufad gardaq­m­nis aucilebeli pirobaa maTi mdgradi urTierTqmedeba da erToblivi komu­nikaciebi xangrZlivi drois ganmavlobaSi. jgufi, roca qmnis Si­nagan organizacias, xdeba erToblivi socialuri (jgufuri) interesis mata­re­­beli. jgufuri organizaciuli qcevis Taviseburebebia: a) jgufis Se­madgenel individebs Soris pirdapiri, anu uSualo kontaqti; b) pi­rov­nebaTaSorisi urTierTqmedeba da urTierTgavlena; g) saerTo saqmia­no­bis, miznisa da gancdebis arseboba; d) funqciebisa da socialuri ro­le­­bis Sigajgufuri ganawileba; e) interesebis, socialuri normebis, Cveulebebisa da qcevis gamovlenis erToba da a. S. organizaciuli qce­vis jgufur formas SeiZleba axldes uaryofiTi momentebic. erT-erTi aseTia jgufis Tavis TavSi “Caketva~ da, Sesabamisad, araadekvaturi reaq­­cia gare signalebze, kritikis ugulebelyofa da sxv.

organizacia, rogorc socialuri sistema, Tavis TavSi moicavs in­dividualur da jgufur normebsa da qcevis standartebs, agreTve, zo­gadorganizaciul da sociokulturul parametrebs. yovel organiza­cias aqvs sakuTari specifikuri Tvisebebi, marTvis obieqti da subieqti da iqmneba garkveuli miznis sarealizaciod. igi eyrdnoba garkveul horizontalur da vertikalur struqturebs da asrulebs misTvis dama­xasiaTebel specifikur funqciebs. yoveli konkretuli organizacia SeimuSavebs sxva organizaciebisagan gansxvavebul faseulobebs, normeb­sa da qcevis wesebs da, amdenad, gvevlineba zogadorganizaciuli qcevis subieqtad. faqtobrivad, igi axdens individualuri da jgufuri qcevis gaerTianebasa da koordinacias, momuSaveebs abams erTian SromiT pro­ces­Si, aregulirebs maT saqmianobasa da qcevas da akontrolebs Sromi­Ti koleqtivis saqmianobas mTlianobaSi. organizaciis specifikuroba da qceva gamovlindeba organizaciuli kulturis, rogorc faseulobaTa erTobliobis, miswrafebebis, qcevis normebisa da formebis fenomenSi. or­ganizaciuli kultura uzrunvelyofs momuSaveTa Soris keTilsasu­r­vel urTierTobas da organizaciis efeqtiani saqmianobisa da ganviTa­re­bisaTvis gansazRvravs Tavis misias, irCevs strategiasa da qcevis nor­mebs.

organizaciuli qcevisa da saqmianobis sociokulturuli konteqs­ti SefardebiTad mdgradi elementia, ramdenadac Tavis TavSi moicavs rogorc normatiulad gansazRvrul instituciur parametrebs, aseve, zneobrivad faseulobiT regulatorebs. instituciuri normebi gamoir­Ceva didi formalizaciiTa da urTierTkavSiriT. saqmianobisa da qcevis zneobriv-eTikuri faqtorebi ki iracionaluria. isini warmoiqmneba ada­mianTa urTierTobis praqtikaSi. amrigad, organizaciuli qceva ya­lib­de­ba saqmianobis sxvadasxva donis da faqtoris rTuli urTierT­qmede­bi­dan. organizaciuli qcevis struqturas aqvs rTuli konfigu­racia da varirebs standartuli moqmedebebidan unikalur xasiaTobriv moqmede­be­bamde. organizaciuli qcevis safuZvelia qcevis sayovelTaod miRebul nimuSebSi, faseulobebsa da normebSi bazirebuli obieqturi da subieq­turi elementebi.

**saxelmwifo da municipalur mosamsaxureTa organizaciuli**

**qcevis marTva da misi srulyofis gzebi**

saxelmwifo da municipalur mosamsaxureTa qceviT maxasiaTeblebs gaaCnia gansazRvruli Taviseburebebi, rac ganpirobebulia maTi sazoga­doebriv garemoze administraciuli zemoqmedebis socialuri mniSvnelo­biTa da xarisxiT.

saxelmwifo da municipaluri samsaxuris sistemaSi administra­ci­ul-mmarTvelobiTi urTierTobebi ormag xasiaTs atarebs, romlis mize­zi isaa, rom is, erTi mxriv, ganicdis socialuri faqtorebisa da pi­robebis (sazogadoebriv-politikuri wyobilebis xasiaTi, samoqalaqo sazogadoebis done da a. S.) zemoqmedebas, xolo meore mxriv, saxelm­wifo da municipaluri samsaxuris organizaciebSi momuSaveTa qceva ume­tesad ganisazRvreba maTi profesiuli saqmianobis specifikiT. ada­mianTa saqmianobis mocemul sferoSi qceviTi modeli yalibdeba e. w. wamyvani muSakebis SromiTi qcevis mniSvnelovani zegavleniT, rac asaxvas pou­lobs organizaciul-mmarTvelobiT da sakvalifikacio profesiul stan­dartebSi.

saxelmwifo da municipaluri samsaxuris organzaciebSi xelmZRva­neli piris qcevaze zemoqmedebs iseTi komponentebi, rogoricaa: a) auci­leblad Sesasrulebeli amocanebi; b) momuSaveTa oficialuri statusis ganmsazRvreli uflebebisa da movaleobebis erToblioba; g) mmarTve­lo­biT gadawyvetilebaTa uzrunvelmyofeli resursebi; d) zemdgomi Ta­namdebobrivi pirisadmi ierarqiuloba da angariSvaldebuleba. saxelm­wi­­fo da municipalur mosamsaxureTa qceva metwilad reglamentirdeba movaleobebisa da qcevebis uflebamosilebisa da arauflebamosilebis principiT. amis safuZvelze warmoiSoba Tanamdebobriv pirTa qcevis sami gansazRvruli saxe: aucilebeli, anu iZulebiTi; saWiro, anu xelSekru­lebiTi da sasurveli, anu sakuTari neba-surviliT.

saxelmwifo da municipalur samsaxurSi momuSaveTa qcevis funq­cio­naluri gansazRvruloba damokidebulia xelmZRvanelis organiza­ci­ul-maregulirebel Zalisxmevaze, romelic mniSvnelovanwilad gansazRv­ravs mmarTvelobiTi urTierTobis veqtors rogorc oficialur, aseve araoficialur sferoSi.

sazogadoebis ganviTarebis dRevandel etapze gansakuTrebul mniS­v­nelobas iZens saxelmwifo da municipalur mosamsaxureTa saqmianobisa da qcevis xelmZRvanelobis efeqtiani meTodebisa da formebis damuSa­veba. adamianTa saqmianobis mocemul sferoSi organizaciuli qcevis marTva xorcieldeba Semdegi oTxi mimarTulebiT: 1) qcevis miznobrivad racionaluri mimarTulebis, anu konkretul-situaciuri da strategi­uli prioritetebis gansazRvra; 2) komunikaciuri urTierTqmedebis sis­temis Seqmna, anu mniSvnelovani organizaciuli interesebis gamovlena; 3) samsaxurebrivi saqmianobis efeqtianobis Sefasebis meTodebis Semu­Saveba da danergva; 4) SromiTi koleqtivis qcevis marTva organiza­ci­uli kulturis gamoyenebiT.

organizaciul qcevaze miznobrivi zemoqmedeba gulisxmobs profe­siuli saqmianobis uaxloes, Sualedur da Soreul mizanTa gansazRvras. organizaciis winaSe mdgomi amocanebis dasaxvisa da maT realizaciaSi adamianebis CarTvis unari xelmZRvanelis mmarTvelobiTi saqmianobis saw­yisi komponentia. nebismier SromiT koleqtivSi momuSaveTa qcevis organizacia sakmaod rTulia. saqme isaa, rom saxelmwifo da munici­pa­lur organoTa organizaciebis miznebi yovelTvis ar emTxveva individ­Ta cxovrebiseul miznobriv orientirebs.

saxelmwifo da municipaluri samsaxuris momuSaveTa organiza­ciu­li qcevis marTvis mniSvnelovani instrumentia gamarTuli sainfor­macio-sakomunikacio sistema. misi formireba xdeba organizaciis mniS­v­ne­lovani interesebidan gamomdinare. organizaciis miznebisa da amoca­nebis adekvaturi sainformacio-sakomunikacio sistemis ganviTarebis mizniT iyeneben sxvadasxva teqnologias. mocemul problemaze momuSave mkvlevris g. saimonis mixedviT, administraciul organoTa organiza­ci­ebSi mniSvnelovania komunikaciis Semdegi teqnologiebi: a) infor­maciis gavrcelebis organizacia, anu informaciis dayvana TiToeul mosamsa­xu­remde; b) informaciis kontrolis organizacia, romelSic igu­lis­xmeba: xelmoweris wesis gansazRvra, saeqsperto Sefasebis qvegan­yofilebis or­ga­nizeba, SeTanxmebis procesebis uzrunvelyofa da a. S.; g) infor­maciis registraciisa da Senaxvis sistemis Seqmna; d) specia­luri sain­formacio-sakomunikacio qveganyofilebis organizeba [1, 73].

sazogadoebis ganviTarebis dRevandel etapze mowinave organi­za­ciebi, gansakuTrebiT saxelmwifo da municipaluri samsaxuris siste­maSi, SromiTi koleqtivis marTvas axorcieleben organizaciuli kul­turis saSualebiT, rac SesaZleblobas iZleva maqsimalurad gamoiye­non sociokulturuli faqtorebis SesaZleblobani da upiratesobebi. ker­Zod, igi aadvilebs saxelmwifo da municipaluri samsaxuris mTavari miznobrivi funqciiს gansazRvras, momuSaveTa profesiuli saqmianobis kulturis amaRlebas, TviTorganizebuli teqnologiebis (organizaci­uli tradiciebisa da pirovnebaTaSorisi ritualebis da a. S.) gamoye­ne­bas da sxv. igi dadebiTad moqmedebs organizaciul qcevaze, xels uw­yobs saxelmwifo da municipaluri samsaxuris organizaciebSi saqmiano­bis yvelaze ufro sasurveli standartebis damkvidrebas da a.S.

profesiuli saqmianobis sociokulturuli faqtorebis gaTvalis­wineba da gamoyeneba dRes organizaciis warmatebuli saqmianobis erT-erTi yvelaze efeqtiani saSualebaa [7, 19]. saqme isaa, rom Tanamedrove epo­qaSi saxelmwifo da municipalur samsaxurSi momuSaveTa efeqtiani profesiuli saqmianobisa da racionaluri organizaciuli qcevisaTvis gadamwyveti mniSvneloba aqvs ara mkacr mmarTvelobiT gadawyvetile­bebs, aramed organizaciul kulturas, rogorc instituciuri da zneob­rivi normebis kompleqss da regulators. qcevis sociokulturuli faq­torebisTvis damaxasiaTebelia adamianTa Segnebulobis maRali done da saqmianobis aramkacri stili. igi maqsimalurad iTvaliswinebs momu­Sa­ve­Ta individualur da jgufur Taviseburebebs, efuZneba im socialur normebs, romelTac cnobs da samoqmedod iRebs organizaciis wevrTa umetesoba.

sazogadoebis ganviTarebis dRevandel etapze, saxelmwifo da muni­cipalur organoebSi dasaqmebul mosamsaxureTa Sromis efeqtianobis amaRlebaSi, erT-erTi gadamwyveti mniSvneloba aqvs adamianTa saqmiano­bis mocemul sferoSi momuSaveTa organizaciuli qcevis gamarTul mar­T­vas. samwuxarod, saqarTveloSi am mxriv seriozuli naklovanebebia [7, 19]. mokled, zogierTi maTganis Sesaxeb:

1) saTanado yuradReba ar eqceva saxelmwifo da municipalur mo­sam­saxureTa saqmianobisa da qcevis efeqtiani marTvis saSualebebis, me­To­debisa da formebis damuSavebasa da danergvas;

2) jer kidev sustia organizaciul qcevaze miznobrivi zemoqme­deba, romlis upirvelesi amocanaa SromiTi koleqtivis uaxloesi, Sua­leduri da Soreuli amocanebis dasaxva da maT realizaciaSi momu­Sa­veTa CarTva;

3) arc ise iSviaTad, organizaciuli qcevis racionalur marTvas ver uzrunvelyofs saqmianobis mocemul sferoSi arsebuli sainfor­macio-sakomunikacio sistema, misi formireba xSirad ar xdeba organi­za­ciis mniSvnelovani interesebidan gamomdinare;

4) xSir SemTxvevaSi ar arsebobs samsaxurebrivi saqmianobis Sefa­sebis mwyobri sistema;

5) saxelmwifo da municipaluri samsaxuris sistemaSi xSirad Sro­mi­Ti koleqtivebis marTvas ar axorcieleben organizaciuli kulturis amaRlebis daxmarebiT, rogorc dRes amas adgili aqvs ekonomikurad ma­RalganviTarebul qveynebSi. es ki saSualebas ar iZleva maqsimalurad iqnes gamoyenebuli sociokulturuli faqtorebis SesaZleblobani da upiratesobebi.

saqarTvelos saxelmwifo da municipalur organoebSi dasaqmebul mosamsaxureTa organizaciuli qcevis marTvis srulyofis mimarTulebiT mizanSewonilia, ganxorcieldes rigi iseTi RonisZiebebi, rogoricaa: 1) gansakuTrebuli yuradReba daeTmos saxelmwifo da muni­cipa­lur mosamsaxureTa organizaciuli qcevis marTvis efeqtiani saSuale­bebis, meTodebisa da formebis damuSavebasa da danergvas. organizaci­uli qcevis marTvisas, wina planze iqnes wamoweuli iseTi midgomebi, rogoricaa: a) qcevis konkretul-situaciuri da strategiuli priorite­tebis gansazRvra; b) komunikaciuri urTierTqmedebis racionaluri sis­te­mis Seqmna da danergva; g) samsaxurebrivi saqmianobis efeqtianobis Sefasebis meTodebis SemuSaveba da danergva;

2) ufro meti yuradReba daeTmos organizaciul qcevaze miznobriv zemoqmedebas, romlis upirvelesi amocana, rogorc ukve aRiniSna, uax­loesi, Sualeduri da Soreuli amocanebis dasaxva da maT reali­za­cia­Si momuSaveTa CarTvaa;

3) saxelmwifo da municipaluri samsaxuris yvela rgolSi Seiqmnas organizaciuli qcevis racionaluri marTvis uzrunvelmyofeli sain­for­macio-sakomunikacio sistema. misi formireba moxdes organizaciebis mniSvnelovani interesebidan gamomdinare. gansakuTrebuli yuradReba mieq­ces komunikaciasTan dakavSirebul iseT sakiTxebs, rogoricaa: in­for­maciis gavrcelebis organizacia (misi dayvana TiToeul mosamsa­xuremde), informaciaze kontroli, saeqsperto Sefasebis organizacia, informaciis registraciisa da Senaxvis sistemis Seqmna da a. S.;

4) Seiqmnas saxelmwifo da municipalur mosamsaxureTa saqmianobis Sefasebis mwyobri sistema, romelic uzrunvelyofs momuSaveTa Sro­misadmi motivaciis amaRlebas;

5) saxelmwifo da municipaluri samsaxuris sistemaSi SromiTi ko­leqtivebis marTvიsas gansakuTrebuli yuradReba daeTmos organiza­ci­uli kulturis amaRlebis sakiTxebs, raTa maqsimalurad iqnes gamoye­ne­buli sociokulturuli faqtorebis SesaZleblobani da upiratesobebi.

**daskvna**

organizaciuli qceva aris socialuri qcevis gansakuTrebuli sa­xe. misi struqtura xasiaTdeba rTuli konfiguraciiT da varirebs stan­dartuli moqmedebebidan unikalur reaqciebsa da qmedebebamde.

saxelmwifo da municipalur organoebSi momuSaveTa organiza­ci­uli qcevis modeli yalibdeba profesiuli saqmianobis funqciona­lu­ri birTvis mniSvnelovani gavleniT da reglamentirebulia ufle­bamo­sile­bisa da samsaxurebrivi pasuxismgeblobis principebiT.

saqarTvelos saxelmwifo da municipalur samsaxurSi organi­za­ciuli qcevis arsebuli mdgomareobis analiziT irkveva, rom mas jer kidev gaaCnia seriozuli naklovanebani da maT Sesamcireblad saWiroa rigi praqtikuli RonisZiebebis gatareba.

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**MANAGEMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR OF OVERNMENTAL AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES AND THE WAYS OF PERFECTION**

**Expanded Summary**

Theoretical and methodological issues of organizational behavior has been developed on the given topic by such well known scientists as: M. Armstrong, G. Simon, D. Romans, P. Blau, D. Znanetski, R. Makiver, T. Harsons and others.

In the structure of organizational behavior are separated personal, group and common organizational levels. As a result of study of social effect of groups’ behavior the researchers, who are working on the given problem have come to the conclusion, that the collective (group) methods of work organization and behavior have significant advantages and priority compared to the individuals.

On the contemporary stage of public development particular importance is devoted to the processing of efficient methods and forms of management of the governmental and municipal employees work manners and behavior. In the government and municipal system, management of workers’ group is implemented with the help of organization culture, which gives an opportunity to make it possible to use the possibilities and advantages of social-cultural factors as much as possible. In particular, it facilitates determination of the main target function of the government and municipal service, raising the professional activity culture of the workers, usage of self-organized technologies ( organizational traditions and interpersonal rituals and etc.) .

In increasing of working efficiency of the employees of the government and municipal bodies on the contemporary stage of public development, the most attention is devoted to the management of organization behavior of human activity of the employees working in the given field. Unfortunately, from this point of view, there is a serious defect in Georgia. Now briefly, about some of them:

No proper attention is paid to the effective management and activity of the government and municipal personnel, methods and forms of processing and implementation;

It is still weakly targeted impact on organizational behavior , the primary task of which is to set up the latest intermediate and distant tasks of the workers group and to engage the workers in realization of these tasks.

Not very seldom, informational-communication system cannot provide rational management of organizational behavior in the given sphere of activity. Its formation could not be performed due to the significant interests of the organization;

Very often there is not an arranged system of business or service activity ;

In the system of government and municipal services management of working groups are not implemented with the help of rising organization culture, as it is happened in economically well developed countries. This does not allow to have possibility to be maximally applied the possibilities and priorities of socio-cultural factors for their best.

To the direction of perfection Management of Organizational behavior of the employees of Georgian Government and Municipal bodies, it is purposeful to be implemented the following measures, as:

1) Special attention should be devoted to processing and introduction the efficient means, methods and forms of government and municipal employees organizational behavior. While managing organizational behavior such approaches as: a) determination of specific situational and strategic priorities of behavior; b) Creation and establishment of Communicative Interaction rational system; c) Elaboration and implementation of the methods of work efficiency .

2) to devote much more attention to targeted impact on organizational behavior, the primary task of which is to aim the nearest, intermediate and farther tasks and to involve the employees in their realization;

3) In all sections of governmental and municipal services to be created information-communication systems to provide rational management of organizational behavior;

4) To create a system of assessing performance of the governmental and municipal employee's work, which will ensure raising motivation for the workforce.

5) In the system of governmental and municipal services , while managing labor groups, a special attention should be paid to organizational culture raising issues, in order to receive maximal advantages and possibilities from the social-cultural factors.

**transportis ekonomika**

**ECONOMIC OF TRANSPORT**

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**WAYS OF APPROXIMATION AND FURTHER COMPATIBILITY OF GEORGIAN TRANSPORT SYSTEM WITH THE EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS**

***Summary****. Georgia has greatly deepened relations with the EU in recent years, which has been strengthened with the most powerful and comprehensive so-called EU-Georgia Association Agreement in the history of EU-Georgia relations. Since then the relationships between EU and Georgia have moved to a new, historically unprecedented level. The VI Title of the Association Agreement deals with transport and related issues and, first of all, envisages modernization of transport sphere and the introduction of European standards. The presented article discusses the ways of approximation and further interoperability of Georgian transport system with European and international standards and suggests specific proposals. The article is prepared on the basis of the Young Scientists Grant (N YS-2016-41) of Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation.*

***Keywords****: transport, standard, infrastructure, regulations, recommendations*

**Introduction**

Geographical location has always defined the role and political and cultural progress of South Caucasian countries, including Georgia, namely, being on the border of Caspian, Black and Mediterranean seas and having the shortest trade bridge, which connected Asia and Europe. During the Soviet empire, economics of the Caucasian republics, including transport infrastructure, belonged only to outskirts, deadlocks and/or objects inside the country and did not have a practical value in terms of the economic development and global integration in the rest of the world.

It is natural that the perfection of foreign economic ties is the greatest reserve of economic efficiency of each country. In the context of foreign economic ties, the EU market is attractive for Georgia due to various advantages. In addition to considering the size and significance of the complexity of the measures that the transport provides for the economy of any country, it can be said that the modernization of Georgian transport system and adaptation with European and international standards can become a key point and a powerful tool in the further economic development and lead to achieving long-term goals.

Under the conditions of deepening economic globalization, the connection between countries is unimaginable without international standards in transportation system. Taking into consideration strategic geographical location, Georgia's urgent task at this stage is a new understanding of the country's role in the global world and the necessity of acquiring additional international functions, which cannot be achieved in accordance with all kinds of high international standards without interconnecting transport with European systems. In this context it should be noted that, due to enormous advantages, it is known that the preconditions for integration into the European Union are to carry out certain economic and institutional reforms, a set of criteria, without satisfying which EU membership and regional integration are impossible.

In turn, the EU transport policy is currently under development. Its future depends on the rational use of transport, the multimodal development of transportation, the improvement of competition, the efficiency, the comfort and speed of transporting passengers, the improvement of services offered on transport, and the environmental impacts. Today's requirements regarding the EU transport policy can be briefly formulated in the following standards: Effectiveness, Safety and Environment.

That is why the improvement of transport infrastructure for Georgia and the approach to European standards should be a crucial strategic task, especially for the economic and social development of the country.

In fact, Georgia aims to integrate transport into European transport infrastructure and its recognition as an integral part of the European transport system. In turn, the European Union considers Georgia's European aspirations. The EU welcomes Georgia's readiness to deepen cooperation in every field, including in the field of transport.

The article is prepared on the basis of the Young Scientists' Grant of the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation (N YS-2016-41).

**Main Part**

As is known, with the support of special programs (such as TRASECA and INOGATE etc.), for the last twenty years, the European Union, specific European countries and companies have provided important measures to create, renovate and modernize all types of transportation and general transport and energy projects in Georgia. In recent years, Georgia has greatly deepened relations with the EU, which has been strengthened by the most powerful and comprehensive so-called EU-Georgia Association Agreement in the history of EU-Georgia relationship (The Agreement is officially called "Association Agreement on the one hand, between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Union and their Member States and on the other, Georgia"), a part of which is "Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area Agreement" DCFTA. With the signing of the agreement, relations between Georgia and the European Union have moved to a new, historically unprecedented level.

The Association Agreement also includes a "Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area Agreement", which establishes a free trade regime between Georgia and the EU and contains the main economic and trade mechanisms that are first and foremost useful for Georgia.

Georgia has taken obligations to achieve its aim through ensuring reforms in all directions, including in the field of transport by considering the European Union's European Transport Policy Guidelines and Recommendations.

Title VI of the Association Agreement between Georgia and the European Union relates to cooperation in terms of transport. Transport and related issues are one of the important parts of the contract. The Association Agreement with the European Union, first of all, envisages modernization of the transport sphere and the introduction of European standards.

Having worked on special literature and sources we will present some recommendations and views on the approximation of Georgia's transport system to European and international standards and further compatibility:

1. First of all, in order to achieve this objective, the Government of Georgia must recognize the political will and desire to actively work on the solution of existing problems, proper financing at all levels of transport, transport policy, deepening relationship between EU countries and international organizations, coordinated development and making inter-state agreements. In this regard, the most important thing is "EU-Georgia Association Agreement", where Georgia undertakes to gradually get closer to international legal and technical instruments, including in the sphere of transport.

The quality of achievement in all directions depends entirely on the ability of the Georgian government to make recommendations and prioritized reforms in compliance with international and European norms and principles.

1. In order to solve the interoperability with the transport systems and make Georgian transport system actively involved in the international network, Georgia needs to develop an appropriate legislative base, gradually make it closer to EU legislation and international legal tools in different areas, including transport, and harmonizing the relevant laws, normative acts, technical regulations and regulatory rules with EU legislation.

The Annexes, together with the Association Agreement, include the specific legal acts of the European Union and the deadline for the approximation of the Georgian legislation with EU, what Georgia should do in accordance with agreed terms. It is about harmonizing the existing legislation in the areas of four main transport - motor transport, rail transport, maritime transport and air transport, and creation of mechanisms for their execution. The transport activities of Georgia should be legally compliant with the international law of this sphere.

We believe that it is necessary to create a strategic national document for transport - Georgia's national transport policy. "National Transportation Strategy", where the vision of development of the economy of the country is determined by the challenges in the transport sector. It should be noted here that the Government of Georgia is currently working on the creation of this document.

1. Attention should be paid to improving the overall road infrastructure. Namely:

* The necessary road infrastructure should include construction and rehabilitation works of international, domestic and local roads;
* must be controlled by road standards and characteristics of international standards;
* It is necessary to monitor the damaged and subsequently rehabilitated sections, continuation of restoration and reconstruction works on bridges and other artificial structures.
* Complete rehabilitation and further development of highways and access roads to commercial and service providers as well as roads leading to regional centres, main resorts, historical and cultural monuments and neighboring countries, basic infrastructure etc.

4. It is important to continue active work on improving road safety on the Georgian roads.

* Mandatory technical check of the cars must be urgently introduced for all types of transport to ensure that technical conditions of all cars are in compliance with the European standards.
* To ensure greater engagement and interoperability in international logistics systems, it is necessary to modernize the Georgian automobile park and move to European standards of service.
* Motor vehicles participating in international traffic should be equipped with the so-called “tachometers” for motor diagnostics and measuring transportation regimes, this high-speed equipment provides motion and ecological safety, with other means of dimension, weight and technical uniformity (this issue is currently regulated by Georgian legislation).
* When implementing technical terms with Euro regulation, one of the main demands is to enforce regulations related to road transport, namely, truck and passenger transport (more than 9 people). The weight of load and dangerous cargo transportation should also be a subject of regulation and control (this issue is currently regulated by Georgian legislation).
* Special attention should be paid to protecting the safety regulations of the means of transport.

5. It is important to take into account the social aspects which involve improving the social conditions of workers in all sectors of the transport, in order to successfully accomplish the approximation and adaptation strategy of Georgia's transport system with European and international standards. Namely:

* It is important to carry out pre-qualification training, certification and encourage the further professional development of drivers, train operators, pilots and seafarers.
* Strict protection and monitoring of labor conditions, work and leisure time and hours corresponding to the international standards of workers employed.
* It is important to introduce alco and narcological checks for drivers on long-distance and international routes.
* It is necessary to make driving test requirements similar to European standards when issuing the license of different categories and additional strict control of tests themselves.
* Issues about passenger rights and liabilities as well as public transport services.

6. One of the main priorities of the country these days should be to attract foreign investments and place them in the transportation sphere. After appropriate examination and justification, the logistics centers of the appropriate standard should be constructed on border territories, automobile and railway stations and airports, as well as in complex areas of industrial facilities (factories).

7. Ensuring improvement of rail transport service including issues related to border crossing procedures.

With the purpose of making the railroad transport compliant to Euro standards and multi-modalities, the following should be done:

* Infrastructural and technical measures to be taken to ensure that the railway can be used to transport heavier cargo.
* It is important to update damaged rails, rolling stock and wagons, strengthening drainage system in bridges and tunnels.
* The existing, old communication system on the Georgian railway should be replaced with a brand new digital communication and signaling system which will improve communication and ensure more mobile and timely movement of trains.
* It Is necessary to continuously conduct rehabilitation and modernization of internal motorways and power supply.

The implementation of these measures is important to ensure technical and security conditions and interoperability with a single European railway zone to allow opening the market and access to infrastructure. For approximation with European standards, it is necessary to set tariffs for companies to access the railway infrastructure.

8. The transport system of Georgia is impossible without the development of marine ports. For Marine Transport Development:

* Marine infrastructure management standards should be further approached in compliance with international rules and conventions.
* Restrict the amount of documentation, increase its informative content, decrease the decision making time and improve quality.
* Ensure effective and strict monitoring of the requirements of the port state control and military policies, as well as the requirements of the Marine Environment Protection Committee resolutions and International Maritime Organization (IMO) conventions on the safety of the tankers.
* In order to control activity, it will be good to introduce the internal auditors’ system that will conduct relevant analysis each year.

9. As regards the specific measures to be taken in the direction of aviation, the air transport sector is gradually getting closer to the EU based on the agreement "on the one hand between the EU and its Member States and on the other hand, Unified Airspace of Georgia", therefore:

* There is a need to accelerate the approximation of international regulatory system in the field of aviation.
* Security issues should be controlled strictly.
* Domestic flights of the Georgian aviation companies should be encouraged especially in areas popular with tourists.
* It is important to carry out constant control of the relevant administrative bodies in implementation of the relevant EU legislation.

10. One of the fundamental and essential demands of the European Standards Policy today is the reduction of adverse impacts on the environment and the development of sustainable transport. Taking into account the Euro directions with this regard, one of the priorities is to develop sustainable transport systems in Georgia that include all types of transport. Particular attention should be made to ensuring ecologically clean, efficient and safe transportation systems.

The quality of air cleanliness and the reduction of transport share in air pollution is a significant challenge for Georgia. Sustainable development means not only dealing with specific problems but also the introduction of concrete approaches. Namely:

* Strict control of fuel quality.
* Development of green transports and sustainable energy use.
* Reinforce the relevant legislation against air pollution in main transportation means and transportation and logistics centers.
* Various ways can be encouraged by the social and environmental aspects of business involved in the transport sector, and so on.

Analysis of general and specific issues in the present work gives an opportunity to note that the improvement of the Georgian transport system and its approximation to EU standards is relevant both in terms of political, economic and practical terms.

**Conclusion**

Global processes and the pace of development in the world require gradual changes and development of Georgia. The role of international economic relations is increasing particularly. Today, as always, it is important to develop a common rule of international economic systems and standards and to implement it in the economy of each country. Despite the fact that this process is difficult and hard to adapt to different political, economic, social and historical and cultural aspects and develops at different levels in different countries, the modern world still characterizes countries and people to adapt to the global space. Today, it isvital for everyone to engage in international processes and complete global integration.

Georgia can not avoid this movement can, which, despite its many problems, is an active subject of modern globalization. This role is particularly high in geo-political context. The transit function of Georgia was revealed by Geostrategy of Georgia – being located on the verge of Europe-Asia. In addition, Georgia strives to join the EU and Euro-Atlantic structures and is committed to Western values.

As a result of the survey, we conclude that the complex modernization of the transport sector in accordance with the above recommendations is important for the approximation and adaptation of Georgia's transport system with European and international standards.

We believe that the government's will and practical hand is essential for implementing recommended measures to enable the country to fulfill its obligations, which is important for the development of our country's well-being and turning it into a European state. Today, we should note that effective steps are already been taken in this direction, but it is desirable that the pace becomes more active, in this case, we often refer to the introduction and implementation of specific regulations and standards, fragmented and time-sized procedures, such as around technical inspections and other topical issues.

As mentioned above, the European Union takes Georgia's European aspirations into consideration. The EU welcomes Georgia's readiness to deepen cooperation in all fields, including transport, and seeks to normalize our country's transport infrastructure so that its integration into the developed European transport system speeds up. To achieve this goal, Georgia needs to develop appropriate legislative base, proper standard transportation and transportation services.

Quality of cooperation with the European Union depends on the commitment of the common values ​​of Georgia and the ability of the country to implement the priorities of the EU in compliance with international and European norms and principles. The pace of development of these relations will depend entirely on Georgia's commitment and the specific successes that the country will achieve in the implementation of the obligations taken.

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**saqarTvelos satransporto sistemis evropul da saerTaSoriso standartebTan daaxloebisa da Semdgomi Tavsebadobis gzebi**

***reziume.***  *bolo wlebSi saqarTvelom mniSvnelovnad gaaRrmava urTierToba evrokavSirTan, romelic am droisTvis ganmtkicebulia saqarTvelo-evro­kavSiris urTierTobis istoriaSi arsebuli, yvelaze mZlavri da yovlis­momcveli e.w. „saqarTvelo-evrokavSiris asocirebis“ xelSekrule­biT, rom­lis gaformebiT saqarTvelo-evrokavSirs Soris urTierTobebi Tvisebri­vad axal, istoriulad uprecedento doneze gadavida. „asocirebis Sesaxeb SeTanxmebis“ VI kari exeba transportsa da masTan dakavSirebul sakiTxebs da is, pirvel rigSi, transportis sferos modernizebasa da evropuli standartebis danergvas iTvaliswinebs. warmodgenil statiaSi ganxilu­lia saqarTvelos satransporto sistemis evropul da saerTa­So­riso standartebTan daaxloebisa da Semdgomi Tavsebadobis gzebi da rekomen­daciis saxiT SemoTavazebulia konkretuli winadadebebi. statia mom­za­debulia SoTa rusTavelis erovnuli samecniero fondis axalgazrda mecnierTa grantis (N YS-2016-41) safuZvelze.*

***sakvanZo sityvebi:*** *transporti, standarti, infrastruqtura, regulaciebi, rekomendaciebi, saqarTvelos transporti.*

**Sesavali**

samxreT kavkasiis qveynebis, maT Soris saqarTvelos, rols da poli­tikur da kulturul progress odiTganve ganapirobebda misi geografiuli mdebareoba, kerZod, kaspiis, Savi da xmelTaSua zRvebis auzebTan mo­saz­Rvreoba da is umoklesi savaWro xidi, romelic am teritoriaze gadioda da akavSirebda aziasa da evropas. sabWoTa imperiis periodSi kavkasiis respub­likebis ekonomika, maT Soris satransporto infrastruqtura, mxo­lod qvey­nis ganapira, Cixur da/an qveynis Sida daniSnulebis obieqtebs miekuTv­ne­bodada praqtikul Rirebulebas ar warmoadgenda danarCeni msoflios ekonomikuri ganviTarebisa da globaluri integraciis Tval­sazrisiT.

bunebrivia, sagareo ekonomikuri kavSirebis srulyofa yoveli qveynis ekonomikuri efeqturobis zrdis udidesi rezervia. sagareo ekonomikuri kavSirebis konteqstSi evrokavSiris bazari, sxvadasxva upiratesobebidan gamomdinare, mimzidvelia saqarTvelosaTvis. aseve, Tu gaviTvaliswinebT im RonisZiebaTa kompleqsis sididesa da mniSvnelobas, romelsac transporti uzrunvelyofs nebismieri qveynis ekonomikaSi, SeiZleba iTqvas, rom saqar­Tvelos satransporto sistemis sruli modernizacia da evropul da saer­TaSoroso standartebTan adaptireba, regionuli integraciis WrilSi SeiZleba gaxdes ekonomikis Semdgomi ganviTarebisa da erovnuli grZel­vadiani miznebis miRwevis sakvanZo wertili da mZlavri instrumenti.

ekonomikuri globalizaciis gaRrmavebis pirobebSi qveynebs Soris kavSiri warmoudgenelia ganviTarebuli da saerTaSoriso standartebis satransporto sistemis gareSe. strategiuli geografiuli mdebareobis gaTvaliswinebiT, am etapze saqarTvelos gadaudebel amocanas warmoadgens globalur samyaroSi qveynis rolis axleburi gaazreba da misTvis dama­tebiTi saerTaSoriso funqciis SeZenis aucilebloba, es ki, sxvadasxva sakiTxebTan erTad, SeuZlebelia miRweul iqnes saqarTveloSi yvela saxis maRali saerTaSoriso standartebis Sesabamisad ganviTarebuli transpor­tis da misi evropul sistemebTan urTierTTavsebadobis gareSe. am kon­teqstSi unda aRiniSnos, rom uzarmazari upiratesobebidan gamomdinare, cnobilia, rom evrokavSirSi integraciis winapirobas garkveuli ekono­mikuri da instituciuri reformebis gatareba wamoadgens, dawesebulia mTe­li rigi kriteriumebi, risi dakmayofilebis gareSe evrokavSiris wev­roba da regionuli integracia SeuZlebelia.

Tavis mxriv, evrokavSiris transportis politika amJamad imyofeba ganviTarebis gardatexis periodSi. misi momavali damokidebulia trans­portis racionalur gamoyenebaze, gadazidvebis multimodalur ganvi­Ta­rebaze, konkurenciis amaRlebaze, efeqturobaze, mgzavrebis gadayvanis komfortze da siswrafeze, transportze SemoTavazebuli momsaxurebebis gaumjobesebaze, garemoze transportis mavnebeli gavlenis Semcirebaze. dRevandeli moTxovnebi evrokavSiris satransporto politikasTan dakav­SirebiT, mokled SeiZleba formulirdes Semdegi standartebis saxiT: efeqturoba, usafrTxoeba da garemos dacva.

swored amitomac, saqarTvelosTvis satransporto infrastruqturis gaumjobeseba da evropul standartebTan miaxloeba unda iyos da aris umniSvnelovanesi strategiuli amocana, miT umetes, es aucilebelia qvey­nis ekonomikuri da socialuri ganviTarebisTvis.

faqtobrivad, saqarTvelos mizania transportis integracia evropul satransporto infrastruqturaSi, misi aRiareba evropuli satransporto sistemis ganuyofel nawilad. Tavis mxriv evrokavSiri iTvaliswinebs saqarTvelos evropul miswrafebebs. evrokavSiri miesalmeba saqarTvelos mzadyofnas, gaaRrmavos TanamSromloba yvela, maT Soris, transportis, sferoSi.

statia momzadebulia SoTa rusTavelis erovnuli samecniero fondis axalgazrda mecnierTa grantis safuZvelze (N YS-2016-41).

\* \* \*

rogorc cnobilia, specialuri programebis mxardaWeriT (rogori­caa, magaliTad, TRASECA da INOGATE da sxva), bolo ocwleulis manZilze evrokavSirma, evropis calkeulma saxelmwifoebma da evropulma kompanieb­ma uzrunvelyves mniSvnelovani RonisZiebebis Catareba saqarTveloSi yvela satransporto saxeobis da zogadad, satransporto sistemis da ener­getikuli proeqtebis Seqmnis, ganaxlebisa da modernizebisaTvis. ase­ve, bolo wlebSi saqarTvelom mniSvnelovnad gaaRrmava urTierToba evro­kavSirTan, romelic amdroisTvis ganmtkicebulia saqarTvelo-evrokav­Si­ris urTierTobis istoriaSi arsebuli, yvelaze mZlavri da yovlis­momcve­li e.w. „saqarTvelo-evrokavSiris asocirebis“ xelSekrulebiT (SeTanx­me­bas oficialurad ewodeba „asocirebis Sesaxeb SeTanxmeba erTi mxriv, evrokavSirsa da evropis atomuri energiis gaerTianebasa da maT wevr sa­xelmwifoebs da meore mxriv, saqarTvelos Soris“), romlis nawilicaa ~Rrma da yovlismomcvel Tavisufal savaWro sivrcis Sesaxeb SeTanxmeba~ (DCFTA). xelSekrulebis gaformebiT saqarTvelo-evrokavSirs Soris ur­TierTobebi Tvisebrivad axal, istoriulad uprecedento doneze gadavida.

asocirebis SeTanxmeba aseve moicavs „Rrma da yovlismomcvel Tavi­sufal savaWro sivrcis Sesaxeb SeTanxmebas“, romelic adgens Tavi­sufali vaWrobis reJims saqarTvelosa da evrokavSirs Soris da Seicavs im ZiriTad ekonomikur da savaWro meqanizmebs, romelic, pirvel rigSi, saqarTve­losTvis aris sasargeblo da momgebiani.

saqarTvelom aiRo valdebulebebi, rom dasaxuli miznis misaRwevad uzrunvelyofs reformebs yvela mimarTulebiT, maT Soris, transportis sferoSi evrokavSiris saerTo evropuli satransporto politikis saxelm­ZR­vanelo dokumentebisa da rekomendaciebis gaTvaliswinebiT.

saqarTvelosa da evrogaerTianebas Soris dadebuli „asocirebis Sesaxeb SeTanxmebis“ VI kari exeba transportis kuTxiT TanamSromlobas. xelSekrulebaSi erT-erT mniSvnelovan nawils warmoadgens transporti da masTan dakavSirebuli sakiTxebi. evrokavSirTan asocirebis Sesaxeb SeTan­xmebis xelSekruleba, pirvel rigSi, transportis sferos moder­nize­bas da evropuli standartebis danergvas iTvaliswinebs.

specialuri literaturisa da wyaroebis damuSavebis Semdeg statiaSi warmovadgenT zogierT rekomendaciasa da xedvas saqarTvelos satrans­porto sistemis evropul da saerTaSoriso standartebTan daaxloebisa da Semdgomi Tavsebadobis gzebis mimarTulebiT:

1. pirvel rigSi, dasaxuli miznis misaRwevad aucilebelia, saqar­Tve­los mTavrobam gamoavlinos politikuri neba da survili, aqtiurad imuSaos arsebuli problemebis gadawyvetaze, transportis saxeobebis yvela doneze saTanado finansirebaze, satransporto politikis, evro­kavSiris qveynebsa da saerTaSoriso organizaciebs Soris TanamSromlobis gaRrmavebis, dargis koordinirebuli ganviTarebisa da saxelmwi­fo­Ta­So­risi SeTanxmebebis ganxorcielebaze. am mxriv, dRevandeli mdgo­mareobiT, yve­laze mniSvnelovania „saqarTvelo-evrokavSiris asocirebis Se­saxeb Se­Tan­xmeba“, sadac saqarTvelo iRebs valdebulebas, gansazRvrul vadebSi etapobrivad dauaxlovdes saerTaSoriso samarTlebriv da teqnikur instrumentebs sxvadasxva, maT Soris transportis, sferoSi.

yvela mimarTulebiT Sedegebis miRwevis xarisxi mTlianad damoki­debulia saqarTvelos mTavrobis unarze, SeZlos rekomendaciebisa da prioritetuli reformebis ganxorcieleba saerTaSoriso da evropuli normebisa da principebis Sesabamisad.

2. imisaTvis, rom transportis evropul sistemebTan urTierT­Tav­se­badobis sakiTxebi gadawydes da saqarTvelos satransporto sistema aqti­u­rad CaerTos saerTaSoriso stransporto qselSi, saWiroa saqar­Tve­lom ganaviTaros saTanado sakanonmdeblo baza, gansazRvrul vadebSi eta­pob­rivad dauaxlovos Tavisi kanonmdebloba evrokavSiris kanonm­deblobasa da saerTaSoriso samarTlebriv instrumentebs sxvadasxva, maT Soris transportis, sferoSi da moxdes Sesabamisi kanonebis, normatiuli aqtebis, teqnikuri reglamentebisa da maregulirebeli wesebis evrokav­Siris kanon­mdeblobasTan harmonizeba.

asocirebis Sesaxeb SeTanxmebis Sesabamis Tavs axlavs danarTebi, romelSic mocemulia evrokavSiris konkretuli samarTlebrivi aqtebi da maTTan saqarTvelos kanonmdeblobis daaxloebis vadebi, rac saqarTvelom unda Seasrulos SeTanxmebuli vadebis mixedviT. saubaria transportis oTxi ZiriTadi dargis – saavtomobilo, sarkinigzo, sazRvao da sahaero transportis sferoebSi arsebuli kanonmdeblobis evropul kanonmdeb­lo­basTan harmonizaciasa da maTi aRsrulebis meqanizmebis Seqmnaze. saqarT­velos satransporto saqmianoba samarTlebrivad aucileblad Tavsebadi unda iyos am sferos saerTaSoriso kanonmdeblobasTan.

migvaCnia, rom aucilebelia saqarTvelom Seqmnas transportis gan­viTarebis strategiuli erovnuli dokumenti - saqarTvelos transportis erovnuli politikis Sesaxeb e.w. ”erovnuli satransporto strategia“, sadac iqneba Camoyalibebuli qveynis ekonomikis ganviTarebis xedva satran­s­porto seqtorSi arsebuli gamowvevebis gaTvaliswinebiT. aqve unda aRiniSnos, rom saqarTvelos mTavroba amJamad muSaobs aRniSnuli do­ku­mentis Seqmnaze.

3. yuradReba unda mieqces saerTo sagzao infrastruqturis gaum­jobesebas. kerZod:

* saWiro sagzao infrastruqturuli RonisZiebebi unda moicavdes saerTaSoriso, Sidasaxelmwifoebrivi da adgilobrivi mniSvnelobis gze­bis samSeneblo da sareabilitacio samuSaoebs;
* unda kontroldebodes gzebis dizainisa da maxasiaTeblebis daaxloeba saerTaSoriso standartebTan;
* aucilebelia dazianebuli da Semdgom reabilitirebuli monakve­Te­bis monitoringi, saxide gadasasvlelebisa da sxva xelovnuri nage­bobebis aRdgeniTi da sarekonstruqcio samuSaoebis uwyvetad gagrZeleba.
* avtomagistralebisa da gzebis gaswvriv ganlagebul komerciul da servisul obieqtebTan misasvleli meorexarisxovani da raionul centrTan misasvleli saavtomobilo gzebis, ZiriTad sakurorto, is­to­riul da kulturul Zeglebsa da mosazRvre qveynebTan misasvleli gzebis da sabaziso infrastruqturis Semdgomi sruli reabilitacia da gan­viTareba da a.S.

4. mniSvnelovania, gagrZeldes aqtiuri muSaoba saqarTvelos gzebze sagzao usafrTxoebis gaumjobesis mimarTulebiT.

* saswrafod unda iqnes SemoRebuli avtomanqanebis savaldebulo **teqnikuri daTvaliereba** yvela saxeobis transportisaTvis, raTa yvela avtomobilis teqnikuri mdgomareoba evrostandartebTan maqsimalurad movides SesabamisobaSi.
* saerTaSoriso logistikur sistemebSi meti CarTulobisa da urTi­erTTavsebadobis uzrunvelsayofad saWiroa saqarTvelos saavto­mobilo **parkis modernizacia** da momsaxurebis evropul standartebze gadasvla.
* saerTaSoriso gadazidvebSi monawile avtosatransporto saSua­lebebi aRWurvili unda iyos bortuli diagnostirebisa da moZraobis reJimebis aRmricxveli e.w. taxometrebiT, moZraobis da **ekologiuri usafrTxoebis** uzrunvelyofis maRalefeqtiani mowyobilobebiT, gaba­rituli, woniTi da teqnikuri unificirebis sxva saSualebebiT (aRniSnuli sakiTxi amJamad saqarTvelos kanonmdeblobiT ukve regulirebulia).
* evroregulaciebiT teqnikuri pirobebis Sesrulebisas erT-erTi mTavari moTxovnaa saavtomobilo transportis, kerZod, satvirTo da samgzavro gadazidvebis (9-ze meti adamiani) avtomobilebze **siCqaris Sez­Rudvis** mowyobilobasTan dakavSirebuli **regulaciebis** aRsruleba. regulirebas da kontrols unda daeqvemdebaros tvirTis wonac da saxi­faTo tvirTebis gadazidvebi (aRniSnuli sakiTxi amJamad saqarTvelos kanonmdeblobiT regulirebulia).
* gansakuTrebuli yuradReba unda mieqces satransporto saSua­le­bebis **usafrTxoebis pirobebis dacvas.**

5. evropul da saerTaSoriso standartebTan saqarTvelos satrans­porto sistemis daaxloebisa da adaptirebis strategiis warmatebiT gan­xorcielebis mizniT **mniSvnelovania, gaTvaliswinebuli iyos** **socialuri aspeqtebi,** romlebic exeba transportis yvela dargSi momuSaveTa so­cialuri pirobebis gaumjobesebas, kerZod:

* mniSvnelovania satransporto saSualebebis mZRolebis, matareb­lis memanqaneebis, pilotebisa da mezRvaurebis winasakvalifikacio ga­dam­zadebis, sertificirebis RonisZiebebis gatareba da Semdgomi ganviTarebis **profesiuli treningebis xelSewyoba.**
* sistemaSi dasaqmebulTa saerTaSoriso standartebis Sesabamisi SromiTi pirobebis, **samuSao da dasvenebis savaldebulo droisa da saaTebis mkacri dacva** da monitoringi.
* mniSvnelovania SemoRebul iqnes saqalaqTaSoriso da saerTa­So­riso marSrutebze mZRolebis winasamarSruto **Semowmebis moTxovna** **alkoholze da narkologiur nivTierebebze.**
* aucilebelia sxvadasxva kategoriis marTvis mowmobebis gace­misas satransporto saSualebis **marTvis testebis moTxovnebis miaxloeba evropul standartebTan** da saatesto damatebiTi RonisZiebebis mkacri kontroli.
* gadasaWrelia sakiTxebi **mgzavrTa uflebebisa da valdebu­lebebis**, aseve sazogadoebrivi transportis momsaxurebebis Sesaxeb.

6. dReisaTvis qveynis erT-erT ZiriTad prioritets unda warmoad­gendes **ucxouri investiciebis mozidva** da misi satransporto sferoSi ganTavseba. Sesabamisi gamokvlevisa da dasabuTebis Semdeg xeli unda Seewyos saTanado standartis **logistikuri centrebis mSeneblobas** sasazRvro teritorebze, saavtomobilo da sarkinigzo sadgurebsa da aeroportebis mimdebared, aseve, kompleqsurad Tavmoyrili samrewvelo obieqtebis (qarxnebis) arealSi.

7. xeli unda Seewyos sarkinigzo transportis **satvirTo gadazidvebis momsaxurebis gaumjobesebas** sazRvris gadakveTis procedurebTan dakav­Sirebuli sakiTxebis CaTvliT.

rkinigzis transportis evrostandartebTan miaxloebisa da multi­modalurobis xelSewyobis mizniT aucilebelia:

* **infrastruqturuli da teqnikuri RonisZiebis gatareba,** raTa rkinigzas ufro mZime tvirTebis swrafi transportirebis saSualeba mieces.
* mniSvnelovania dazianebuli relsebis, moZravi Semadgenlo­bi­­­sa da vagonebis **ganaxleba,** xidebze da gvirabebSi drenaJis sistemis gamyareba.
* saqarTvelos rkinigzaSi arsebuli Zveli **sadispeCero sistemis axali cifruli sakomunikacio da sasignalo sistemiT Secvla,** rac gaaumjobesebs komunikacias da uzrunvelyofs matareblebis ufro mobi­lur da droul gadaadgilebas.
* aucilebelia uwyvetad Catardes Sida magistralebisa da **eleqt­ro­momaragebis** reabilitaciisa da **modernizaciis RonisZiebebi.**

am RonisZiebebis gatareba mniSvnelovania imisaTvis, rom uzrunvel­yofil iqnes teqnikuri da usafrTxoebis pirobebi da urTierTTavsebadoba erTian evropul sarkinigzo zonasTan, raTa moxdes bazris gaxsna da infrastruqturaze daSveba. evropul standartebTan daaxloebis mizniT aucilebelia **rkinizgis infrastruqturaze kompaniebis daSvebisTvis tarifebis dadgena.**

8. saqarTvelos satransporto sistema warmoudgenelia sazRvao por­tebis ganviTarebis gareSe. sazRvao transportis ganviTarebisaTvis:

* saWiroa sazRvao infrastruqturis menejmentis standartebis kidev ufro metad miaxloeba saerTaSoriso wesebisa da konvenciebis SesabamisobasTan.
* SeizRudos dokumentaciis raodenoba, gaizardos misi in­formaciuli momcveloba, moxdes gadawyvetilebaTa miRebis drois Semcireba da xarisxis amaRleba.
* ganxorcieldes portis saxelmwifo kontrolisa da sadroSo politikis moTxovnebis, agreTve, tankerebis usafrTxoebis Sesaxeb ,,sazRvao garemos dacvis komitetisii rezoluciebisa da „saerTa­Soriso sazRvao organizaciisii (IMO) Sesabamisi saerTaSoriso konvenciebis moTxovnaTa efeqtiani da mkacri monitoringi.
* saqmianobis kontrolis mizniT kargi iqneba portebSi amoq­meddes Sida auditorebis sistema, romelic yovel wels Caa­ta­rebs Sesabamis analizs.

9. rac Seexeba aviaciis mimarTulebiT gasatarebel konkretul Ronis­Ziebebs, sahaero transportis seqtorSi evrokavSirTan etapobrivi daax­lo­eba eqceva „erTi mxriv, evrokavSirsa da mis wevr qveynebs Soris da meore mxriv, saqarTvelos Soris erTiani sahaero sivrcis Sesaxeb” SeTanxmebis moqmedebis qveS, Sesabamisad:

* unda daCqardes aviaciis sferoSi arsebuli maregulirebeli sistemis saerTaSoriso normebTan daaxlovebis tempi.
* mkacrad kontroldebodes usafrTxoebis sakiTxebi.
* waxalisdes qarTuli avaikompaniebis Sida frenebi gansakuTrebiT turistulad aqtiur zonebSi.
* mniSvnelovania ganxorcieldes Sesabamisi administraciuli organoebis mudmivi kontroli evrokavSiris Sesabamisi kanonmdeblobis implementaciis ganxorcielebis procesSi.

10. dRes evropuli standartis satransporto politikis erT-erTi fundamenturi da umTavresi moTxovnaa garemoze yvela saxeobis trans­portis uaryofiTi zemoqmedebis Semcireba da mdgradi transportis gan­viTareba. am mimarTulebiT evrodireqtivebis gaTvaliswinebiT, erT-erTi prioritetuli amocanaa, saqarTveloSi ganviTardes mdgradi satrans­por­to sistemebi, romlebic moicavs transportis yvela tips. gansakuT­rebiT xeli unda Seewyos ekologiurad sufTa, efeqtur da usafrTxo satrans­porto sistemebis uzrunvelyofas.

haeris sisufTavis xarisxi da haeris dabinZurebaSi transportis wilis Semcireba mniSvnelovani gamowvevaa saqarTvelosTvis. mdgradi ganvi­Tareba ara mxolod konkretuli problemebis daZlevas, aramed konkretuli midgomebis danergvasac gulisxmobs. kerZod:

* unda moxdes sawvavis xarisxis mkacri kontroli.
* mwvane transportis ganviTarebisa da mdgradi energiis gamoyenebis xelSewyoba.
* ZiriTadi satransporto saSualebebisa da satransporto infra­struqturisa da lojistikur centrebSi haeris dabinZurebis winaaRmdeg Sesabamisi kanonmdeblobis gamkacreba.
* SesaZlebelia sxvadasxva gzebiT waxalisdes transportis sfe­roSi CarTuli biznesis socialur da garemosdacviTi TvalsazrisiT sasar­geblo saqmianoba da a. S.

winamdebare naSromSi zogadi da konkretuli sakiTxebis analizi saSualebas iZleva aRiniSnos, rom saqarTvelos satransporto sistemis srulyofisa da misi evrokavSiris standartebTan daaxloebis problemebi aqtualuria rogorc politikuri da ekonomikuri, aseve praqtikuli Tval­sazrisiT.

**daskvna**

msoflioSi mimdinare globaluri procesebi da ganviTarebis tempi saqarTvelos ganviTarebis SesaZleblobebs kardinalurad cvlis da swrafad progresirebas moiTxovs. gansakuTrebiT izrdeba saerTaSoriso ekonomikuri urTierTobebis roli. dRes, rogorc arasdros, yvela dargSi mniSvnelovania saerTaSoriso ekonomikuri sistemebisa da standartebis erTiani wesis SemuSaveba da misi danergva-gatareba TiToeuli qveynis eko­nomikaSi. miuxedavad imisa, rom es procesi, sxvadasxva politikur-ekono­mikuri, socialuri da istoriul-kulturuli aspeqtebidan gamom­dinare, rTuli da Znelad Sesaguebelia da sxvadasxva qveynebSi gansxva­vebuli tempebiT viTardeba, Tanamedrove msoflios dRes mainc axasiaTebs is, rom qveynebi da xalxebi globalur sivrceSi adaptirebisaken mainc ganuxrelad miiweven. dRes yvelasaTvis sasicocxlod mniSvnelovania saerTaSoriso procesebSi CarTva da sruli globaluri integracia.

am moZraobas gverds ver auvlis saqarTveloc, romelic, miuxeda­vaduamravi problemisa, Tanamedrove globalizaciis aqtiuri subieqtia. es roli gansakuTrebiT maRalia geopolitikur konteqstSi. saqarTvelos satranzito funqcia gamokveTa saqarTvelos geostrategiulma - evropa-aziis gzasayarze mdebareobam. amasTan, saqarTvelo ganuxrelad miiswraf­vis evrokavSirsa da evroatlantikur struqturebSi gawevrianebisaken da erTgulia dasavluri Rirebulebebisa.

kvlevis Sedegad vaskvniT, rom evropul da saerTaSoriso standar­tebTan saqarTvelos satransporto sistemis daaxloebisa da adaptire­bisaTvis mniSvnelovania ganxorcieldes satransporto dargis kompleq­suri modernizacia zemoT aRniSnuli rekomendaciebis Sesabamisad.

migvaCnia, rom rekomendebuli RonisZiebebis gansaxorcieleblad umTavresad saWiroa mTavrobis neba da praqtikuli xeli, raTa qveyanam SeZlos aRebuli valdebulebebis Sesruleba, rac, pirvel rigSi, mniSvne­lovania Cveni qveynis keTildReobisa da evropuli tipis saxelmwifod CamoyalibebisaTvis. dRevandeli mdgomareobiT unda aRiniSnos, rom am mi­mar­TulebiT qmediTi nabijebi idgmeba, magram sasurvelia tempi iyos ufro aqtiuri, am SemTxevaSi vgulisxmobT konkretuli regulaciebis da stan­dartebis danergvis da amoqmedebis xSir gadavadebas, fragmentul da droSi gaweril procedurebs, magaliTad, teqnikuri daTvalierebebisa da sxva aqtualuri sakiTxebis irgvliv.

rogorc zemoT aRvniSneT, evrokavSiri iTvaliswinebs saqarTvelos evropul miswrafebebs. evrokavSiri miesalmeba saqarTvelos mzadyofnas, gaaRrmaos TanamSromloba yvela, maT Soris, transportis sferoSi da cdi­lobs Cveni qveynis satransporto infrastruqturis im doneze mowyobas, rom daCqardes misi integrireba ganviTarebul evropul satransporto sistemaSi. am miznis misaRwevad saWiroa saqarTvelom ganaviTaros saTa­nado sakanonmdeblo baza, saTanado standartis transporti da satrans­porto momsaxureba.

evrokavSirTan TanamSromlobis xarisxi damokidebulia saerTo Ri­re­bulebebis erTgulebaze saqarTvelos mxridan da qveynis unarze, gana­xorcielos evrokavSirTan erTad dasaxuli prioritetebi saerTa­So­riso da evropuli normebis da principebis Sesabamisad. am urTierTobebis gan­viTarebis tempi mTlianad iqneba damokidebuli saqarTvelos mon­domebasa da im konkretul warmatebebze, romlebsac qveyana aRebuli val­debulebebis ganxorcielebis procesSi miaRwevs.

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**jandacvis ekonomika**

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**aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebis ganviTarebis problemebi saqarTveloSi**

***reziume.*** *msoflioSi samedicino dawesebulebebis yvelaze gavrcelebuli* organizaciuli *formaa* arakomerciuli (aramomgebiani) iuridiuli piri*, rac samedicino bazris TaviseburebebiTaa ganpirobebuli. saqarTveloSi ara­momgebiani samedicino dawesebulebebis radenoba erT aTeulsac ver aRwevs, kerZo momgebian samedicino organizaciebs ki samedicino bazris TiTqmis 90% ukaviaT. Catarebuli kvlevis Sedegad, romlis mizans Sead­genda saqa­rTveloSi aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebis ganviTarebis xelis SemSleli faqtorebis Seswavla, gamovlinda, rom ar arsebobs samedicino organizaciebis aramomgebiani saxiT funqcionirebis sakmarisi motivacia. miuxedavad imisa, rom sagadasaxado kodeqsSi gaTvaliswinebulia sagada­saxado SeRavaTebi. misi mxolod Canaweris saxiT arseboba ver uzrunvel­yofs maqsimalur Sedegs. kvlevis Sedegebidan gamomdinare,**saWiroa saga­dasaxado kodeqsSi aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebis mimarT gaTvaliswi­nebuli sagadasaxado SeRavaTebis daxvewa da msoflio gamocdilebis gaT­valiswineba. mizanSewonilia, aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebis rolis gazrda saqarTvelos samedicino bazarze.*

***sakvanZo sityvebi:*** *aramomgebiani saavadmyofo; samedicino bazari; saxelm­wifo saavadmyofo, momgebiani saavadmyofo.*

**Sesavali**

samedicino bazari moiTxovs samedicino dawesebulebebis sxvadasxva organizaciuli formis arsebobas [verulava, 2017g]. aq yvelaze gavrce­lebuli organizaciuli formaa arakomerciuli (aramomgebiani) iuridi­uli piri. xSirad, sityva „aramomgebianis“ araswor interpretacias axdenen da warmogvidgenen iseT organizaciad, romelic ar eweva momgebian saq­mia­nobas. kerZo momgebiani da aramomgebiani samedicino organizaciebi erT­maneTisagan gansxvavdebian miRebuli mogebis ganawilebis meqanizmiT. kerZod, aramomgebian saavadmyofoebSi, momgebian saavadmyofoebisgan gan­sxva­vebiT, mogebis ganawileba ar xdeba mesakuTreebze an aqcionerebze. ara­komerciul saavadmyofoebs marTaven sabWoebi, romlebic Sedgeba eqimebisa da sazogadoebis warmomadgenlebisagan. maTi saqmianobiT miRe­buli mogeba ki nawildeba samedicino servisebis xarisxis gaumjobe­sebaze, axali sadiag­nostiko mowyobiloba-danadgarebis SeZenaze, samedicino persona­lis xel­fasis gazrdaze [Feldstein, 2011].

arakomerciuli saavadmyofoebis upiratesi ganviTareba aRiniSneba rogorc evropis qveynebSi, aseve aSS-i. evropis qveynebSi arakomerciuli samedicino organizaciebi Seadgens 70-80%-ze mets, xolo aSS-Si - 57%-s [AHA, 2007].

saqarTveloSi samedicino dawesebulebebis mxolod ori forma arsebobs - saavadmyofoTa 88.6% kerZo, momgebiani (maT Soris 42% sadazRvevo kompaniebs ekuTvnis, fizikur pirebs - 29 %, sxva tipis kompaniebs - 18.4%), xolo 8% - saxelmwifo organizaciebia [sg-s, 2012; verulava, 2017a; verulava, 2017b].

**aramomgebiani samedicino organizaciebis ganviTarebis xelSemwyobi faqtorebi**

arakomerciuli saavadmyofoebis upiratesoba dakavSirebulia im gare­moebasTan, rom Sua saukuneebidan maT CamoyalibebaSi udidesi wvlili miuZRviT religiur organizaciebs da adgilobriv saTemo gaerTianebebs [verulava, 2017a]. isini exmarebodnen mosaxleobis Rarib fenebs, oblebs, tuberkuloziT daavadebul pacientebs. mosaxleobis am nawils binaze ar gaaCnda mkurnalobisaTvis saTanado sanitariul-higienuri pirobebi, rac moiTxovda saavadmyofoebis aSenebas da Senaxvas. RaribTagan gansxvavebiT, mdidar fenas Tavis sasaxleSi hyavda karis eqimebi da saavadmyofoebs ar saWiroebda. amrigad, rogorc evropis qveynebSi, aseve aSS-Si, aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebi Tavidanve Seiqmna RaribTaTvis samedicino momsaxurebis gasawevad, romelTa dafinansebis umTavresi wyaro iyo saqvelmoqmedo Semo­wirulobebi [Sloan, 2000; Grobman, 2008].

XX saukunis dasawyisSi samedicino teqnologiebis ganviTarebam xeli Seuwyo saavadmyofos iseTi saxiT Camoyalibebas, rogoriTac igi dReisTvis arsebobs. Seiqmna rogorc gadaudebeli, aseve gegmuri samedicino momsa­xurebis saavadmyofoebi, samkurnalo-sareabilitacio centrebi. aRniSnu­lis Sedegad Seicvala saavadmyofoebis roli. saavadmyofo gaxda same­dicino personalis saqmianobis, pacientTa saTanado doneze mkur­nalobis adgili [Verulava, 2018].

saavadmyofos funqciis SecvlasTan erTad, Seicvala saavadmyofoTa dafinansebis meqanizmebi. Tu winaT saqvelmoqmedo fondebi, Semowiru­lo­bebi iyo saavadmyofos Semosavlebis mniSvnelovani wyaro, Semdgom peri­odSi gaizarda pacientebis mier gaRebuli xarjebis, aseve saxelmwifos da kerZo dazRvevis wili. ase gadaiqca saqvelmoqmedo saavadmyofoebi ara­momgebian, anu arakomerciul saavadmyofoebad.

garda imisa, rom dasavleTis qveynebSi arakomerciuli saavadmyofoebi xelSemwyob istoriul garemoSi ganviTarda, aranaklebi roli iTamaSa saxelmwifos mxardaWeram. radganac aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebi emsa­xureba Rarib da dabalSemosavlian pacientebs, maTi saqmianoba ganixileba rogorc saqvelmoqmedo. Sesabamisad, maTi Semosavali da qoneba umTavresad gaTavisuflebulia saxelmwifo gadasaxadebisgan [Verulava, 2018].

evropasa da aSS-Si aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebis farTod gavrce­lebas xeli Seuwyo sazogadoebis mxridan arsebulma ndobis faqtorma. same­di­cinobazarze pacientis naklebad informirebulobis gamo gansakuT­rebuli mniSvneloba eniWeba ndobaze dafuZnebul urTierTobas. pacientebi upiratesobas aniWeben aramomgebiansaavadmyofoebs, radgan sityva ~mogeba~ maTTvis aris signali, romelic uaryofs ndobiT urTierTobebs [Arrow, 1963]. Sesabamisad, momgebianTan SedarebiT, pacientebi ufro endobian ara­mom­gebiansaavadmyofoebs,radganes ukanaskneli ar aris dainteresebuli mo­gebis miRebiT da ar cdilobs pacientis arainformirebulobis xarjze miiRos finansuri sargebeli [Norton, 1994; Hansmann, 1980].

garda amisa, aramomgebiani saavadmyofos saqmianobas zedamxedvelobs sazogadoeba, sadac eqimebs ufro meti SesaZlebloba aqvT, damoukideblad gansazRvron saavadmyofos politika, SeiZinon maTTvis sasurveli same­dicino mowyobiloba-danadgarebi, momgebiani saavadmyofoebisgan gansxva­vebiT, pacientebs dabal fasad miawodon ZviradRirebuli servisebi. Sesa­bamisad, aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebi gacilebiT metad Seesabameba eqimebis finansur interesebs [Gruber, 1994].

mosaxleobaSi kerZo, aramomgebiani savadmyofoebis popularobaze mianiSnebs is garemoeba, rom aSS-Si maT mimarTavs pacientebis 70%, xolo momgebian saavadmyofoebs pacientebis mxolod 13%. samedicino personalic arakomerciul saavadmyofoebs aniWebs upiratesobas, Sedegad, eqimTa umrav­lesoba saqmianobas eweva kerZo aramomgebian saavadmyofoebSi [AHA, 2007].

sazogadoebaSi garcelebuli SexedulebiT, kerZo, momgebiani organi­zacia yovelTvis asocirdeba samedicino momsaurebis ufro ukeTes xa­risxTan.Tumca, kvlevebi adasturebs, rom gaweuli samedicino momsaxu­rebis xarisxis TvalsazrisiT, momgebian da aramomgebian saavadmyofoebs Soris mniSvnelovani gansxvaveba ar SeiniSneba [Walker, 2005].

**aramomgebiani samedicino organizaciebis ganviTareba saqarTveloSi**

mecxramete saukuneSi da meoce saukunis dasawyisSi bevrma qarTvelma mecenatma daaarsa aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebi. TbilisSi, wm. andria pir­velwodebulis saxelobis taZarTan arsebuli lazareTi da wminda ninos saxelobis lazareTi aramomgebian samedicino organizaciebs war­moad­gen­da. maTi dafinansebis ZiriTad wyaros Seadgenda samoqalaqo da saeklesio Semowirulobebi. 1903 wels cnobilma mecenatma da qvelmoqmedma aramiancma 100 000 maneTi Seswira aramiancis saavadmyofos mSeneblobas, romelic sabo­lood 1909 wels gaixsna da 1921 wlamde aramomgebiani kli­nikis statusiT funqcionirebda. saavadmyofos mowyobiloba-danadgarebiT aRWurvas, same­dicino personalis jamagirs Tu sxva xarjebs mecenati Tavad faravda. Zmeb­ma zubalaSvilebma me-19 saukunis 80-ian wlebSi TbilisSi pirveli pediat­riuli klinika aaSenes da usasyidlod gadasces qalaqs.

1921 wlidan, sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvelos okupaciis Sedegad, aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebi gadakeTda saxelmwifo sakuTrebaSi myof sa­me­dicino organizaciebad. Sedegad, sabWoTa periodSi saqarTveloSi same­dicino organizaciebis mesakuTreobis mxolod erTi forma iyo ganv­iTarebuli. damoukideblobis mopovebis Semdeg, 1990-ian wlebSi sa­xelmwifo saavadmyofoebis umetesi nawili gaiyida da gadakeTda kerZo momgebian saavadmyofoebad [Verulava, 2018; verulava, 2017d]. amrigad, sabWoTa perio­didan moyolebuli, saqarTveloSi aramomgebiani samedicino orga­nizaciebi ver ganviTarda.

**aramomgebiani samedicino organizaciebis sagadasaxado SeRavaTebi**

dasavleTis qveynebSi arakomerciuli saavadmyofoebis ganviTarebas xeli Seuwyo maTi Semosavlebisa da qonebis gaTavisuflebam saxelm­wi­fo gadasaxadebisgan.

saqarTvelos samoqalaqo kodeqsi gvaZlevs arakomerciuli organi­za­ciis ganmartebas: ,,organizacia, romlis mizani ar aris samewarmeo saq­mianoba da misi funqcionirebis ZiriTadi mamotivirebeli faqtori ar aris materialuri mogebis miReba, aris arasamewarmeo (arakomer­ciu­li) iuridiuli piri“.

saqarTvelos samoqalaqo kodeqsis mixedviT: *,,arasamewarmeo iuridi­uli piris Seqmnisa da funqcionirebis daniSnuleba, pirvel yovlisa, aris ara­komerciuli xasiaTis saqmianoba da raime gansazRvruli miznis misaR­wevad moqmedeba. aseTi organizaciebi, ZiriTadad, sazogadoebisaTvis sa­sar­geblo Sedegebis miRebisTvis iqmneba. zogadad ki, arasamewarmeo iuri­diuli piris saqmianobis mizani SeiZleba iyos nebismieri ram, rac kanoniT ar aris akrZaluli da ar ewinaaRmdegeba moqmed samarTals“. (saqar­Tvelos samoqalaqo kodeqsis 33-e muxlis me-2 nawili)* kanoni Tavisi arsiT iTva­liswinebs aramomgebiani organizaciis mTavar princips, rac mogebis rein­vestirebas gulisxmobs. kerZod ki, damfuZnebels an damfuZnebelTa jgufs ar aqvT ufleba, organizaciis mogeba dividendis saxiT gaitanon.

saqarTvelos sagadasaxado kodeqsis mixedviT, dRg-sagan gaTavisuf­lebulia samedicino momsaxureba, jandacvis saxelmwifo programebiT gaTvaliswinebuli nebismieri RonisZiebebi *(saqarTvelos sagadasaxado kodeqsi, muxli 226)*. gadasaxadiT ar ibegreba samedicino saqmianobisaTvis gamoyenebuli samedicino dawesebulebaTa qoneba da aseve samedicino da­we­sebulebebis (miuxedavad organizaciul-samarTlebrivi formisa) same­dicino saqmianobidan miRebuli mogebis is nawili, romelic moxmardeba reinvestirebas (dawesebulebis reabilitacia, teqnikuri bazis uzrun­velyofa) da TanamSromelTa materialur waxalisebas *(saqarTvelos saga­dasaxado kodeqsi, Tavi XIII, mogebis gadasaxadi, muxli 97).*

miuxedavad imisa, rom arasamewarmeo iuridiuli piri, Tavisi ar­siT, ar SeiZleba iyos komerciul saqmianobaze orientirebuli, mas uf­le­ba aqvs, eweodes damxmare xasiaTis samewarmeo saqmianobas. aseTi saq­mi­a­nobidan miRebuli mogeba unda moxmardes arasamewarmeo (arakomer­ciuli) iuridiuli piris miznebis realizebas da misi ganawileba arasa­mewarmeo iuridiuli piris damfuZneblebs, wevrebs, Semomwirvelebs, ag­reT­ve xelmZRvanelobisa da warmomadgenlobiTi uflebamosilebis mqo­ne pirebs Soris dauSvebelia [Verulava, 2018].

saqarTvelos sagadasaxado kodeqsis Tanaxmad, sawarmoo statusis mqone organizaciebisaTvis 2017 wlamde dawesebuli iyo mogebis gadasa­xadi, romelic Seadgenda mogebis 15%-s. 2015 wels mTavrobis warmo­madgenlebis mier daanonsda mniSvnelovani cvlileba sagadasaxado ko­deqsSi, rac gulisxmobda mogebis gadasaxadis estonuri modelis da­nergvas, romlis amoqmedebac 2017 wlis 13 ianvris brZaneba z9-is safuZ­velze moxda. estoneTSi 2000 wels ganxorcielebuli reformis mixedviT, mogebis gadasaxadiT (arsebuli 21 %-iT), aRar ibegreba reinvestirebuli mogeba. saqarTvelos kanonmdeblobaSi gatarebuli cvlilebis Sedegad reinvestirebuli mogeba Tavisufldeba yovelgvari mogebis gadasaxa­disagan. aRniSnuli sagadasaxado SeRavaTebiT 2017 wlamde sargeblobdnen mxolod aramomgebiani organizaciebi. sakanonmdeblo cvlilebis Semdeg ki samewareo organizaciebsac miecaT aRniSnuli SeRavaTiT sargeblobis ufleba.

amgvarad, saqarTvelos kanonmdeblobis Sesabamisad, sagadasaxado saSeRavaTo sistemis mxriv, aramomgebiani organizaciebi, arafriT gansx­vavdeba momgebiani organizaciebisagan.

kvlevis mizania, gavarkvioT, Tu ratom ganviTarda msoflioSi upi­ratesad aramomgebiani samedicino organizaciebi; ram ganapiroba saqarTve­los jandacvis sistemaSi umTavresad momgebiani samedicino organiza­ciebis arseboba, ramdenad sasurveli garemoa Seqmnili saqarTveloSi aramomgebiani saavadmyofoebis ganviTarebisTvis.

**meTodologia**

kvlevis farglebSi ganxorcielda saqarTveloSi amJamad moqmedi aramomgebiani samedicino organizaciebis Seswavla. qveyanaSi moqmedi aramomgebiani samedicino organizaciebis mcire raodenobis gamo kvlevis areali SezRuduli aRmoCnda da moicavda mxolod sam klinikas: narko­lo­giuri centri „uranti“, jo enis saxelobis samedicino centri da qar­Tul-franguli samedicino centri „kaxeTi-ionikk.

Tvisebrivi kvlevis farglebSi aramomgebiani samedicino organiza­ciebis menejerebsa da eqspertebTan ganxorcielda CaRrmavebuli interviu. interviu warmoebda winaswar Sedgenili naxevrad struqturirebuli kiT­xvaris meSveobiT. interviu verbaluri tipis iyo da, respondentebis TanxmobiT, sizustisa da detalebze orientaciis mizniT moxda maTi Cawera.

samive interviu gansxvavebul, xSir SemTxvevaSi urTierTgamomricxav pasuxebs Seicavda, rac kvlevis process ufro sainteresos xdida da ramac seriozuli daskvnebis gakeTebis SesaZlebloba mogvca aramomgebiani samedicino organizaciebis saqarTveloSi funqcionirebis specifikis dasadgenad, xelis SemSleli faqtorebis gamosakveTad da problemebis mogvarebis gzebis dasasaxad.

**Sedegebi, diskusia**

***narkologiuri centri „uranti“*** daarsda 2013 wels rogorc ara­samTavrobo organizacia. mas marTavs gamgeoba, romelsac hyavs Tavmj­do­mare. gamgeobaSi Sedian klinikuri, finansuri da generaluri direqtorebi, aseve xarisxis marTvis menejeri da sxva administraciuli personali. gamgeobis gadawyvetilebebs kontrols uwevs zedamxedvelobis sabWo, romelic aseve ganagebs finansuri resursebis ganawilebasac. klinikas ar gaaCnia erTpirovnuli mmarTveli, Tumca mTavari administratoria gamgeobis Tavmjdomare. gamgeobis Tavmjdomare periodulad icvleba.

rogorc interviuSi gamoikveTa, mesakuTreobis sxva formebTan Se­darebiT aramomgebiani samedicino organizacia ar ixdis dRg-s da Seda­rebiT maRalia samedicino personalis anazRaureba. xarjebis 70% modis samedicino personalis xelfasebze, 15% - administraciul personalze, daaxloebiT 10% komunalur xarjebze, xolo danarCeni 5% rCeba mogebis saxiT, romelic ixarjeba infrastruqturis ganviTarebaSi, saremonto samuSaoebSi, mowyobiloba-danadgarebis ganaxlebaSi, samedicino perso­nalis treningebSi. im SemTxvevaSi, rodesac ver xerxdeba mogebis reinves­tireba, saqarTveloSi moqmedi yvela dawesebulebis msgavsad, narkolo­giuri centri wlis bolos ixdis mogebis gadasaxads.

narkologiuri centris dafinansebis umTavresi wyaroa saxelmwifo programebi. centrs gaaCnia ramdenime ganyofileba \_ stacionari, ambula­to­ria da CanacvlebiTi Terapiis ganyofileba. ambulatorias TveSi daaxloe­biT 18000 pacienti mimarTavs, xolo stacionars - weliwadSi daaxloebiT 200 pacienti. maRali ambulatoriuli mimarTvianoba gamowveulia imiT, rom centrs Tavisi mudmivi kontingenti hyavs, romelic periodulad mimarTavs mas. stacionaris naklebi datvirTva dakavSirebulia mis mcire zomasTan.

centris funqcionirebaSi mTavar xelis SemSlel faqtorad da­sa­xelda aramomgebiani organizaciebis mimarT saxelmwifos uaryofiTi damo­kidebuleba da maTi ganviTarebis xelSewyobis nacvlad xelovnuri barie­rebis Seqmna. rogorc interviudan irkveva, saxelmwifo negatiurad aris ganwyobili centris TanamSromlebis maRali xelfasis gamo. saxelm­wifo samedicino organizaciebisagan gansxvavebiT, centris administra­ciu­li xarjebi dabalia. Sesabamisad, centri cdilobs gazardos samedicino per­sonalis xelfasebi. es, Tavis mxriv, arakonkurentunarians xdis saxelm­wifo seqtors, ris gamoc saxelmwifo, imis magivrad, rom saxelmwifo samedicino organizaciebis servisebis xarisxis amaRlebaze izrunos, yve­lanairad cdilobs, araxelsayreli pirobebi Seuqmnas aramomgebian samedi­cino organizacias. interviueris gancxadebiT, amiT saxelmwifo xels uSlis samedicino organizaciebs Soris jansaR konkurencias.

saxelmwifos mxridan centris funqcionirebaSi uxeSi Carevis maga­liTia centrSi meTadoniT CanacvlebiTi mkurnalobis saxelmwifo prog­ramis Sewyvita. Tumca, miuxedavad imisa, rom pacientebis umravlesobas ufa­so saxelmwifo programiT urCevnia mkurnaloba, centrs mainc Tavisi mra­valricxovani kontingenti hyavs.

respondentis azriT, saqarTveloSi aramomgebiani samedicino organi­zaciebis ganviTarebas xels uSlis mouqneli sakanonmdeblo sistema. jan­dacvis saministro ar interesdeba aRniSnuli problemiT, Sesabamisad, unda vivaraudoT, rom saxelmwifo ar aris dainteresebuli aramomgebiani same­dicino organizaciebis ganviTarebiT.

amgvarad, respodentis azriT, politikuri, sakanonmdeblo, socialu­ri da kulturuli faqtorebidan gamomdinare, saqarTveloSi aramomgebiani samedicino organizaciebis ganviTarebisaTvis ar arsebobs xelSemwyobi pirobebi, ufro metic, misi funqcionireba did riskTanaa dakavSirebuli. aRniSnuli xelis SemSleli faqtorebis gamo, centri fiqrobs rom Sps-d gadakeTdes. respondentis azriT, saqarTveloSi aramomgebiani samedicino organizaciebis ganviTarebisTvis saWiroa Zireuli sistemuri da saka­nonmdeblo cvlilebebi.

***jo enis saxelobis samedicino*** centri saqarTveloSi moqmed ara­momgebian samedicino organizaciebs Soris yvelaze didi istoriis mqone da, amavdroulad, erT-erTi warmatebulia. centri 1996 wlis 16 seqtembers daarsda cnobili amerikeli msaxiobis jo en maqgovenis xelSewyobiT. saqarTveloSi im droisaTvis ar arsebobda srulfasovani bavSvTa kardio­qirurgiuli centri. qarTveli kardioqirurgis irakli metrevelis da jo enis Sexvedris Semdeg gaCnda idea, saqarTveloSi Camoyalibebuliyo ara­momgebiani samedicino centri, romlis profilic iqneboda kardiologia da kardioqirurgia. centris Seqmnasa da saTanado samedicino personalis kvalifikaciis amaRlebaSi gansakuTrebuli wvlili Seitana aSS-is saqvel­moqmedo organizaciebma, maT Soris organizacia „Global healing“-ma. 1996 wlis 23 seqtembers jo en maqgoveni, saqarTveloSi misive saxelobis cent­ris gaxnsidan zutad erT kviraSi insultis diagnoziT gardaicvala. mis mier daarsebuli centri saqarTveloSi dResac warmatebiT funqcio­nirebs.

centrs hyavs 5 damfuZnebeli rogorc saqarTvelos, aseve aSS-is moqalaqeebi. isini dRemde monawileoben centris marTvaSi. erT-erTi dam­fuZ­neblis, qalbaton jo en maqgovenis gardacvalebis Semdeg, ufleba-movaleobebi memkvidreobiT gadaeca mis Svils. meore damfuZnebeli qar­Tveli kardioqirurgia, romelic dResac Tavis profesiul movaleobas asrulebs centrSi. mesame damfuZnebeli qarTveli finansistia, romelic ganagebs administraciul sakiTxebs. aRniSnuli jgufi iRebs centris Zi­riTad strategiul gadawyvetilebebs. damfuZnebelTa sabWo niSnavs cent­ris generalur direqtors, romelic pasuxismgebelia centris mmarTve­lobaze. mis yoveldRiur saqmianobaSi sabWo ar ereva, garda im SemTxveve­bisa, rodesac misaRebia iseTi mniSvnelovani gadawyvetilebebi, rogoricaa axali samedicino aparaturis Sesyidva, damatebiTi ganyofilebis gaxsna da a.S.

centris dafinansebis wyaroebia donori organizaciebis Semowiru­lobebi da jandacvis saxelmwifo programebi: sayovelTao janmrTelobis dacvis saxelmwifo programa da referaluri momsaxurebis saxelmwifo programa. referaluri momsaxurebis saxelmwifo programiT xdeba bavSvTa Tandayolili mankebisa da sxva paTologiebis saxelmwifos mier 100%-iT dafinanseba. sayovelTao janmrTelobis dacvis saxelmwifo programiT xdeba mozrdilTa samedicino momsaxurebis dafinanseba. organizaciis mTlian SemosavlebSi sayovelTao janmrTelobis dacvis saxelmwifo programis wili Seadens 80%-s. danarCeni 20% Seadgens pacientebis pirdapir gadaxdebs da sadazRvevo konpaniebis mier gadaxdil Tanxebs.

amJamad klinikaSi tardeba bavSvTa da mozrdilTa kardiologiuri profilis yvela manipulacia da operacia, garda gulis gadanergvisa. 2017 wlis monacemebiT, centrs ambulatoriulad mimarTa 18 528 beneficiarma. maTgan centrs pirvelad mimarTa 5028 pacientma. pirveladi mimarTvianobis aseTi maRali maCvenebeli miuTiTebs centris mimarT ndobaze.

miRebuli mogeba mTlianad reinvestirdeba samedicino organizaciis ganviTarebaSi. damfuZnebelTagan sami amave klinikaSia dasaqmebuli sxva­dasxva poziciaze, Sesabamisad, maTi dafinanseba xorcieldeba mxolod kuTvnili xelfasis saxiT. mogeba nawildeba axali samedicino aparaturis Sesyidvaze, personalis kvalifikaciis amaRlebaze, xelfasis gazrdaze, samedicino momsaxurebis xarisxis amaRlebis RonisZiebebze. samedicino da administraciuli personalis saxelfaso fondze ixarjeba mTliani Semo­sav­lis daaxloebiT 55%. Tumca, centri marTvis avtomatizebuli sistemebis danergvis xarjze cdilobs administraciuli resursebis Semcirebas.

centrSi dasaqmebuli personalis xelfasi saxelmwifos mier Cve­ulebriv ibegreba 20%-iT. centris samedicino personalis xelfasi aRe­mateba sxva, imave profilis samedicino organizaciis pesonalis xelfass. samedicino centri ar cdilobs gazardos mogeba adamianuri resursebis xelovnuri Semcirebis xarjze. centris reanimaciul ganyofilebaSi erT pacients 24 saaTis ganmavlobaSi erTi eqTani uwevs meTvalyureobas. maSin, rodesac sxva samedicino organizaciebSi erTi eqTnis movaleobaSi Sedis 3-4 da zogjer meti pacientis meTvalyureoba. amJamindeli sagadasaxado kodeqsi ar uzrunvelyofs aramomgebiani samedicino organizaciisaTvis sagadasaxado SeRavaTebs.

centri cdilobs Tavisi wvlili Seitanos personalis kvalifikaciis amaRlebaSi da maTi saqmianobisaTvis arsebuli garemos gaumjobesebaze. centri afinansebs samedicino personalis konferenciebSi, treningebSi mo­nawileobas, maT uwyvet samedicino ganaTlebis xarjebs. kvlevis Cata­rebis magaliTisaTvis, kvlevis mimdinareobisas, samedicino centrma daa­fi­nansa eqimebis monawileoba germaniaSi dagegmil saerTaSoriso konfe­renciaze, romelic eZRvneba Tandayolili mankebis diagnostirebasa da mkurnalobas.

jo enis samedicino centri sakuTari samedicino personalis profe­siuli donis amaRlebasTan erTad cdilobs axali Taobebis gazrdasa da maTTvis Sesabamisi ganaTlebis miRebaSi xelSewyobas. centri gegmavs rezidenturis Camoyalibebas bavSvTa kardioqirurgiasa da bavSvTa rev­ma­tologiaSi, riTac Tavisi wvlili Seaqvs axali kvalificiuri kadrebis aRzrdaSi.

centri mniSvnelovan Tanxebs gamoyofs uaxlesi samedicino mowyobi­loba-danadgarebis ultraTanamedrove teqnologiiT aRWurvisaTvis. cen­t­ri gegmavs axali profilis samedicino departamentebis Camoyali­lebebas.

centris mTavar problemad dasaxelda saxelmwifos mxridan naklebi xelSewyoba. sagadasaxado kodeqsis Tanaxmad centri ar ixdis mogebis da qonebis gadasaxads. Tumca, saxelmwifo programebiT gansazRruli nozo­lo­giebis dafinanseba xorcieldeba ramdenime wlis win dadgenili tarifebiT da ar xdeba dolaris kursis sagrZnobi cvlilebis gaTva­lis­wineba. amasTan, centri saWiro masalebis (xelovnuri da biologiuri sar­qvelebi da a.S.) Sesyidvas axorcielebs dolaris valutiT, xolo arse­buli tarifebi isev igive darCa, ar moxda maTi gadaxedva. Sedegad, gaizarda centris xarjebi, rac uaryofiTad aisaxa mis finansur mdgo­mareobasa da saerTod ganviTarebaze.

miuxedavad problemebisa, jo enis samedicino centri mTels amier­kav­kaSiaSi erT-erT warmatebul klinikad iTvleba, romelic didi avto­ri­tetiTa da ndobiT sargeblobs mosaxleobaSi.

**frangul-qarTuli samedicino centri „kaxeTi-ioni“** daarsda 2006 wels safrangeTis xelSewyobiT. igi mravalprofiluri klinikaa. 2016 wels centri „C hepatitis“ eliminaciis programaSi CaerTo, risTvisac gaixsna Sesabamisi sadiagnostiko da samkurnalo ganyofilebebi. kaxeTis regionSi mcxovreb pirebs SeuZliaT Caitaron skriningi ,,C hepatitzekk, xolo diag­nozis dadasturebis SemTxvevaSi ki adgilzeve Caitaron mkurnaloba. centrSi funqcionirebs Semdegi ganyofilebebi: zogadi qirurgia, labo­ratoria, sadiagnostiko ganyofileba, ofTalmologia, otorinola­ri­ngologia, ginekologia, onkologia, hematologia da a.S

centris damfuZnebelia frangi senatori anri derenkuri. mas marTavs sabWo, romelic dakompleqtebulia qarTveli da frangi warmomadgenlebiT. klinikisTvis mniSvnelovani gadawyvetilebebis miRebas sabWo axorcielebs. centri gegmavs telemedicinis ganviTarebas da axali sadiagnostiko aparaturis SeZenas.

**daskvna, rekomendaciebi**

samedicino bazari moiTxovs samedicino organizaciebis mesakuTreo­bis mravali formis arsebobas, sadac warmodgenilia rogorc kerZo arako­merciuli, aseve kerZo momgebiani, saxelmwifo da saxelmwifo-kerZo part­nioruli organizaciebi.

saqarTvelos bazarze aramomgebiani (arakomerciuli) organizaciebi sakmaod mciredaa warmodgenili. rogorc Cans, ar arsebobs saavadmyofoebis da saerTod organizaciebis aramomgebiani saxiT funqcionirebis sakmarisi motivacia.

miuxedavad imisa, rom sagadasaxado kodeqsSi gaTvaliswinebulia sa­ga­dasaxado SeRavaTebi, misi mxolod Canaweris saxiT arseboba ver uz­runvelyofs maqsimalur Sedegs.

aqve aRsaniSnavia, rom 2017 wels ganxorcielebuli sakanonmdeblo cvlilebis Sedegad, aramomgebiani organizaciebi, sagadasaxado saSeRa­vaTo sistemis mxriv, arafriT gansxvavdeba momgebiani organizaciebisagan.

saWiroa sagadasaxado kodeqsSi aramomgebiani organizaciebis mimarT gaTvaliswinebuli sagadasaxado SeRavaTebis Semdgomi daxvewa da msoflio gamocdilebis gaTvaliswineba. mizanSewonilia aramomgebiani saavadmyo­fo­ebis rolis gazrda saqarTvelos samedicino bazarze.

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**NONPROFIT MEDICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN GEORGIAN HEALTHCARE SYSTEM**

**Expanded Summary**

There are several forms of ownership of medical organizations: Nonprofit, For-profit, State-owned, Public-private partnership. Such diversity is mostly due to the particularities of the medical market. However, there are predominantly two forms of ownership in Georgia – for-profit and state-owned.

The most widespread form of ownership of health care organizations is the nonprofit one. In Europe, nonprofit hospitals make more than 70-80% of the hospitals. Similarly, in US, 57% of the hospitals are nonprofit, while 26% are state-owned (public) and private for-profit hospitals represent only 17%. Most of the physicians have private practice in profit and non-profit hospitals.

Contrary to the above-mentioned, only two forms of ownership has developed in Georgia. But, we should not disregard one important fact: before sovietization of Georgia, charity hospitals existed in Georgia as well. For example, in Tbilisi, on the place where the former 9th hospital was situated, stood an infirmary next to the church of Andrew the Apsotle, where the famous Georgian poet Vazha Pshavela passed away. The mentioned infirmary, like other infirmaries of the time, was a nonprofit hospital. After 1921, with the eventual soviet occupation of Georgia, nonprofit hospitals became state-owned healthcare organizations [4]. As a result, during the soviet period, there was only one form of ownership in Georgia – state ownership. After regaining independence, private hospitals were added as well. Thus, at present, there are only two extremely radical forms of ownership of health care organizations in Georgia – state-owned and private [5, 6].

Hence, we can say that since soviet times, Georgia has been off the path, which the European countries took in terms of developing the health care system (forms of ownership of healthcare organizations is one of the characteristics of the health care system).

According to data from 2013, 88,6% of the hospitals are private for-profit, among which 42% is owned by insurance companies, 29% by individuals, 18,4 by other types of companies and 8% is state-owned. More than 80% of hospitals are owned by three private insurance companies (Aldagi, GPI- holding, and Aversi/alfa). Private Insurance Company Aldagi owns 49% of the hospitals. Insurance Company GPI-holding owns 255 of hospitals. Insurance Company Alfa owns 17% of hospitals.

It is important to take note of the following problems of the health care sector of Georgia: Most hospitals have fewer than 50 beds (34% of the hospitals have between 11-20 beds; 17% - between 21-30; 41% - between 41-50). According by international experience, a hospital with fewer than 50 beds cannot become for-profit. It is equally important to highlight that certain types of health care services are not profitable; thus, the owners of the hospitals have less interest to fund expensive services. Therefore, insurance companies that own hospitals may not bear expenses for such types of medical service.

Very often, the word ‘nonprofit’ is misinterpreted and it is considered that such organizations do not represent profitable enterprises. As a matter of fact, nonprofit, as well as for-profit, or even the state medical institutions attempt to make a profit. They only differ in the way they distribute the profit. Nonprofit hospitals are managed and run by boards composed of physicians, society representatives, and managers. The profit hospitals are managed by shareholders. To be more precise, nonprofit medical institutions do not distribute the profit to the owners or the shareholders, unlike the for-profit medical institutions. The profit gained by their work is distributed and spent on improvement of medical services that the hospital provides, acquisition of tools and equipment for diagnostics, increasing the salaries of the medical personnel of the hospital.

Besides the historically advantageous environment, nonprofit hospitals in western countries had significant support from the governments. As the non-profit hospitals provide service to poor and low-income patients, their activities are considered to be charity. Therefore, their income and property is exempt from taxes. The tax benefits do not apply to profit hospitals. Furthermore, profit hospitals have no right to receive public donations. Donations are given to the non-profit hospitals to provide medical service to vulnerable population.

In Western Europe and US, trust in nonprofit medical services developed over the years also played a role in the existence of non-profit hospitals. On the medical markets, where consumers are less informed and do not have relevant education on the needs of healthcare services, the great importance is attached to the trust-based relations. The patients tend to trust towards nonprofit hospitals more than for-profit ones, as the latter are not focused on the profit and doesn’t strive to take advantage of the patients’ lack of information.

In addition, the society overlooks the performance and governance of nonprofit hospitals. Their policy is more flexible for implementation of the activities such as provision of expensive medical service. In the non-profit hospitals doctors have more possibilities to independently define the hospital policy, service provision, purchase the need medical equipment and services. Due to this, non-profit hospitals better correspond to the financial interest of doctors. In contrast to this in profit hospitals the gain is basically divided between shareholders and state taxes; thus, the motivation of doctors is rather low. Therefore, the factor of trust, public benefit, and financial interest of doctors is main basis for high number of non-profit hospitals.

The popularity of nonprofit hospitals is evident in certain cases, as 70% of US patients prefer nonprofit hospitals, while only 13% go to for-profit ones. Even the medical personnel prefer the nonprofit hospitals, as the majority of them work in nonprofit health care institutions.

It was mentioned above that one of the reasons contributing to the development of nonprofit hospitals in the Western countries was the exemption from taxes. Thus, according to the internal revenue code/tax code of Georgia, nonprofit organizations, which undertake charity activities benefit from tax privileges. Charity organizations are exempt from corporate income tax.

Despite the fact that an entry about nonprofit entities and their exemption from taxes exists in the internal revenue code of Georgia, sheer existence on paper is not enough for the development of nonprofit hospitals in Georgia. As the nonprofit health care institutions in Georgia are underdeveloped, we can claim that there is a lack of motivation for the existence of such institutions. Further elaboration of tax benefits and privileges in the revenue code is necessary based on European experience. It is expedient to increase the role of nonprofit hospitals on Georgia’s health care market.

Different forms of ownership of the medical organizations will increase the competition between different forms of ownerships, which will improve access to health care services. Most importantly, this will bring Georgia closer to the experience of the European countries.

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**BUSINESS**

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**sakuTreba da mewarmeoba**

***reziume.*** *saqarTveloSi seriozuli socialur-politikuri da eko­nomikuri procesebi mimdinareobs. maTi arsi jer kidev ukavSirdeba war­moebis erTi wesidan (socialur-ekonomikuri wesrigidan) meoreSi gadas­v­las: rTulia dadasturebiT imis Tqma, rom mbrZanebluri warmarTvadi sistema sabolood Caanacvla socialurad orientirebulma Tavisufalma sabazro ekonomikam.*

*es Tvisebrivi gardaqmnebi, socialur - politikuri cvlilebebis gatarebasTan erTad, gulisxmobs mosaxleobis materialuri keTildReobis amaRlebisaTvis saWiro sameurneo saqmianobis maRali xarisxis ekonomikuri TavisuflebiT gamyarebas, pirvel rigSi ki kerZo sakuTrebis floba-gan­kar­g­vis Tavisuflebis myar saxelmwifoebriv uzrunvelyofas; swored ker­ZosakuTrebrivi urTierTobebis Tavisufleba unda iyos garantirebuli ekonomikur saqmianobaSi CarTuli subieqtebisaTvis, rom imaTma qcevam maqsimaluri Sedegi gamoiRos.*

*axali socialur-ekonomikuri wesrigis Seqmnis periodi ukve 25 wel­ze mets iTvlis. masze gadasvlisTvis saWiro gardamavali periodi, prin­cipSi, TiTqos gaviareT, magram, erTgvari saerTo winsvlis miuxedavad, sufTa ekonomikuri TvalsazrisiT (keTildReobis done), samwuxarod, jer­jerobiT warmatebaze saubari aramarTlzomieria: mosaxleobis erT sulze 2017 wlis mTliani Sida produqti 1990 wlis Sesabamis maCvenebelze naklebi iyo. es bevrma movlena-mizezma ganapiroba, maT Soris Tavisufali sakuT­rebrivi urTierTobebis (aseTi urTierTobebiT gamowveuli motiva­ciis) arasakmaris doneze damkvidreba-gaTavisebamac. amitom sasargeblo da auci­lebelia am mimarTulebiT qveyanaSi kvlevebis gaaqtiureba da sameur­neo subieqtebis, sazogadoebis wevrebis mier problemis (warmoebisaTvis saWi­ro resursebis floba-gamoyenebis sakiTxebSi garkvevis) gagebaSi xelis Sewyoba.*

***sakvanZo sityvebi:*** *sakuTreba, sakuTrebrivi urTierTobebi, mewarmeoba, biznesi, motivacia, keTildReoba, metoqeoba, socialurad orientirebuli ekonomikuri sistema.*

**Sesavali**

warmoSobis dRidan adamiani funqcionirebs garemoSi, romelic sxva­dasxva aucilebeli nivT-sagnebisagan Sedgeba: haeria es, wyali, tye Tu sxva rame. misi cxovreba-arseboba uSualodaa dakavSirebuli pirvandeli moT­xov­nilebebis (Wama-sma, Cacma, sacxovrisi, gvarovnobis gagrZeleba) dakmayo­filebasTan. amasTan, rogorc yvela sxva danarCeni arseba, Tavidan adamiani yovelgvari Segnebuli Secvla-gadakeTebis gareSe moixmarda imas, rac mza­mzareulad xvdeboda bunebisagan. am pirobebSi resursebis SezRudu­lo­ba misTvis gansakuTrebul problemas ar warmoadgenda, Tumca, droTa gan­mav­lobaSi, misi gonivruli SesaZleblobebis ganviTarebis Sedegad, situacia principulad Seicvala: garemos mier boZebuli zogierTi sikeTe adamianma meti dovlaTis Seqmnis resursad da metis moxmarebis momcem saSualebad aqcia. aman ki (da amis kvalobaze Sromis danawilebis Sedegad mwarmoeb­lurobis zrdam) masSi gaaCina nivT-sagnebis dauflebis interesi, anu gauR­viva kerZomesakuTreobrivi impulsi.

es kacobriobis ganviTarebis is periodia, rodesac ukve Camoyali­bebulia adamianebis met-naklebad didi ricxobrivi erTobliobebi \_ primitiuli, Tumca mainc sazogadoeba Tavisi garkveuli interesebiT. am sazogadoebebs (ara aqvs mniSvneloba, isini erT adgilas cxovroben Tu momTabareni arian) bunebisagan ergo SezRuduli sivrce, sadac arsebo­bi­saTvis saWiro dovlaT-sikeTis sazogadoebis wevrebis mier gamoyeneba-dauflebis problema dadga; Sesabamisad, adamianTa erTobis erTi nawilis mier resursebis mniSvnelovan wils eufleba. gasagebia, rom erTobis meore nawils naklebi ergeba. es ki kerZo sakuTrebis niSnebia. resursebis mflo­bels, romelic xedavs, rom maTi gamoyenebiT meti sikeTis Seqmna SeiZleba, Sesabamisi saqmianobis motivacia uCndeba.

**\* \* \***

amis Semdeg iwyeba kacobriobis arsebobis Tvisebrivad axali epoqa, rodesac adamianebis cxovrebiseuli interesebi mZafrad ukavSirdeba dovlaTis qona-arqonas, sakuTrebis problemas; misi xasiaTis Tvisebrivi cvlilebebi ganapirobebda, rogorc wesi, TviT sazogadoebrivi yofis cvlilebebs. socialur-ekonomikuri wyobilebis (wesrigis) CamoyalibebaSi sakuTrebis formis mniSvnelobas, sakuTrebrivi urTierTobebis gadamwyvet (sabaziso) xasiaTs gansakuTrebiT usvamda xazs Cven qveyanaSi aTeuli wlebis ganmavlobaSi damkvidrebuli ideologia (marqsizmi). magram es debuleba ZiriTadad gamoiyeneboda imisaTvis, rom warmoCeniliyo kerZo sakuTrebis eqspluatatoruli, regresuli da miuRebeli xasiaTi, amis fonze ki win wamoweuliyo totaluri saxelmwifo sakuTrebis upiratesoba, rogorc warmoeba-ganawilebaSi ufro maRali Sedegianobis damamyarebeli sakuTrebis forma. am propagandas da mosaxleobis socialuri dacvis garkveulwilad gadawyvetas fuWad ar Cauvlia: sazogadoebis nawili uar­yofiTad ganewyo kerZo sakuTrebisadmi, SeiZula da Seurigebeli gaxda imaT mimarT, vinc, misi azriT, aseT sakuTrebaze dayrdnobiT „sxvisi Sromis xarjze mdidrdeba“; zogsac, SeiZleba iTqvas, mniSvnelovnad daumaxinjda kerZomesakuTreobrivi motivacia \_ miuxedavad imisa, rom Tavad siamovnebiT euflebian dovlaT-sikeTes, sxvebis mier qonebis dagrovebas isini gazviadebuli SuriT uyureben da maTgan sazogadoebrivi interesebis win dayenebas moiTxoven.

sakuTrebriv urTierTobebze sagnobrivi saubari mizanSewonili iq­ne­ba TviT sakuTrebis ganmartebiT daviwyoT. sakuTreba aris adamianTa Soris warmoebis, ganawilebis, gacvlisa da moxmarebis procesSi arsebuli obieqturi kavSirebis sistema, romlebic (kavSirebi) pirvel rigSi war­moebis saSualebebis da moxmarebis sagnebis miTvisebas axasiaTebs da war­moebis organizaciis, samuSao Zalis (Sromis) warmoebis sxva faqtorebTan SeerTebis xasiaTs ganapirobebs.

sakuTrebis subieqtebs Soris sakuTrebis obieqtebis ganawileba sa­zogadoebrivi kvlavwarmoebis Sedegebzea damokidebuli, sakuTrebis ama Tu im formaSi arsebobis Tavisufleba ki adamianebis (individebis), mTeli sazogadoebis mewarmeobrivi motivaciis intensivobas ganapirobebs. amasTan, kvlavwarmoebas upirvelesad adamianis Sinagani genetikuri miswrafebebi gansazRvravs (iarsebos, gvarovnoba gaagrZelos); gafarToebuli kvlav­warmoebis mizezad ki, pirvel rigSi, Tavad sakuTrebrivi urTierTobebidan gamomdinare mewarmeobrivi (da mTlianad SromiTi) motivacia gvevlineba.

sakuTreba, rogorc ekonomikuri kategoria, adamianebs Soris urTi­erTobebs da maTi qcevis principebs gamoxatavs. upirvelesad sakuTrebis obieqtis (nivTebis, dovlaTis, qonebis, kapitalis) dasakuTrebis da gamoye­nebis gamo. magram sakuTreba da misi monagreba mewarmeobrivi saq­mianobis gareSe ar arsebobs (saubaria saboloo jamSi, da ara konkretul SemT­x­vevebsa da faqtebze). mesakuTres Tandayolili survili da imanenturi miswrafeba aqvs, gazardos Tvisi sakuTreba, misi sagnobrivi moculoba, Tanac es survili gaaCnia yvela calkeul mesakuTres da, maSasadame, mTel sazogadoebas. amisaTvis ki mewarmeobaa saWiro; Tu sakuTreba warmoebaSi (mewarmeobaSi) ar aris CarTuli, is ara marto ar izrdeba, aramed ucvle­lic ar rCeba da, rogorc wesi, klebulobs.

sakuTrebis (kapitalis) mewarmeobriv saqmianobaSi CarTva SeiZleba sxvadasxvanairad:

1. roca mesakuTre TviTon kisrulobs warmoebis organizacias, Tavad eweva mewarmeobriv saqmianobas da, Sesabamisad, TviTonve iTvisebs Seqmnili faseulobis im nawils, romelic mis kapi­talze modis, agreTve sakuTari Sromis, organizatoruli da mewarmeobrivi niWis anazRaurebas;
2. rodesac mesakuTre Tavisi sakuTrebis obieqts (kapitals) fulis saxiT sxvaze gaasesxebs, e.i. sxvas dauTmobs gamosayeneblad gar­kveuli droiT da garkveuli sazRauris gadaxdevinebiT;
3. rodesac mesakuTre misi sakuTrebis mewarmeobriv gamoyenebas ZiriTadad maRali anazRaurebiT mozidul (daqiravebul) profe­sional mmarTvelebs (menejerebs) andobs, TviTon ki sakuTrebis tituls (aqciebs) flobs da masze Semosavals (dividends) iRebs.

am samive SemTxvevaSi Cven sakuTrebas ekonomikuri TvalsazrisiT vxedavT, biznesis gamarTvisa da misi Sedegebis ganawilebis ekonomikur urTierTobebTan gvaqvs saqme, romlebic ZiriTadad sakuTrebrivi urTier­Tobebidan gamomdinare yalibdeba: es aris urTierTobebi mesakuTresa da daqiravebul muSakebs Soris, mesakuTresa da menejers Soris, kapitalis mesakuTresa da mewarmes (firmis mesakuTres) Soris, mewarmesa da mis mier daqiravebul samuSao Zalas Soris, mesakuTresa da mTel danarCen sazo­gadoebas Soris. magram es urTierTobebi, romlebic sazogadoebaSi sakuT­rebasTan dakavSirebiT yalibdeba, Cveulebriv, iuridiul samoselSi gvev­lineba, rogorc sakuTrebis (mesakuTris) uflebebi. adamianis qcevis pa­rametrebs da wesebs, romlebic sakuTrebis floba-sargeblobasTan aris dakavSirebuli, qveynis kanonmdebloba gansazRvravs rogorc sakuTrebis uflebas.

sakuTrebis ufleba aris calkeuli piris, jgufis an saxelmwifos neba-survilis Sesabamisad mis sakuTrebaSi arsebuli warmoebis saSuale­bebiT Tu sxva qonebiT sargeblobis uflebamosileba; sakuTrebis ufleba moicavs qonebis (sakuTrebis) flobas, gamoyenebas da gankargvas (igive mTliani sakuTreba), rac iuridiul kanonebsa da sxva normatiul aqtebSi aisaxeba. sakuTrebis uflebebis kanonmdeblobiT mowesrigebas da saxelm­wifoebriv dacvas udidesi mniSvneloba aqvs. maTi wyalobiT sazogadoebaSi yalibdeba mesakuTreTa, agreTve mesakuTreTa da sakuTrebis armqoneTa Ta­nasaqmianobis da Tanaarsebobis pirobebi, Taviseburi sazogadoebrivi, eko­nomikuri da sxva „TamaSis wesebi“. sakuTrebis uflebebSi upirvelesad igu­lisxmeba mesakuTris mier Tavisi resursebis gamoyenebis da am gamo­ye­nebis dros warmoqmnili xarjebis da sargeblis ganawilebis ufle­ba­mo­sileba.

maSasadame swored iuridiuli normatiuli aqtebi aregulirebs sakuT­rebis:

* flobas. sakuTrebis floba niSnavs, rom esa Tu is warmoebis saSualeba, sawarmo, qoneba ama Tu im iuridiul an fizikur pirs ekuT­v­nis da ara sxvas (sxvas am sakuTrebaze ufleba ar aqvs, Tu isic mflo­beli ar aris);
* gamoyenebas. sakuTrebis gamoyeneba niSnavs, rom misi mflo­beli Tavis qonebas (sakuTrebas) iyenebs sakuTari Sexedulebisamebr;
* gankargvas. sakuTrebis gankargva, SeiZleba iTqvas, umaRlesi uflebaa, rodesac mesakuTres Tavisi survilisamebr SeuZlia gaasxvi­sos (gayidos, gaaCuqos) sakuTreba.

yuradRebas iqcevs sakuTrebis uflebis ganawilebis sakmaod gavrce­lebuli forma - e.w. trasti (ingl. trust). trastuli SeTanxmeba niSnavs, rom mesakuTre sxva subieqts gadascems Tavisi sakuTrebis marTvis uflebas, ris Semdeg xelSekrulebis farglebSi TviTon kargavs formalur uflebas, Caerios rwmunebuli piris saqmianobaSi. magaliTisaTvis, am wesiT SesaZ­lebelia sxva pirze aqciebis paketis (portfelis) marTvis gadacema.

kacobriobis istoriaSi cnobilia sakuTrebis ori tipi: kerZo da sazogadoebrivi. kerZo ewodeba sakuTrebas, rodesac warmoebis saSua­le­be­bi da sxva qoneba (dovlaTi) calkeul individs, saojaxo meurneobas, firmas ekuTvnis. e.i. am dovlaTis flobis, sargeblobisa da gankargvis ufleba iuridiulad gaformebulia am subieqtebze da misi moxmareba Tu mewar­meobriv saqmianobaSi CarTva mxolod am kerZo mesakuTris inte­resebidan gamomdinare da misi surviliT xdeba.

sazogadoebrivi aris sakuTreba, romlis flobaze, gamoyenebasa da gankargvaze Tanabari ufleba aqvs mTeli sazogadoebis yvela wevrs.

sazogadoebis ganviTarebis sxvadasxva periodSi da safexurebze swo­red sakuTrebis es ori tipi gvevlineba gansxvavebuli formebis saxiT. maT Sesabamisad yalibdeba TviT meurneobriobis saxeebi.

yoveli sazogadoebriv-ekonomikuri formacia mniSvnelovanwilad misT­vis damaxasiaTebeli sakuTrebis formebiT gansxvavdeba. sawarmoo Zalebis ama Tu im dones Seesabameba saTanado ekonomikuri urTierTobebi. am urTierTobebSi ki arsebiTi da garkveulwilad gadamwyveti sakuTrebrivi urTierTobebia.

sazogadoebis istoriuli ganviTarebis procesSi sakuTrebrivi ur­TierTobebi, maTi struqtura da xasiaTi icvleboda mravalricxovani faq­toris zegavleniT, iqneboda es dovlaTis Seqmna-kvlavwarmoeba, mitacebebi omebis an sxva iZulebiTi zomebis saSualebiT, politikuri revoluciebi, sakanonmdeblo aqtebi Tu sxva misT. am cvlilebebis Sedegad sakuTreba iRebda axal formebs, romlebic warmoebis sazogadoebriv wess ganapi­robebda (Seesabameboda), axali urTierTobebis ganmtkiceba ki saTanado sakanonmdeblo aqtebiT xdeboda (da xdeba).

ganvixiloT am formebis, saxeebisa da saerTod sakuTrebis aRmo­ce­neba-ganviTarebis sakiTxi istoriul aspeqtSi. es aucilebelia sakuTrebis arsis, sakuTrebrivi urTierTobebis da adamianebis qcevis sworad gage­bisaTvis.

kacobriobis winakapitalisturi ganviTarebis periodSi gabato­ne­buli dargi iyo soflis meurneoba, xolo warmoebis ZiriTadi piroba-miwa. amitom ganmsazRvreli rolic miwis sakuTrebas ekuTvnoda. miwaze sakuT­rebas sazogadoebrivi, Temuri xasiaTi hqonda: calkeul adamians, rogorc individuums, SeeZlo mxolod esargebla miwiT (sakuTrebis obieqtiT), magram is Tavidan, rogorc wesi, miwis mesakuTre ar iyo da arc SeiZleboda yofiliyo, vinaidan Sromis dabali mwarmoeblurobis gamo damoukideblad ver irCenda Tavs. amitom sakuTrebis pirveli subieqti Temi (tomi) iyo. miwis sakuTrebis pirveli formebi amavdroulad uSualod Seicavda sakuTrebas produqtze da im iaraRze, romliTac xdeboda miwis damuSaveba (esec sakuTrebis obieqtia). sakuTrebis obieqtad miwis gardaqmna xorciel­deboda axal-axali miwebis aTvisebiT, romlebic aravis ekuTvnoda, agreTve maTi mitacebiT, sxva TemebisaTvis warTmeviT.

sawarmoo Zalebis ganviTarebis, Sromis sazogadoebrivi danawilebis gaRrmavebis, Sromis mwarmoeblurobis zrdis Sedegad mimdinareobda Te­mebis daSla da kerZo mesakuTreebis gamoyofa. qonebrivi uTanasworobis zrdis da gacvlis ganviTarebis kvalobaze warmoiqmna monaTmflobeluri kerZo sakuTreba, rodesac sakuTrebis obieqti, Cveulebriv sikeTesTan erTad, TviT sazogadoebis garkveuli nawilic gaxda (monebi); is dafuZ­nebuli iyo monis Sromis eqspluataciaze da eyrdnoboda monaTa Sromis Sedegis monaTmflobelis mier miTvisebas. monas ki araviTari sakuTreba ar gaaCnda; misi Sroma ar iyo dakavSirebuli misi moTxovnilebis dakma­yofilebis donesTan, amitom Zalze dabalmwarmoebluri iyo.

miuxedavad Tavidan aseTi negatiuri, dRevandeli poziciidan yovlad miuRebeli xasiaTisa, mTlianobaSi kerZo sakuTrebis warmoqmna imTaviTve erT-erTi yvelaze mniSvnelovani movlena iyo kacobriobis istoriaSi, ro­melmac gamoiwvia, saqmianobaSi farTod CarTo da ganaviTara adamianis Se­moq­medebiTi, mewarmeobrivi da saerTod SromiTi SesaZleblobebi, ganamt­kica misi statusi bunebaSi da is dRevandel civilizaciamde miiyvana.

Sua saukuneebSi gabatonebuli xasiaTi miiRo feodalurma sakuTrebam, romlis safuZvels feodalis miwaze sakuTreba da piradad araTavisufal, damokidebul glexTa eqspluatacia warmoadgenda. amasTan, monisagan gansx­vavebiT, yma (feodalurad damokidebuli glexi) ukve sakuTrebrivi urTier­Tobebis faqtobrivi monawile (subieqti) iyo, vinaidan mas miwis mcire nakveTi da mis dasamuSaveblad saWiro warmoebis saSualebebi gaaCnda (mar­Ta­lia, miwa feodalis sakuTreba iyo, xolo Tavad yma glexi \_ mniSv­ne­lovan­wilad feodaluri sakuTrebis obieqti). Tavisi Sromis Sedegis did nawils yma glexi iZulebiTi wesiT ganasxvisebda miwis mesa­kuT­ris sasar­geblod - samuSaos Sesrulebis an naturaluri rentis saxiT. miwis feo­daluri sakuTreba iyo pirovnuli, piradi damokidebulebis ierar­qiuli kavSirebiT SezRudul-Semofargluli sakuTreba. miuxedavad amisa, yma glexis Sroma, monis SromasTan SedarebiT, ufro mwarmoebluri iyo.

feodaluri sazogadoebis wiaRSive warmoiSva urTierTobebi, romle­bic ar iyo dakavSirebuli mwarmoeblis miwisadmi mimagrebasTan. Tavisufal glexTa wvril kerZo sakuTrebasTan erTad, aq arsebobda miwis sakuTre­bi­sagan gamoyofil, feodaluri damokidebulebisagan Tavisufal qalaqel xelosanTa sakuTreba, romlebic (xelosnebi) awarmoebdnen gasayidad gamza­debul produqts. miuxedavad imisa, rom xelosnebi amqrebSi iyvnen gaerTia­nebuli da es ukanasknelni reglamentacias uwevdnen maT saqmiano­bas, isini piradad damoukidebeli iyvnen da gamodiodnen rogorc warmoebis saSuale­bebisa da produqciis SedarebiT gancalkevebuli mesakuTreebi. xelosanTa kerZo sakuTreba mTlianad ukavSirdeba sasaqonlo warmoebas da gacvlas, amitom misi subieqtebi saqonelmwarmoeblebad gvevlineba. marTa­lia, es wv­rili saqonelwarmoeba iyo, magram is mainc iZleoda kapi­ta­lis­turi urTierTobebis damyarebisaTvis aucilebeli dagrovebis garkveuli mocu­lobis Seqmnis saSualebas.

sasaqonlo urTierTobebis ganviTarebis kvalobaze erTgvari dana­zo­gebi daugrovdaT feodalebsac, romelTa gamoyeneba SeiZleboda warmoebis sxva sawyisebze organizebisaTvis.

sawarmoo Zalebis, sasaqonlo warmoebis ganviTarebis da kapitalis pirveldawyebiTi dagrovebis Sedegad warmoiSva kapitalisturi kerZo sa­kuT­reba. aseTi sakuTrebisaTvis Tavidan damaxasiaTebeli iyo uSualo mwar­moebelTa didi nawilis Sromis materialuri pirobebisagan, rogorc sakuT­rebis obieqtisagan, sruli gaTiSva (gamoyofa). vinaidan feodaluri wyobi­lebis pirobebSi muSakTa didi umetesoba dakavSirebulia soflis meur­neobas da miwis sakuTrebasTan, kapitalisturi kerZo sakuTrebis war­moq­mnis aucilebloba moiTxovda (da ganxorcielda kidec) soflis mSromeli mosaxleobis sakuTrebis eqspropriacias da TviT mosaxleobis dakavebuli miwebisagan gandevnas. amis Sedegad Seiqmna glexebisagan gamo­Tavisuf­le­bul miwaze msxvili kerZo sakuTreba da gaCnda pirovnulad Tavisufali, ekonomikuri resursebis (garda Sromisa) armqone adamianebis masa. e.i. sa­kuTreba gaTavisuflda pirovnuli damokidebulebisagan, Seiqmna, ase vTqvaT, „sufTa“ kerZo sakuTreba.

sakuTrebrivma urTierTobebma, m.S. TviT kerZo sakuTrebam, dRidan Camoyalibebisa, seriozuli cvlilebebi ganicada. XVIII saukuneSi evropis qveynebSi damkvidrebul kapitalistur kerZo sakuTrebas, wvrili saqonel­warmoebis msgavsad, kavSiri hqonda sasaqonlo warmoebasa da gacvlasTan, magram im gansxvavebiT, rom aq warmoebis saSualebebi, warmoebis mowyobis fulad-materialuri resursebi ZiriTadad sazogadoebis erTi (mcire) nawi­lis xelSi iyo, romelsac am faseulobis mewarmeobrivad gamoyenebis Sede­gad gazrda-gafarToebis motivacia gaaCnia. sazogadoebis danarCen nawils aseTi saSualebebi (kapitali) ar aqvs, magram warmoebis meore aucilebeli faqtoris - samuSao Zalis (Sromis) mflobelia, romlis gamo­ye­nebisaken mas moTxovnilebebis dakmayofilebis survili ubiZgebs. war­moe­bis am ori faqtoris subieqtebis bazarze Sexvedris Sedegad xdeba war­moebis orga­nizacia, romelsac safuZvlad udevs kapitalis mesakuTris (me­warmis) mier kapitalis gamoyeneba da samuSao Zalis daqiraveba. SeTanxmebis orive subieqti bazarze Tavisufalia da molaparakebis Sesabamisad iRebs sameur­neo saqmianobis Sedegad Seqmnili produqtis kuTvnil wils. am wilis anazRaurebis gareSe arc kapitalisti mohkidebs warmoebas xels da gaiRebs (gamoiyenebs mewarmeobrivad) kapitals da arc muSa gaswevs Sromas: Tu muSisaTvis es wili (xelfasi) Sromis safasuria, kapitalistisTvis mis mier miRebuli mogeba mewarmeobrivi saqmianobis, agreTve TavSekavebis da gaweuli riskis sazRauria - rom man ki ar moixmara adre monagrebul-dag­ro­vili dovlaTi, aramed daabanda mewarmeobaSi im varaudiT, rom avansi­re­bulze met mogebas daibrunebs. Seqmnili produqtis or mesakuTres (kapi­talisti - kapitalis mesakuTre, muSa - Sromis mesakuTre) Soris ganawileba Tavisufal bazarze moTxovnisa da miwodebis kanonis moqmedebidan gamom­dinare xdeba.

amasTan, radganac absoluturad Tavisufali bazari mxolod Teo­riuli daSvebaa, albaT, arc es urTierTobebia realurad (absoluturad) Tavisufali, gansakuTrebiT ki kapitalizmis ganviTarebis adrindel, sawyis periodSi, rodesac bazris koniunqtura TiTqmis yovelTvis kapitalis­tisTvis aris sasargeblo, bazari mTlianobaSi ufro kapitalistisaa, mas meti saSualeba aqvs ar wavides SeTanxmebaze, vidre mis kontrahents. muSa Tu bazarze Camoyalibebul pirobebze ar daTanxmda, SimSiliT mokvdeba, xolo SimSilis dakmayofilebis da sicocxlis gadarCenis muxti kapitalis gazr­dis mesakuTrul miswrafebaze Zlieria ueWvelad. amas emateba kapi­talTan SedarebiT Sromis ufro dabali elastikuroba. maSasadame, kapi­talisti Cveulebriv imaze metis miRebas aRwevs, rac mas samarTlianad (e.i. kapital­ze, sakuTar niWsa da Sromaze, gaweul riskze) ekuTvnis, bazarze misTvis permanentulad xelsayrel koniunqturasTan dakavSirebiT is mogebaze erTgvar namets iRebs. swored esaa erTgvari eqspluatacia, eqspluataciis wyaro, da ara is, rom Rirebulebas mxolod Sroma qmnis, xolo kapitalisti mis nawils (zedmet Rirebulebas) unacvalgebod isa­kuTrebs, rogorc amas marqsistebi amtkicebdnen.

droTa ganmavlobaSi, muSaTa klasisTvis bazris es araxelsayreli koniunqtura kapitalizmis ganviTarebasTan, kerZo kapitalisturi sakuT­rebis Tvisebriv cvlilebas, muSaTa klasis organizebulobis ganmtkicebas da mis materialurad momZlavrebasTan (is sul ufro meti qonebis mesa­kuTre xdeba \_ mimdinareobs e.w. „sakuTrebis difuzia“) erTad ise icvleba, rom bazarze daqiravebul muSakTa poziciebi myardeba, xolo araxelsay­reloba mcirdeba, rac, sabolood, ganawilebiTi urTierTobebis Tvisebriv cvlilebebSi gadaizrdeba \_ sul ufro ikveceba da qreba eqspluatacia. am tendenciam SesaZloa gadametebuli intensivobac ki miiRos, rac ganawi­lebiT urTierTobebs aseve daamaxinjebs; Tu muSaTa organizebuloba (profkavSirebi) monopoliur mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeba (rac mewarmeobrivi saqmianobis motivaciis mniSvnelovan Semcirebas ganapirobebs da xels aaRebinebs mewarmes kapitalis dabandebaze, ufro metis moxmarebisaken ubiZgebs mas), es ekonomikuri zrdis muxruWi gaxdeba.

sakuTrebis difuzia - saxecvlilebis Sedegad mewarmeobrivi saqmia­nobis rezultatis ganawilebaSi momxdari cvlilebebi imdenad seriozuli iyo, rom maTi aRmniSvneli specialuri terminic ki Semovida ekonomikur TeoriaSi „wilobrivi ekonomikis“ saxelwodebiT (es problema damuSave­buli aqvs inglisel ekonomists, nobelis premiis laureats jeims edvard mids). kapitalizmis ganviTarebaSi es cvlilebebi ZiriTadad me-19 saukunis bolos daiwyo da meore msoflio omis Semdgom periodSi iseTi seriozuli xasiaTi miiRo, rom ekonomikis axali modelis (socialurad orienti­re­buli sabazro ekonomikis) Camoyalibebaze daiwyo saubari. Tanac es Secvla revoluciuri wesiT ki ar momxdara, aramed evoluciurad. siaxleebi Seexo kvlavwarmoebis struqturis yvela Semadgenel nawils - warmoebas, ganawi­lebas, gacvlas da moxmarebas. amasTan, es cvlilebebi yalibdeboda ro­gorc stiqiurad (Tavisufali bazris TviTsrulyofa), ise Segnebulad (saxelmwifos, profkavSirebis, mTeli sazogadoebis mcdeloba gaekeTil­SobilebinaT sistema samarTlianobis sawyisebze).

Tvisebrivad Seicvala kerZo kapitalisturi sakuTrebis arsi saaqcio sazogadoebebSi, romlebSic (garda imisa, rom isini TavisTavad mniSv­ne­lo­vanwilad jgufur sakuTrebas warmoadgenen da ara kerZo – indivi­dualurs) marTva-gankargvas sul ufro metad mesakuTreebi ki ar uzrunvel­yofen, aramed daqiravebuli profesionali menejerebi; mimdinareobs da sul ufro Rrmavdeba kapital - funqciis kapital - sakuTrebisagan gan­calkeveba.

sakuTrebrivi urTierTobebis gakeTilSobilebis tendenciis ganmtki­cebaSi dadebiT rols asrulebs demokratiuli saxelmwifo (saxelmwifo sakuTreba). es ukanaskneli xSirad aqtiurobs ekonomikis stabiluri ganvi­Tarebis xelSewyobaSi, mwvave socialuri problemebis mogvarebaSi, kri­zi­suli Tu sxva mZime movlenebis Tavidan acilebaSi. saxelmwifo struq­tu­rebi sazogadoebaSi mzardi qonebrivi uTanasworobis saWiro da SesaZlo mosworebis, mTlianobaSi kerZosakuTrebrivi urTierTobebis Tanmdevi nega­tiuri tendenciebis Sekvecis miznebs emsaxureba mniSvnelovan­wilad. sa­xelm­wifo sakuTrebis garkveuli zomiT funqcionireba mTlia­nobaSi xels uwyobs meurneobrivi sirTuleebis gadalaxva-daZlevas, mecnierul-teq­nikuri dargebisa da mimarTulebebis (m.S. gansakuTrebiT fundamenturi ga­mokvlevebis) daCqarebul ganviTarebas, qveynis regionebis ekonomikuri mdgomareobis optimalur gamoTanabrebas, negatiuri ekolo­giuri movle­nebis likvidacias da sxv.

kapital - funqciis kapital - sakuTrebisagan gancalkevebis gaRrmave­ba-ganmtkicebam da masTan dakavSirebulma mmarTvelobiTi (menejeruli) Sromis kapital - sakuTrebisagan gamoyofam gamoiwvia is, rom erTgvarad mcirdeba da sustdeba kerZosakuTrebrivi uflebebi da mniSvnelovnad ga­fan­tulia kerZo sakuTrebis Zala (is mesakuTreTa koleqtiur Zalad gar­daiqmneba); amavdroulad farTovdeba da garkveulwilad gadamwyveti xdeba mmarTvelTa fenis, menejerebis roli; rogorc xSirad aRniSnaven, adgili aqvs mmarTvelobiT revolucias. yvelaferma aman bevr dasavlel Teore­ti­koss misca saSualeba, gaekeTebina marTlzomieri daskvna imis Taobaze, rom Tanamedrove kapitalisturi sakuTreba mTeli sazogadoebis interesebs emsaxureba.

zemoTqmulidan SeiZleba davaskvnaT, rom kapitalisturma kerZo sa­kuT­rebam, rogorc individualurma sakuTrebam, garkveulwilad dakarga ekonomikuri urTierTobebis erTaderTi ganmapirobeblis pirvandeli roli da, rac ufro mniSvnelovania, Seicvala moqmedebis xasiaTi. amitom araswori iqneboda kapitalistur urTierTobebze damyarebuli dRevandeli mewarmeobrivi saqmianoba (biznesi) ganvsazRvroT rogorc mTlianad kerzo kapitalisturi. TviT termini „kapitalisturis“ xmareba ki kanonzomieria, vinaidan kapitalis cneba ZiriTadad im urTierTobebis arss asaxavs, romlebic mewarmeobriv saqmianobaSi yalibdeba.

SeiZleba iTqvas, rom dRes Tavisufali mewarmeobis principebze organizebuli warmoebisaTvis mniSvnelovanwilad damaxasiaTebelia, kerZo sakuTrebasTan erTad, jgufuri (korporaciuli) da saxelmwifo sakuTreba. mosazreba, romelic sabWour politekonomiaSi iyo gabatonebuli, da romlis mixedviT sazogadoebriv sakuTrebas mxolod yofil socialistur banakSi arsebul saxelmwifo da koleqtiur sakuTrebas uwodebdnen, prin­cipulad arasworia. sazogadoebrivia mniSvnelovanwilad jgufuri aqcio­neruli sakuTrebac; saaqcio kapitali sapaio sawyisebze damyarebuli sazo­gadoebrivi, asocirebuli kapitalia. es sakuTrebis koleqtiuri, korpora­ciuli da individualuri sakuTrebis Serwymis Taviseburi warmo­naqmnia da ara sufTa saxis kerZo sakuTreba.

mocemulma msjelobam ar unda datovis STabeWdileba, TiTqos dRevan­deli kapitalisturi sistema yovelgvari winaaRmdegobrivi movlenebis gareSe viTardeba, TiTqos aq absoluturad idealuri sakuTrebrivi urTie­rTobebia damyarebuli. saubaria ganviTarebis saerTo tendenciebze, rom­lebSic (iseve, rogorc ganviTarebuli qveynebis socialur - ekonomikur mdgomareobaSi) bevria winaaRmdegoba, problema, romlebic garkveul pirobebsa da periodebSi sakmaod mwvave xasiaTs iRebs.

sabazro ekonomikis yvela qveyanaSi amJamad damkvidrebulia sakuT­rebis pluralizmi, sazogadoebis wevrebis survilis Sesabamisad yvelgan arsebobs da wamyvani adgili ukavia imave erTgvarad saxeSecvlil kerZo sakuTrebas. es ki imas niSnavs, rom uzrunvelyofilia ekonomikuri demok­ratia, ekonomikuri Tavisufleba, romelic ganapirobebs (rogorc bazisuri movlena) politikur demokratias, politikur Tavisuflebas. e.i. adamiani, individi Tvisufalia imis arCevanSi, Tu rogor, ra formiT mohkidebs is xels bizness (mewarmeobriv saqmianobas) - damoukideblad, rogorc kerZo (individualuri) mewarme Tu sxva mesakuTreebTan gaaerTianebs an gaasesxebs Tavis kapitals, ra aris misTvis xelsayreli, warmoebis organizaciis rogori forma iqneba misTvis ufro sargebliani, ufro mogebiani; is Tvisu­falia amavdroulad Tvisi Semosavlis (mogebis) gamoyenebaSi. pirvel rigSi mesakuTreTa es motivacia - survilebi (plus amas xelisuflebis SedarebiT umniSvnelo zegavlena, gamomdinare saerTo saxelmwifo amocanebidan, saxalxo meurneobis mTlianad ganviTarebisa da misi calkeuli dargebis specifikidan) ganapirobebs imas, rom dRes Tavisufali mewarmeobis qvey­nebSi gavrcelebulia (ganzogadebulad) sakuTrebis Semdegi formebi: indi­vi­dualuri kerZo sakuTreba; koleqtiuri (kooperaciuli) sakuTreba; saxelm­wifo sakuTreba da Sereuli sakuTreba.

realur cxovrebaSi (sxvadasxva dargebSi, saxelmwifoebSi, regio­neb­Si) gvxvdeba sakuTrebis am formebis gansxvavebuli saxeobebi, sakuTrebis am ganzogadebuli formebis sxvadasxvanairi tipebi. garda amisa, arsebobs sakuTrebrivi uflebebis ranJirebac: SeiZleba, magaliTad, sakuTrebis umaRlesi ufleba (gankargva) hqondes erT mesakuTres, gamoyenebisa da flo­bis ufleba ki meores (Cven mier zemoT naxsenebi trasti). saerTod, sakuT­rebriv urTierTobebs warmoebis dRevandeli organizaciis realobaSi metad rTuli xasiaTi aqvs da es sirTule gansakuTrebiT saaqcio sazoga­doebis da maT msgavs sawyisebze moqmed sxva sameurneo subieqtebs axasia­Tebs. saaqcio sazogadoebis (da misTana formirebebis) realuri kapitali mTlianobaSi mniSvnelovanwilad funqcionirebs rogorc korporaciuli kapitali; misi saqmianobis Sedegis solidur nawils saaqcio sazogado­ebaSi momuSave wevrebi da daqiravebuli muSakebi euflebian da gamoiyeneben (ganageben). amavdroulad, TiToeuli aqcioneri (miuxedavad imisa, muSaobs Tu ara uSualod sazogadoebaSi) sazogadoebis saqmianobis Sedegebidan iRebs Semosavals dividendebis saxiT, gamomdinare mis sakuTrebaSi arse­buli aqciebis moculobidan (e.i. misi individualuri kapitalis sidididan). maSasadame, aqcioneruli sakuTreba kerZo individualuri sakuTrebis koleqtiur (sazogadoebriv) sakuTrebad Taviseburi gardaqmna-gardasaxvis Sedegia. sakuTrebis aqcionerul formas ki metad mniSvnelovani adgili ukavia yvela ganviTarebul qveyanaSi.

sakuTrebis floba, misi gankargvis ufleba ganawyobs mesakuTres misi SenarCuneba-gazrdisaken, es gazrda ki sakuTrebis mewarmeobriv saqmiano­baSi gamoyenebiTaa SesaZlebeli. sakuTrebis kvlavwarmoebaSi CarTva ki niSnavs, rom mesakuTre erTveba konkurenciul brZolaSi, vinaidan sasa­qonlo urTierTobebis pirobebSi sameurneo saqmianoba imanenturad meto­qeob­rivia, aucileblad Sejibrebas gulisxmobs. maSasadame, mewarmeobriv saqmianobas rom hkidebs xels, mesakuTrem (Tu is uSualod warmarTvs warmoebas) an mis mier daqiravebulma mmarTvelma (menejerma) unda gamoiCinon Sesabamisi mondomneba, niWi, sazrianoba, codna da unari, raTa am paeqrobaSi dadebiTi Sedegi miiRos. asea es yovelTvis, aseT pirobebSia warmoebaSi CarTuli kapitalis uklebliv yvela mesakuTre da mmarTveli. maSasadame, ubiZgebs ra yvela monawiles sargebliani saqmianoba – Sro­mi­saken, kerZo sakuTreba (kapitali) warmoCindeba siaxlis maZiebel mwar­moeblur Zalad. e.i. SeiZleba iTqvas, kapitals, rogorc sakuTrebas, Semoq­medebiTi funqciac aqvs. misi SemoqmedebiToba ki biznesSi poulobs asaxvas.

ra Tqma unda, yvela adamians ar aqvs biznesmenis (mewarmeobrivi) talanti. saqmis organizacia da gaZRola, komerciuli saqmianobis unari iseTive Tandayolili niWia, albaT, rogorc, magaliTad, musikosis, msa­xiobis an sxva dargis xelovanisa. niWieri, unariani biznesmenebi, SeiZ­leba iTqvas, xalxis, qveynis „oqros fondia“. amitom sazogadoeba, saxelm­wifo yvelafers unda akeTebdes saimisod, rom adamianebSi mewarmeobrivi suli (muxti) ki ar Caqres, aramed maqsimalurad gamJRavndes, ganviTardes da gai­Salos.

biznesmenoba - es aris cdebi, moigono da gaakeTo raime axali an gaaum­jobeso ukve arsebuli; mewarmeoba realobad aqcevs mraval saintereso ideas; Tavisufal mewarmeobaSi srulad gamoiyeneba adamianis bunebrivi pativmoyvareoba, misi imanenturi miswrafeba TviTrealizaciisa da TviT­damkvidrebisaken. amasTan, moaqvs ra sikeTe Tavisi TvisaTvis, mewarme (biz­nesmeni) moqmedebs sazogadoebis sasargeblod. vinaidan komerciis ZiriT­adi motivi mewarmis sakuTari materialuri da moraluri mdgoma­reobis ganmtkicebaa, biznesmeni iZulebulia ganuwyvetliv ifiqros da imoqmedos, eZebos da ipovos axali gzebi da gadawyvetilebebi. mewarmeoba ver itans, ar egueba uZraobas, umoqmedobas da modunebas. amavdroulad mewarmeobrivi saqmianobisaTvis aucilebelma metoqeobam ar unda gamoiw­vios Suri da siZulvili, yovel SemTxvevaSi, mewarme, isev sakuTari inte­resebidan gamom­dinare, unda ecados CaaxSos, moTokos aseTi ganwyoba, ecados iyos sxve­bisadmi loialuri.

aseT ganwyoba-qmedebas mTel ekonomikaSi ganuwyvetliv unda uwyobdes xels saxelmwifo mTeli Tavisi SesaZleblobebiT imisaTvis, rom biznesi, mewarmeobrivi saqmianoba maqsimalurad sasargeblo gaxdes rogorc Tavad mewarmis, aseve mTeli sazogadoebisaTvis.

**daskvna**

nebismieri qveynis sazogadoebis keTildReobis uzrunvelyofis saqmeSi mniSvnelovani roli ekuTvnis imas, Tu rogor aqvs mas gaTavisebuli Tvisi sameurneo saqmianobis ganmsazRvreli (sabaziso) mizezebi (sakuTreb­rivi urTierTobebi da maT mier gamowveuli saqmianobis motivacia) da ro­gor iyenebs maT sasurveli Sedegis (keTildReobis amaRlebis) misaRwe­vad. Tavis istoriaSi kacobrioba sakuTrebis or formas icnobda - kerZo sakuTrebas da sazogadoebriv sakuTrebas. maTi Tanaarseboba da Tanafar­doba ganapirobebda socialur-ekonomikuri wesrigis arss, ekonomikuri saqmianobis rezultats. amasTan, kerZo sakuTrebas, rogorc adamianebis mewarmeobrivi Tu mTlianad meurneobrivi saqmianobis motivaciis ganmsaz­Rv­rel substancias, yovelTvis ZiriTadi, gabatonebuli adgili ekava. swored am urTierTobebSi garkveva, maTi saukeTeso Sexameba da SesaZ­le­blobebis gamoyeneba iqneba Cvens qveyanaSi socialuri orientaciis da, dovlaT-sikeTis zrdis TvalsazrisiT maRalSedegiani warmoebis wesis warmatebiT damkvidreba-ganviTarebis, mosaxleobis cxovrebis donis amaRlebis amocanis gadawyvetis erT-erTi ZiriTadi saSualeba.

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**PROPERTY AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP**

**Expanded Summary**

For almost three decades, Georgia has been in a difficult process of moving from one economic formation to another. Along with the social and political outcomes achieved in this transition period, the situation in the pure economic sense (human welfare) is so severe, which causes many reasons. Among them is one of the main causes of the decline of the economic development of the society (its economic structures) - the lack of private property and the lack of ownership in the use of incompatibility.

Property, as an economic category, expresses the relationship between people and their behavior. But there is no property without entrepreneurship. If the property is not involved in the enterprise, property does not grow, it remains unchainged and usually decreases.

From the day of creation privet property relationships was changed. Even those changes, which occurred during the development of capitalism, were so impressive and serious, that got a special term, in which they came to the economic theory under the title "equity economy".

The essence of private capitalist property has been substantially changed in equity societies - owners do not provide joint stocks even more, but hired professional managers do; more and more positive role is in improving the relations of a democratic state (state property).

These and other processes related to property relations,

allowed western economic theorists to make the right conclusion that modern capitalist property serves the interests of the whole community (society).

In fact, capitalist private property, as individual property, has lost the role of the determinant of economic relations. That's why it would be incorrect to determine, that the business based on capitalist relations as a whole private capitalist. It can be said that today the organizational structure of free entrepreneurship principle is characterized by a considerable characteristic of private property, group (corporate) and state ownership.

The idea, which was dominated by Soviet economic theory, according to which public property could only be the state and collective property of the socialist camp, is wrong - the ownership of the shareholder society is public; equity capital, based on retairement capital, is public capital. This is a kind of collective, corporate and individual property merger, and not a clean type of private property.

In addition, in the democratic states the individual: is free to choose how, in what way make business; will unite its equity with others or independently start business; decides, what form of organizing the product will be more profitable and more profitable for him. This proprietary charge, protected by democratic countries, determines in free countries that the following forms of ownership are: individual private property; collective (cooperative) property; state ownership and mixed property. In addition, there are also ranks of ownership rights: for example, a higher right of ownership (disposal) may have one owner, the right to use and own – the other one.

Generally the poroperty relationships are very difficult in the reality of today's production organization, and these difficulties are especially characteristic to joint-stock companies. The real capital of the joint stock company is operating as corporate capital; a solid part of the outcome of its activities is owned and used by the working members of the joint stock company and its hired workers. At the same time, each shareholder receives incomes in the form of dividends. Therefore the shareholder's property is the result of transfer of private individual property into collective (public) ownership – and, as you know, the shareholding form of ownership will be the most important place in all developed countries.

Ownership of the property, the right to dispose it - spurs the owner to maintain – increase property. And this increase is possible only through business. Involvement in property ownership means that the owner is involved in a competitive struggle. Therefore, private ownership (capital) will be the productive force of the novelty.

That’s why the society, state should do everything to develop and dissolve entrepreneurial (ownership) spirit (the charge).

The two forms of human ownership - private property and public ownership - had historically always coexistenced, and it’s still the essence of socio-economic order, of the result of economic activity. In addition, the private property as the entrepreneurial determinant of people's entrepreneurial motivation is always in the dominant position. In this respect, we have to understand that their best combination and use should be the main means of improving the economic development of our country, of raising the welfare of the population.

***Keywords:*** *Property, property relations, entrepreneurship, business, motivation, welfare, rivalry, socially oriented economic system.*

**magistrantebisa da doqtorantebis samecniero naSromebi**

**SCIENTIFIC WORKS OF UNDERGRADUATES AND DOCTORAL STUDENTS**

***iza bukia***

*Tsu-s doqtoranti*

**mogebis gadasaxadis estonuri modeli - ekonomikuri zrdis perspeqtiva**

***reziume.***  *naSromSi ganxilulia erT-erTi mniSvnelovani sakanonmdeblo cvlileba saqarTvelos sagadasaxado kodeqsSi, romlis Tanaxmadac mogebis gadasaxadiT dabegvris arsebuli modeli Seicvala estonuri modeliT. gaanalizebulia Tu ras iTvaliswinebs aRniSnuli modeli, cvlilebis Se­de­gad mosalodneli riskebi, prognozi moklevadian da grZelvadian pers­peqtivaSi, aseve Sefasebulia pirveladi Sedegebi.*

***sakvanZo sityvebi:*** *mogebis gadasaxadi; estonuri modeli; aqcizi; sagadasaxado reforma.*

**Sesavali**

saqarTvelos biujetis umetesi nawili (daaxl. 92%) Sedgeba sagadasaxado Semosavlebisgan, amitom metad mniSvnelovania iseTi sakanonmdeblo cvlilebebis gatareba, romelic erTi mxriv, biznessa da mewarmeebze iqneba morgebuli da meore mxriv, sabiujeto saxsrebis mobilizebas Seuwyobs xels. aqedan gamomdinare, Zalian mniSvnelovania im cvlilebis ganxilva, romelic exeba mogebis gadasaxadis arsebuli modelis estonuri modeliT Canacvlebas (amoqmedda 2017 wlis 1 ianvridan). zemoT xsenebuli cvlileba erTgvari gamowvevaa saqarTvelos ekonomikisTvis, radgan sabiujeto Semo­savlebi mogebis gadasaxadis WrilSi weliwadSi daaxloebiT 400 milioni lariT mcirdeba. Tumca, igi Zalian didi stimulia mewarmeebisTvis, radgan maT saSualeba eZlevaT ar dabegron reinvestirebuli mogeba, rac biznesis gafarToebis garantiaa.

**estoneTisa da saqarTvelos mogebis gadasaxadis modelebis**

**SedarebiTi analizi**

ganawilebuli mogebis gadasaxadi estoneTSi ukve 18 welia moqmedebs da regulirdeba saSemosavlo gadasaxadis aqtiT, romelic ZalaSi 2000 wels Sevida. ganawilebuli mogebis gadasaxadiT dabegvras eqvemdebareba:

1. sakuTriv ganawilebuli mogeba;
2. TanamSromlebis saxelfaso sargebeli;
3. Cuqeba, Sewiruloba da warmomadgenlobiTi xarjebi;
4. zogierTi xarji an/da ganacemi, romelic ar aris dakavSirebuli kompaniis samewarmeo saqmianobasTan.

amasTan aRsaniSnavia, rom ganawilebuli mogebisa da saSemosavlo gadasaxadis ganakveTi erTnairia (20%), im mizniT, rom Tavidan iqnes aci­lebuli ganawilebuli mogebis xelfasad gaformebis, an, piriqiT, xel­fa­sis ganawilebul mogebad dakvalificirebis riski. aseve am modelis Tavisebureba mdgomareobs SemdegSi: ibegreba calkeuli tipis xarji. kerZod xarji, romelic ar ukavSirdeba ekonomikur saqmianobas, an ar aris dokumenturad dadasturebuli, rac xarjebis gavliT mogebis Sefarulad ganawilebis prevenciaa (es 2017 wlamde moqmedi kanonmdeblobiT is xar­je­bia, romlebic erToblivi Semosavlidan ar gamoiqviTeba). iqidan gamomdi­nare, rom ganawilebuli mogebis gadasaxadis gamoTvla ar moiT­xovs cal­keuli Semosavlebis detalur analizs da aqcenti gadatanilia mxolod fuladi ganacemebis kontrolze, misi administrirebac ufro iolia. mniSvnelovania agreTve is faqti, rom ganawilebuli gadasaxadis modelSi kompaniis sagadasaxado mogeba da finansuri mogeba erTmaneTis tolia (rac gansxvavebulia 2017 wlamde moqmedi qarTuli modelisagan).

rac Sexeba saqarTveloSi 2017 wlis 1 ianvramde moqmed mogebis gada­saxadis models, rezidenti sawarmos mogebis gadasaxadiT dabegvris obieqti iyo dasabegri mogeba (15%). igi ganisazRvreboda, rogorc sxvaoba gadasaxadis gadamxdelis erTobliv Semosavalsa da am kodeqsiT gaTva­lis­winebuli gamoqviTvebis Tanxebs Soris (rogorc zemoT aRvniSneT, 2017 wlamde moqmedi kanonmdeblobiT, kompaniis finansuri mogeba da saga­da­saxado mogeba erTmaneTis toli ar iyo).

mogebis gadasaxadis is modeli, romelic ZalaSi Sevida 2017 wlidan, ra Tqma unda, ar aris estoneTSi moqmedi modelis analogi, radgan aq ga­saT­valiswinebelia rigi faqtorebi, romelic damaxasiaTebelia saqarT­veloSi moqmedi kanonmdeblobisTvis da zogadad sagadasaxado politi­kisTvis. amitom, mocemuli modelis mixedviT (ganakveTi darCa igive - 15%) rezidenti sawarmosTvis dabegvris obieqti ganisazRvreba Semdegnairad:

1. ganawilebuli mogeba (ganawilebuli mogeba aris mogeba, romel­sac sawarmos anawilebs mis partniorze dividendis saxiT, fu­ladi an arafuladi formiT);
2. gaweuli xarji an sxva gadaxda, romelic ekonomikur saqmiano­basTan ar aris dakavSirebli;
3. usasyidlod saqonlis miwodeba/momsaxurebis gaweva an/da fu­ladi saxsrebis gacema;
4. am kodeqsiT dadgenil zRvrul odenobaze meti odenobiT gaweuli warmomadgenlobiTi xarji.

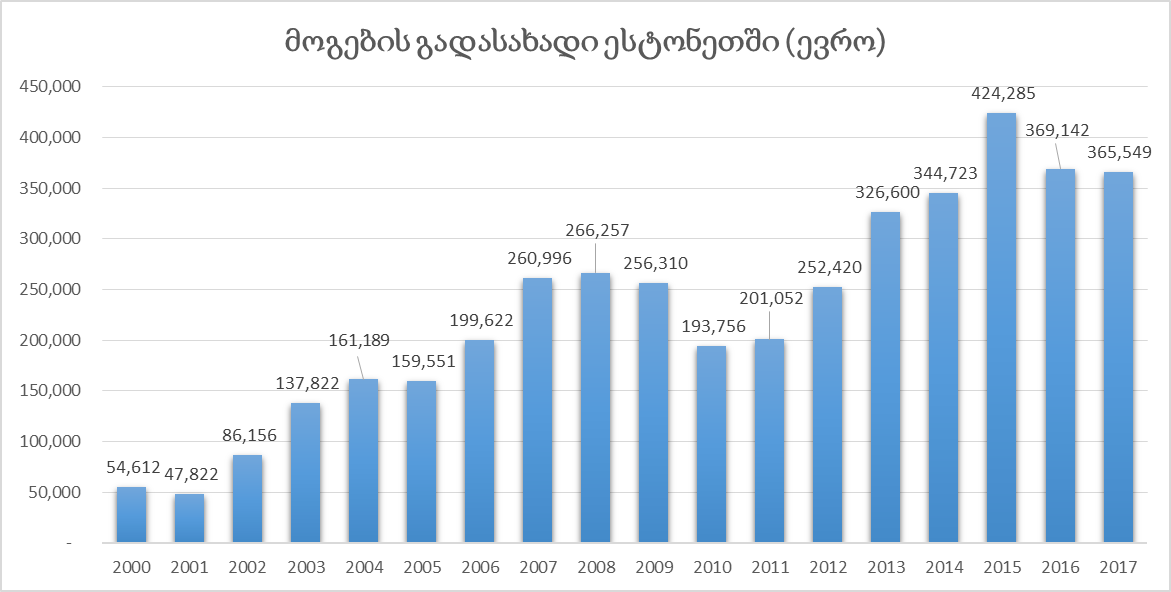
rac Seexeba komerciul banks, sakredito kavSirs, sadazRvevo organizacias, mikrosafinanso organizacias da lombards, xolo, tota­lizatoris sistemur-eleqtronuli formiT momwyob pirs am saqmianobis nawilSi, maTTvis mogebis gadasaxadiT dabegvris obieqti 2019 wlis 1 ianvramde darCa igive, anu sxvaoba kalendaruli wlis ganmavlobaSi miRe­bul erTobliv Semosavalsa da am kodeqsiT gaTvaliswinebuli gamo­qviT­vebis Tanxebs Soris.

am mniSvnelovani sakanonmdeblo cvlilebis mizania, xeli Seuwyos mewarmeebs, ganaviTaron TavianTi biznesi da ar daibegros is Tanxebi, rom­lebic reinvestirebas moxmardeba. es, Tavis mxriv, xels Seuwyobs biznesis gafarToebas, rac aseve axali samuSao adgilebis Seqmnis garantia.

**reformis Sedegebi estoneTSi da perspeqtivebi saqarTveloSi**

rTulia zustad imis gansazRvra, Tu ra Sedegebi eqneba am reformas grZelvadian perspeqtivaSi saqarTveloSi, Tumca, ra Tqma, unda zogadi gaTvlebi gakeTebulia, aseve gvaqvs pirveli wlis Sedegic, romlis saSua­lebiTac SesaZlebelia savaraudo daskvnebi gavakeToT.

Tu gadavxedavT mis Sedegebs estoneTSi, savaraudo warmodgena SeiZ­leba Segveqmnas SesaZlo Sedegze grZelvadian perspeqtivaSi. estoneTSi am modelis miRebis (2000) Semdgom (ix. diagrama 1) mogebis gadasaxadidan Semo­suli Semosavlebi mkveTrad mcirdeba, Tumca 2003 wlidan gadaaswro re­for­mamdel niSnuls (1999 weli - 107 mln). aqve gasaTvaliswinebelia re­for­mis Semdgom periodSi arsebuli ekonomikuri krizisi da agreTve Semci­re­buli mogebis gadasaxadis ganakveTi 26%-dan 20%-mde (2015 wlidan ganakveTi ukve 20%-ia), romelic estoneTSi mimdinareobda 2000-2017 wlebSi (xolo saqarTveloSi aRniSnuli reformis SemoRebisas ar Secvlila mogebis gadasaxdis ganakveTi da darCa igive (15%), rac safuZvels gvaZlevs vivarau­doT, rom saqarTveloSi SesaZloa ar hqondes iseTive mkveTrad gamoxatuli dadebiTi Sedegi, rogorc hqonda estoneTSi).



**diagrama 1**

***wyaro: Statistics Estonia –*** [***www.Stat.ee***](http://www.Stat.ee)

mocemuli diagramidan naTlad Cans reformis dadebiTi Sedegi grZelvadian perspeqtivaSi. ganawilebuli mogebis gadasaxadis modelis naklad SeiZleba CaiTvalos is, rom igi ar aris gavrcelebuli masobrivad da moklevadian perspetivaSi aqvs uaryofiTi Sedegi, radgan mcirdeba sabiujeto Semosavlebi mogebis gadasaxadis WrilSi. aman SesaZloa ga­moiw­vios biujetis deficiti, biujetis deficitis aRmosafxvrelad ki saWiroa xarjebis Semcireba da swored es faqti unda iqnes gaTvalis­winebuli saqarTvelos SemTxvevaSi, Tu ramdenad SeuZlia saxelmwifos biujetis deficitis daZleva. ramdenadac estoneTSi mogebis gadasaxads mTliani gadasaxadebis WrilSi umniSvnelo wili aqvs (daaxl. 6-7%), refor­mas didi deficiti ar gamouwvevia biujetSi, xolo saqarTvelos SemTxve­vaSi mogebis gadasaxadis wili sabiujeto SemosavlebSi 12-13% Soris (daaxloebiT 800-900 mln lari) meryeobda, rac did gavlenas axdens mTlian sagadasaxado Semosulobebze. estonuri modelis amoqmedebis Semdeg, 2017 wlis Sedegebis mixedviT, mogebis gadasaxadis wili sagada­saxado Semosav­lebSi aris 7,7% (756 mln lari), xolo Tanxobrivad mogebis gadasaxadi daaxloebiT 300 mln lariTaa Semcirebuli.

Tumca aqve aRsaniSnavia, rom rodesac mTavrobis mier iqna gacxade­buli iniciativa aRniSnuli mosalodneli cvlilebis Sesaxeb 2015 wels (romelic 13.05.2016 - N5092 parlamentis kanoniT ZalaSi Sevida 2017 wlis 1 ianvridan), mosalodneli biujetis deficitis Sesamcireblad, mTavrobam miiRo rigi gadawyvetilebebi, rogoricaa mag., aqcizis gadasaxadis gazrda (periodulad sxvadasxva produqciaze), sxvadasxva struqturuli erTeu­lebis mier gasawevi xarjebis Semcireba. diagrama 2-ze mocemulia mogebisa da aqcizis gadasaxadebi 2011-2017 ww. saqarTveloSi. rogorc monacemebidn Cans, 2011 wels mogebis gadasaxadis wili SedarebiT maRalia vidre aqcizis, magram mogebis gadasaxadiT dabegvris estonuri modelis Sesaxeb sakanon­m­deblo iniciativis gacxadebisTanave (2015), vinaidan mosalodneli iyo biujetis deficiti, mis dasabalanseblad aqcizis ganakveTi gaizarda sxvadasxva produqciaze (mag., Tambaqoze 2015 wels 2-jer, 2016 da 2017 wels) periodulad, ramac 2016 wels mogebisa da aqcizis gadasaxadebidan Semosu­li Semosavlebis gaTanabreba gamoiwvia, xolo ukve 2017 wels, rodesac ZalaSi Sevida aRniSnuli sakanonmdeblo cvlileba mogebis gadasaxadiT dabegvris axali modelis Sesaxeb, rogorc mosalodneli iyo, Semcirda mogebis gadasaxadidan Semosuli Semosavlebi, xolo aqcizidan Semosulma gadasaxadma mkveTrad gadaaWarba mogebis gadasaxadis wils. swored is mosalodneli (daaxl. 400 mln) deficiti, gadaifara aqcizis gadasaxadiT 2017 wels, ramac SesaZlebeli gaxada SedarebiT dabalansebuliyo mogebis gadasaxadiT dabegvris estonuri modelis SemoRebiT gamowveuli biujetis deficiti.

**mogebisa da aqcizis gadasaxadebi 2011-2017 ww.**

**(mln lari)**

**diagrama 2**

***wyaro: saqarTvelos saxelmwifo xazina*** [***http://treasury.ge/5629***](http://treasury.ge/5629)

saqarTvelos finansTa saministros mier warmodgenil 2018 wlis biuje­tis gegmaSi, aseve asaxulia mosalodneli Sedegebi mogebisa da aqcizis gadasaxadis WrilSi, sadac mogeba Seadgens 630 mln lars (6,1%), xolo aqcizi 1,450 mln lars (14,1%).

rogorc aRvniSneT, zemoxsenebuli cvlileba aris grZelvadian periodze gaTvlili sagadasaxado politikis nawili, misi mizania, Seiqmnas same­war­meo aqtivobis mastimulirebeli sagadasaxado sistema, gaizardos kapita­lis moculoba, gaumjobesdes sainvesticio garemo, radgan, Tavis mxriv, ganviTarebuli biznesi da sagadasaxado sistema ekonomikis ganviTarebis xelSemwyob meqanizms warmoadgens, rac grZelvadian periodSi ekonomikuri zrdis gaumjobesebisTvis mniSvnelovani biZgi iqneba.

**daskvna**

saqarTvelos ekonomikisTvis metad mniSvnelovania iseTi sagadasa­xado politikis gatareba, romelic saSualebas miscems mewarmeebs, daiwyon da ganaviTaron biznesi. am mizniT saqarTvelos sagadasaxado kodeqsSi 2017 wlis 1 ianvridan ZalaSi Sevida mogebis gadasaxadis estonuri modeli. am modelis upiratesoba gamoixateba imaSi, rom mewarmeebs saSualeba eZle­vaT, ar daibegros reinvestirebuli mogeba, rac, Tavis mxriv, biznesis ga­far­Toebis sawindaria. naklovanebad SegviZlia miviCnioT biujetis Semo­savlebis Semcireba mogebis gadasaxadis WrilSi (moklevadian period­Si), romelmac SesaZloa gamoiwvios biujetis deficiti. am disbalansis aRmo­safxvrelad Semcirebulia sxvadasxva struqturuli erTeulebis mier gasawevi xarjebi da gazrdilia aqcizis gadasaxadi sxvadasxva pro­duq­ciaze.

swori da mizanmimarTuli sagadasaxado politikis gatareba mewar­meobis ganviTarebis safuZvelia, kerZod, igi xels Seuwyobs kapitalis moculobis gazrdas, sainvesticio garemos gaumjobesebas, aris stimuli, rom mewarmeebma Seqmnan an gaafarToon biznesi, rac, Tavis mxriv, ekonomikuri zrdis garantia.

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**THE ESTONIAN MODEL OF PROFIT TAX – THE PROSPECT OF ECONOMIC GROWTH**

**Expanded Summary**

The most part of Georgia’s budget (approximately 92%) is made up of tax revenues, that is why it is very important to implement such legislative amendments, which, on the one hand, business and entrepreneurs will be tailored and on the other hand, to mobilize budget founds. Therefore, it is very important to consider the change, which refers to the replacement of the existing profit tax model with the Estonian model (since January 1, 2017). The above mentioned change is a challenge for the Georgian economy, because budget revenues are reduced by 400 million GEL per year in terms of profit tax. However, it is a great stimulus for entrepreneurs, because they have the opportunity of not levying tax of reinvestment profit, which is a guarantee of business expansion.

Distributed profit tax in Estonia it has already been working for 18 years and it is regulated by The Income Tax Act, which entered into force in 2000. Distributed profit tax is subject to taxation:

1. Distributed profit;
2. Payroll benefits of employees;
3. Gift, donation and representation expenses;
4. Some expenses and/or deduction that are not related to the company’s entrepreneurial activities.

It should be noted, that the distributed profit tax and income tax rate is the same (20%), whereas, company tax profit and financial profit are equal to each other. (Which is different from the Georgian model operating until 2017).

As to the profit tax model acting on January 1, 2017, the taxable profit of a resident enterprise was taxable profit (15%). It was defined as the difference between the taxable income of the taxpayer and considering the deductions by this Code.

The profit tax model, which came into force from 2017, (Rate remained the same – 15%) the object of taxation for a resident enterprise is defined as follows:

1. Distributed profit; (Distributed profit is profit, which is distributed by the enterprise as a dividend to its partner, in cash or non-monetary form)
2. Costs incurred or other payments, which is not related to economic activity;
3. Deliver the goods/services and/or provide cash for free;
4. The cost of representative expenditure of the amount exceeding the limit set by this Code.

As regards, commercial bank, credit union, insurance organization, microfinance organization and pawnshop, whereas, the person who works in the systematic-electronic form of the totalizator in this part of the activity, for them the object of taxation remained the same until January 1, 2019 – so it is the difference between the taxable income of the taxpayer and the considering the deductions by this Code in the calendar year.

If we look at its results in Estonia, revenues from the profit tax after the adoption of this model (2000) are dramatically reduced, however, since 2003, it has reached the mark of the reform (1999 – 107 million). Here also should be considered the economic crisis in the post-reform period and as well as reduced profit tax rate from 26% to 20% (since the rate has already been 20% since 2015), which was held in Estonia in 2000-2017. However, in spite of this, the amount which has received from the profit tax in 2015 has reached its maximum (approximately 425 million). Distributed profit tax model may be considered a defective that it is not spread massively and short-term perspective has a negative result, because budgetary revenues are decreasing in profit tax margin. This may result in a budget deficit. In the case of Georgia, the profit tax rate in the budget revenues varied between 12-13% (about 800-900 million GEL), which has a big impact total tax revenues. After the launch of the Estonian model, according to the results of 2017, the profit tax rate in tax revenues is 7.7% (756 million GEL), whereas profit tax is reduced approximately by 300 million GEL.

However, it should be noted, when the initiative was announced by the Government about this expected change in 2015 (which was adopted by the Law on Parliament of Georgia on 13.05.2016 – N5092, so it come into force from 01 January 2017), in order to reduce the expected budget deficit, the government has adopted a number of decisions such as: increase excise tax (periodically different products), reduction of costs incurred by various structural units. For example: if we compare profit and excise taxes in 2011-2015, the profit tax rate is relatively high than excise, but announcement of the initiative of legislative about the Estonian model of profit tax (2015), since the budget deficit was expected, in order to balance it, the excise rate has increased periodically on various products, which led to the equalization of revenues from profit and excise taxes in 2016 and in 2017, when this legislative amendment has already entered into force about a new model of taxation of profit tax, as expected, revenues from profit tax decreased, however, tax revenue from excise dramatically exceeded the share of profit tax. That's an expected (approximately 400 million) deficits, have filled up an excise tax in 2017, which made it possible to be relatively balanced budget deficit caused by the introduction of the Estonian model by taxing profit.

As we mentioned, this change is a part of the tax policy considered for a long term, its goal is to create a tax system that stimulates entrepreneurial activity, increase the volume of capital, improve the investment environment, because in turn, developed business and tax system are mechanisms for promoting economic development, which will be a major push for economic growth in the long term.

***lela guledani***

*ivane javaxiSvilis saxelobis*

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*doqtoranti*

**mcire inovaciuri sawarmoebis klasteris Seqmnis meTodika saqarTveloSi**

***reziume.*** *21-e saukunis dasawyisSi mowinave ekonomikis mqone TiTqmis yvela saxelmwifos interesSia erovnuli konkurentunarianobis zrdaze orien­tirebuli regionuli inovaciuri sistemisa da klasterebis ganviTarebis politikis xelSewyoba, rogorc saSualeba ekonomikuri zrdisa da ganvi­TarebisaTvis.*

*msoflio praqtikis mravali magaliTi adasturebs, rom warmoebis organizaciis klasteruli forma yvelaze xelsayrelia inovaciuri pro­cesisTvis. klasteri xels uwyobs masSi Semavali dainteresebuli pirebis TanamSromlobas, regionis unikaluri kompetenciebis formirebas, sawar­moe­bisa da organizaciebis koncentrirebas konkretul teritoriaze.*

*Tanamedrove saqarTvelos ekonomikis ZiriTadi amocanaa inovaciuri procesebis aqtivizacia da inovaciur ganviTarebaze gadasvla. amasTan dakavSirebiT, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas moiTxovs is amocanebi, romlebic dakavSirebulia inovaciuri klasterebis, rogorc damoukidebeli mov­lenis, gamoyofasTan.*

*saqarTveloSi unda Camoyalibdes inovaciuri ganviTarebisaTvis xel­sayreli faqtorebis erToblioba. unda Seiqmnas klasterebis mxar­daWeris saxelmwifo zomebisa da meqanizmebis sistema, romelic uzrunvel­yofs regionebis, klasterSi Semavali sawarmoebis konkurentunarianobis zrdas, aseve inovaciebis danergvas.*

*klasteruli koncefciis danergvis daCqareba xels Seuwyobs mcire inovaciuri biznesis ganviTarebas saqarTveloSi. klastruli struq­turebis mxardaWera da Seqmna SeiZleba winsvlis sawindari gaxdes sa­xel­m­wi­fosa da TiToeuli teritoriuli warmonaqmnisaTvis.*

***sakvanZo sityvebi:*** *klasteri, klasteruli politika, klasteruli iniciativa, inovaciuri klasteri.*

**Sesavali**

Tanamedrove ekonomikaSi calkeuli teritoriuli warmonaqmnebis (re­gioni, Stati, olqi) inovaciuri ganviTarebisaTvis didi mniSvneloba eni­Weba klasterebs, romelic sawarmoebis, saxelmwifos, mecnierebis, safi­nanso-sakredito dawesebulebebis, saswavleblebisa da sxvaTa TanamSrom­lobazea agebuli.

klasteri finansuri da inteleqtualuri kapitalis integraciis erT-erTi yvelaze efeqturi formaa, romelic konkurentul upiratesobas uz­run­velyofs. klasteris SemadgenlobaSi yofna inovaciur sawarmos far­To SesaZleblobebs aZlevs, kerZod, Tavisufal xelmisawvdomobas resur­seb­ze, informaciasa da kreditebze.

msoflio praqtikis mravali magaliTi adasturebs, rom warmoebis organizaciis klasteruli forma yvelaze xelsayrelia inovaciuri pro­cesisTvis. klasteri xels uwyobs masSi Semavali dainteresebuli pirebis TanamSromlobas, regionis unikaluri kompetenciebis formirebas, sawar­moe­bisa da organizaciebis koncentrirebas konkretul teritoriaze.

**\* \* \***

sazogadod, aRsaniSanvia rom mkvlevarebi sxvadasxvagvarad gansazRv­raven klasteris arss, magram, praqtikulad, yvela am gansazRvrebaSi JRers erTi da igive sakvanZo sityvebi: gaerTianeba, TanamSromloba, urTierT­kav­Si­ri, konkurencia, specializacia, geografiuli koncentracia da sxva. aqedan gamomdinare, SeiZleba gamovyoT klasteringis koncefciis mTavari idea kooperaciuli kavSirebis Seqmnis Sesaxeb: sawarmo - mwarmoeblebs, resursebisa da teqnologiebis momwodeblebs da meijarebs Soris aseve samecniero kvleviT da finansur-sakredito dawesebulebebs Soris.

aseTi kooperaciuli kavSirebi aZlevs SesaZleblobas klasteris monawileebs, aimaRlon TavianTi saqmianobis efeqturoba da ufro swrafad danergon teqnologiebi, produqtebi da ase Semdeg. erTi mxriv, klasteris monawileebi erTmaneTs uweven konkurencias, meore mxriv, ki erToblivad muSaoben sxvadasxva problemebis axali gziT gadasaWrelad (magaliTad, resursebis momarageba, gasaRebis axali bazrebis xelmisawvdomoba da a.S.). amrigad klasteris zRvarze erTmaneTs erwymis konkurencia da kooperacia.

amis gaTvaliswinebiT, SeiZleba ganvixiloT klasteris Semdegi gansazRvreba: klasteri warmoadgens urTierTmomgebian TanamSromlobas mewarmeobis sferoSi inovaciurobis stimulirebis mizniT resursebis ufro efeqturad gamoyenebisaTvis [1].

klasterisTvis damaxasiaTebeli niSan-Tvisebebia:

* maqsimaluri geografiuli siaxlove;
* teqnologiebis naTesaoba;
* nedleulis saerTo wyaro;
* inovaciuri komponentis xelmisawvdomoba.

klasterebis ZiriTadi monawileebi arian:

* kerZo seqtori;
* samecniero/kvleviTi institutebi;
* finansuri institutebi;
* sajaro seqtori.

amasTanave, monawileebad SeiZleba miviCnioT formaluri da ara­for­maluri organizaciebi, romelTa interesSic aris klasterebis ganvi­Tareba (savaWro palata, biznesinstituciebi da sxva).

21-e saukunis dasawyisSi mowinave ekonomikis mqone TiTqmis yvela saxelmwifos interesSia erovnuli konkurentunarianobis zrdaze orien­tirebuli regionuli inovaciuri sistemisa da klasterebis ganviTarebis politikis xelSewyoba, rogorc saSualeba ekonomikuri zrdisa da ganvi­TarebisaTvis.

klasteruli politika klasterebis mxardaWeris mimarTulebiT ganxorcilebeli saqmianobaa rac gulisxmobs [2]:

* inovaciebisaTvis barierebis moxsnas;
* adamianur kapitalSi da infrastruqturaSi investiciebis Cadebas;
* Sesabamisi firmebis geografiuli koncentraciis mxarda­Weras.

qveynis an regionis klasteruli politika warmoadgens „klaste­ru­li iniciativebis“ portfels, sadac gaTvalisiwinebulia klasteris Seqm­niT gamowveuli efeqtebi da riskebi. „klasteruli iniciativa“ aris konkre­tuli klasteris Seqmnisa da ganviTarebis procesi, romelic SeiZleba Camoyalibdes [3]:

* regionis mewarmeebis an Temis mier;
* regionisa da qveynis ganviTarebis institutebis mier;
* saxelmwifo, adgilobrivi aRmasrulebeli xelisuflebisa da sakanonmdeblo organoebis mier.

klasteri aseve mxardaWerili unda iyos regionuli ganviTarebis strategiiT, romlis SemuSavebisas gaTvlili unda iyos mocemul regionSi mwarmoeblurobis, inovaciurobis, konkurentunarianobis, mogebis da dasaq­mebis donis amaRleba, ramac xeli unda Seuwyos Sromis saerTa­So­ri­so dana­wilebas da regionis specializacias [4].

ucxoeTis qveynebis inovaciuri klasterebis mkafio magaliTebs warmoadgens:

* aSS - 380 klasteri. specializacia - kompiuteruli teqno­lo­giebi. klasteri - „silikonis veli“. msoflioSi cnobili kompa­nie­bis samSoblo: Intel, AMD, Oracle, Apple, Cisco, Yahoo!, eBay. [5. <http://ppt.ru/news/134649>]
* safrangeTSi - 96 klasteri. specializacia - farmacevtuli da kosmetika. sakvebi produqtebis warmoeba. klasteri - „Cosmetic Valley“ d 600 sawarmo, msoflio lideri kosmetekis warmoebaSi. [5]
* indoeTSi - 106 klasteri. specializacia - kompiuteruli teq­no­logiebi. IT - dargebis brunva indoeTSi Seadgens 70 mlrd dolars [5].
* italiaSi - 206 klasteri. specializacia - samomxmareblo saqon­lisa da saWmeli produqtebis warmoeba. klasteri -“Sassuolo“: 330 mln kv.m keramikuli filebi weliwadSi saerTo TanxiT 3 mlrd evro [5].
* didi britaneTi - 168 klasteri. specializacia - bioteqno­logia da bioresursebi [5].

meoce saukunis 80-iani wlebis harvardis universitetis profesorma maikl porterma Seqmna regionalur klasterebze dafuZnebuli erovnuli konkurentunarianobis strategiis Teoria, sadac qveynis mTavroba, kerZo seqtori, SesaZleblobebi, moTxovna da konkurencia qmnis iseT struqturas, romlis samrewvelo erToba mZafr konkurencias uwevs msoflio bazarze wamyvan biznessubieqtebs [6].

profesoris azriT, klasterebi warmoadgens geografiulad koncent­rirebuli urTerTdakavSirebuli kompaniebis jgufs, romlebic erTmaneTs uweven konkurencias, magram, amave dros, asruleben erTobliv samuSaos.

m. porteris Teoriis Tanaxmad, qveynis konkurentunarianoba unda ganixilebodes ara calkeuli firmebis saerTaSoriso konkurentuna­ria­nobiT, aramed klasterebiT.

saqarTveloSi, SeiZleba iTqvas, rom mcire biznesis klasterebis ganviTarebisaTvis xelsayreli viTareba SeimCneva, rac mogvcems gamoyofi­li resursebis konkretuli mimarTulebiT ganviTarebis koncentrirebis SesaZleblobas, aseve erToblivi proeqtebis ganxorcielebis SesaZleb­lobas, romelic xels Seuwyobs regionebisa da, mTlianobaSi, saxelmwifos socialur-ekonomikur ganviTarebas. saqarTveloSi, pirvel rigSi, unda moxdes klasteruli potencialis kvleva regionebis, dargebisa da firme­bis mixedviT, romelTa swori formireba xels Seuwyobs qveyanaSi eko­nomikur zrdas.

Tanamedrove saqarTvelos ekonomikis ZiriTadi amocanaa inovaciuri procesebis aqtivizacia da inovaciur ganviTarebaze gadasvla. amasTan da­kavSirebiT, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas moiTxovs is amocanebi, romlebic dakavSirebulia inovaciuri klasterebis, rogorc damoukidebeli movle­nis, gamoyofasTan.

inovaciuri klasterebis efeqturi ganviTareba mniSvnelovnad damoki­debulia Tanamedrove teqnologiebisa da mecnieruli codnis mowinave wyaroebis xelmisawvdomobaze, aseve finansuri resursebis mniSvnelovani moculobis koncentraciis SesaZleblobebze. klasteris inovaciuri orientaciis procesSi did rols TamaSobs inteleqtualuri da finansuri kapitalis ganviTarebuli infrastruqturebis arseboba. regionul doneze klasteruli midgomis upiratesobas warmoadgens:

1. regionul inovaciur klasterebs aqvs safuZvelSive Camoyalibe­buli axali teqnologiebis, codnis, produqciis, teqnologiuri qselis gavrcelebis mdgradi sistema, romelic erTian mecnierul bazas eyrdnoba;
2. klasteris sawarmoebs aqvs damatebiTi konkurentuli upirateso­bebi, radgan maT aqvT specializaciisa da standartizaciis ganxorciele­bis, aseve inovaciebis danergvaze xarjebis minimumade dayvanis SesaZ­leb­lobebi;
3. klasteris moqnili samewarmeo struqturebis arseboba maT struqturebSi - mcire sawarmoebi, romlebic xels uwyoben regionis ekonomikis inovaciuri wertilebis zrdis formirebas;
4. klasterebi Zalian mniSvnelovania mcire inovaciuri mewarmeobis ganviTarebisaTvis, radgan isini uzrunvelyofen mcire inovaciur firmebs specializaciis maRali xarisxiT konkretuli mewarmeobrivi niSis mom­saxurebisas, radgan am dros samrewvelo sawarmoebis kapitalTan xelmi­sawv­domoba gaadvilebulia, aseve advilad xdeba ideebis gacvla da spe­cialistebis codnis mewarmeebisaTvis gaziareba.
5. efeqturad funqcionirebad inovaciur klasterebSi daCqarebulia inovaciuri procesi, xolo mcire inovaciur sawarmoebs, romlebic klas-teris monawileebi arian, uviTardebaT iseTi upiratesoba, rogoricaa ino­vaciebis aRqma, biznesis racionalizacia, romelic win uswrebs mwar­moeblurobis zrdas da a.S.

Tumca, miuxedavad yvela zemoT xsenebuli upiratesobisa, amJamad saqarTveloSi ar arsebobs klasterebis ganviTarebis universaluri kon­cefcia. TviT cneba „klasteri“ ar aris kanonmdeblobiT damtkicebuli. moc­emul pirobebSi gansakuTrebul mniSvnelobas iZens klasteruli politika.

klasteruli politika klasterebis mxardaWeris saxelmwifo zome­bisa da meqanizmebis sistemaa, romelic uzrunvelyofs regionebis, klas­terSi Semavali sawarmoebis konkurentunarianobis zrdas, aseve inovaci­ebis danergvas. klasterebis Seqmnisa da ganviTarebis RonisZiebebs Tan erTvis organizaciuli, normatiul-samarTlebrivi uzrunvelyofis zomebi, investiciuri, finansur-sabiujeto meqanizmebi, sainformacio da sakadro mxardaWera. inovaciuri klasterebis ganviTarebis mxardaWerisa da uzrun­velyofis aucilebloba mtkicdeba Semdegi argumentebiT [7]:

* ekonomikis inovaciuroba damokidebulia ara marto sawarmoebisa da mecnierul-kvleviTi dawesebulebebis efeqtur saqmianobaze, aramed pirvel rigSi imaze, Tu rogor TanamSromloben erTmaneTTan da saxelmwifo xelisuflebis organoebTan.
* inovaciuri saqmianobis subieqtebis teritoriuli siaxlove xels uwyobs codnis Camoyalibebas, aRqmas da gamoyenebas, aseve efeqturi inovaciuri sistemis formirebas.

klasteruli politikis ZiriTadi miznebia:

* mcire inovaciuri biznesis ganviTareba;
* regionebisa da calkeuli sawarmoebis konkurentunarianobisa da inovaciuri potencialis amaRleba;
* regionuli ekonomikis diversifikaciis xelSewyoba regionuli dargobrivi klasterebis stimulirebisa da ganviTarebis safuZvelze.

klasteris saerTo niSan-Tviseba, romliTac maT miaRwies arsebiT teqnologiur process, aris is, rom yvela muSaobs rogorc erTiani qselis monawile da ara cal-calke. specialistebis mtkicebiT, klasteruli sawar­moebis yvelaze didi upiratesoba aris is, rom mas aqvs SesaZlebloba moiwvios maRalkvalificiuri muSebi da partniorebma erTmaneTs gauzia­ron sabazro informacia. aRsaniSnavia rom klasterSi yofna stimuls aZlevs mewarmeobriv Jins, aadvilebs kavSirebis dalagebas sxvadasxva pro­eq­tebis ganxorcielebis mizniT, rac Zalian mniSnelovania mcire inova­ciuri sawarmoebisaTvis [8].

saqarTvelosTvis klasterebis ganviTarebisa da Seqmnis marTvis ins­tru­mentebis srulyofa SeiZleba sasargeblo iyos, amisaTvis unda arse­bobdes inovaciuri klasteris formirebis Semdegi winapirobebi:

* mecnieruli potencialis arseboba (msoflio donis mecnierebis yofna, msxvili mecnieruli centrebi).
* inovaciuri klasteris formirebis ideis mxardaWeris instituciuri winapirobebi - xvadasxva fondebi biujetis saxsrebidan, aseve am ideis saxelmwifoebrivi da regionuli mxardaWera.
* politikuri winapirobebi (mTavrobis gadawyvetileba inovaciuri saqmianobis, rogorc erT-erTi strategiuli prioritetis, ganviTarebis Sesaxeb).
* warmoebis winapirobebi, saxeldobr, klasterSi Semavali regionisa da calkeuli sawarmoebis inovaciurobis done, romlis moTxovnac unda gaCndes klasteris warmoebis mimarT, rogorc umaRlesi konkurentuna­rianobis miRwevis aucilebeli piroba.

saqarTveloSi unda Camoyalibdes inovaciuri ganviTarebisaTvis xelsayreli faqtorebis erToblioba. maT ricxvSia mosaxleobis struq­turaSi umaRlesi ganaTlebis mqone pirTa maRali koncentracia, ganviTa­rebuli samecniero infrastruqtura, qalaqisa da regionebis sawarmoebSi SemuSavebuli proeqtebis gamoyenebis SesaZlebloba.

saqarTveloSi Semdgomi ganviTarebisa da samecniero-teqnikuri poten­cialis ganmtkicebisaTvis efeqturi SeiZleba gaxdes mcire inovaciuri sawarmoebis regionuli klasterebis Seqmna.

qvemoT mocemulia saqarTvelos mcire inovaciuri sawarmoebis klas­teris organizaciul-konceptualuri sqema.

regionis saxelmwifo xelisuflebis organoebi

damxmare obieqtebi:

sazogadoebrivi organoebi,

sadazRvevo, sakonsultacio, iuridiuli,

lizinguri,

faqtoringuli saqmis warmoeba

inovaciuri produqciis momxmareblebi

regionis mcire biznesis saxelmwifo mxardaWeris infrastruqturis organizaciebi

momsaxure obieqtebi: -safinanso sakredito dawesebulebebi, teqnologiis transferis centrebi

samSeneblo da satransporto struqturebi;

-servisisa da remontis centrebi

mommarageblebi, saqmiani partniorebi bgppparpartniorebi

damatebiTi obieqtebi: samec­niero-kvleviTi dawesebu­le­bebi, saganmanaTleblo dawesebulebebi, teqno­par­kebi, biznes-inkubatorebi, teqnologiebis transfe­ruli centrebi

klasteris sammarTvelo centri

klasteris birTvi: regionis mcire inovaciuri sawarmoebi

**saqarTvelos mcire inovaciuri sawarmoebis klasteris organizaciul-konceptualuri sqema.**

mocemuli sqemis CarCoSi SeiZleba gamovyoT Semdegi struqturuli elementebi:

* „klasteris birTvi“ - obieqtebi, romelTa irgvliv xdeba klasteris - mcire inovaciuri sawarmoebis dajgufeba.
* „damatebiTi obieqtebi“ - obieqtebi, romelTa saqmianoba uSualod uzrunvelyofs „klasteris birTvis“ obieqtebis funqcionirebas, Cveni azriT, maT unda mivakuTvnoT samecniero-kvleviTi dawesebulebebi, sagan­manaTleblo dawesebulebebi, biznesinkubatorebi da sxva.
* „momsaxure obieqtebi“ - obieqtebi, romelTa arseboba aucilebelia, magram maTi saqmianoba uSualo kavSirSi ar aris „klasteris birTvis“ obi­eq­­tis funqcionirebasTan. Cveni azriT, „momsaxure obieqtebs“ unda mivakuTvnoT safinanso-sakredito dawesebulebebi, aseve sawarmoebi, romlebic klasteris servisul funqciebs axorcielebs.
* „damxmare obieqtebi“ - klasteris obieqtebi, romelTa arseboba sa­survelia, magram ar aris aucilebeli klasteris sxva obieqtebis fun­qcionirebisaTvis. maT ricxvs SeiZleba mivakuTvnoT sxvadasxva sakon­sultacio saqmis warmoeba, romelTa funqciebi SeiZleba ganxorcieldes rogorc klasteris CarCoSi, aseve autsorsingis daxmarebiTac. amas garda, mocemul obieqtebs SeiZleba mivakuTvnoT sazogadoebrivi organizaciebi, sadazRvevo, lizinguri, faqtoringuli sawarmoebi.

SemoTavazebuli mcire inovaciuri sawarmoebis klasteris organiz­aciul-konceptualuri sqemis mniSnelovani momenti aris is, rom aqcenti keTdeba ara mxolod klasteris monawileTa da klasteruli jgufis produqciis mommaragebel-momxmareblebis urTierTqmedebaze, aramed regi­onis saxelmwifo xelisuflebis organoebTan da regionSi mcire biznesis saxelmwifo mxardaWeris infrastruqturis organizaciebTan urTierTq­medebaze.

dasavleTis gamocdilebis Teoriuli winapirobis ganxilvis safuZ­velze saqarTveloSi mcire inovaciuri klasteris ganviTarebis pirobebis, SesaZleblobebis SeqmnisaTvis SeiZleba Semdegi meToduri midgomebis SeTavazeba [9]:

1. mosamzadebeli etapi, rac iTvaliswinebs saqarTvelos regionSi klasteris modelis zogad meTodur damuSavebas. mas Tan erTvis Semdegi etapebi: muSa jgufis Seqmna; klasteris momavali mmarTveli centris sava­raudo monawileebis gansazRvra; mcire inovaciuri sawarmoebis klasteris funqcionirebis normatiul-uflebrivi bazis damuSaveba da damtkiceba; proeqtis dasaxuli miznis damuSaveba;
2. analitikuri etapi. am etapze xorcieldeba Semdegi nabijebi: klasteris warmoebis gansazRvra; klasteris birTvis formireba; klas­teris sazRvrebis dadgena; vlindeba klasteris Sida kavSirebi; ganisazRv­reba klasteris mmarTvelobis centri; tardeba klasteris strategiuli analizi; ganisazRvreba misi potenciali.
3. organizaciul-ekonomikuri etapi, rac iTvaliswinebs klasteris efeqturi muSaobis uzrunvelyofisaTvis rekomendaciebis damuSavebas. mas Tan erTvis:

* klasteris funqcionaluri da organizaciul-sameurneo meqaniz­mebis ageba;
* monawileTa inovaciuri saqmianobis gafarToebis mizniT infra­struq­turis ganviTareba;
* klasteris monawileTa informaciuli urTierTqmedebis organi­zeba;
* klasteris wevrTa SesaZleblobebisa da kompetenciis sistema­ti­zeba;
* klasteris ganviTarebis strategiis, maT ricxvSi miznebis, scena­risa da inovaciuri ganviTarebis mimarTulebebis SemuSaveba.

1. klasteris saqmianobis efeqturobis Sefasebis etapi. mocemuli eta­pi iTvaliswinebs klasteris ganviTarebis strategiis efeqturad Ses­ru­lebis analizs, sxvadasxva mimarTulebiT funqcionirebis prognozis damu­Savebas, sinergetikuli efeqtis TvalsazrisiT klasteris efeqtu­ro­bis Se­fa­sebis meTodikis formirebas. sawyis varaudad miiReba is faqti, rom efeq­turad funqcionirebad inovaciur klasterebSi daCqarebulia inovaciuri procesi, xolo klasteris monawileebs uviTardebaT iseTi upiratesobebi, rogoricaa inovaciebis aRqma, biznesis racionalizacia, mwarmoeblurobis winmswrebi zrda da a.S.

klasteris funqcionirebis efeqturoba SeiZleba Sefasdes xelfasis doniT, Seqmnili samuSao adgilebis raodenobiT.

**daskvna**

saerTo-saxelmwifoebriv da lokalur doneze klasteruli koncef­ciis danergvis daCqareba xels Seuwyobs mcire inovaciuri biznesis gan­viTarebas saqarTveloSi da regionebSi. klasteruli struqturebis mxar­da­Wera da warmoqmna SeiZleba gaxdes TiToeuli teritoriuli warmo­naqm­ni­sa da saxelmwifosTvis winsvlis sawindari. amisaTvis aucilebelia, pirvel rigSi sakanonmdeblo doneze movxazoT klasterebis Seqmnisa da funqcio­nirebis samarTlebrivi baza, Sesabamisad, mizanSewonilia im ter­minebis ganmarteba, romlebic klasterings exeba. mniSnelovania aseve xelmZRva­ne­li subieqtebis raodenobis konkretizeba, monawileTa statusi, misi Seqmnis pirobebi, dokumentebis momzadeba iuridiuli gaformebisa da funqcioni­rebisaTvis, klasteris dasaxelebis iuridiuli damtkicebis procedura, normatiul-samarTlebrivi aqtebis CamonaTvali, misi saq­mianobis regla­men­tirebisaTvis.

saWiroa aRvniSnoT Tu rogor xdeba klasteris monawileTa Soris urTierTobebis Camoyalibeba, romeli organoebi marTaven klasterul ga­naTlebas, rogoria maTi uflebamosileba, ra saxis pasuxismgebloba SeiZ­leba daekisroT klasteris monawileebs da ra darRvevaze da sxva.

radganac klasterebi warmoiqmneba xangrZlivi droiT, CamoTvlili sakiTxebis samarTlebrivi reglamentireba uzrunvelyofs aseTi gaer­Tianebebis aRmocenebasa da funqcionirebas, miuxedavad imisa, Tu rogori mTavroba xelmZRvanelobs saxelmwifos da ra politikas atarebs is.

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**METHODICS OF THE CLUSTER CREATION OF SMALL INNOVATIVE ENTERPRISES IN GEORGIA**

**Expanded Summary**

In the beginning of the 21st century, almost all countries with advanced economies are interested in to promote regional innovation systems and clusters development policy, thus raise country’s national competitiveness as an opportunity of economic growth and development.

Many examples of world practice demonstrate that the clustered form of the production is most favorable for the innovative process. Cluster helps the cooperation of interested bodies, forming the region’s unique competences, focusing enterprises and organizations in a specific area.

The main task of modern Georgian economy is to activate innovative processes and to move it to innovative development. In this regard, special attention is paid to the tasks relating to innovation clusters as an independent event.

Georgia should form a combination of favorable factors for innovative development. For supporting Clusters should be created a system of state measures and mechanisms to increase the competitiveness of enterprises, clusters in the region and increase innovations.

Cluster’s concept’s acceleration will promote the development of small innovative businesses in Georgia and regions. Support and creation of clustered structures can become the reason of the state’s and each territorial entity’s progress.

Country’s or region’s cluster policy is a "cluster initiative" portfolio that deals with the effects and risks caused by the cluster creation. "Cluster Initiative" is the process of creating and developing a specific cluster that can be formed by region’s community, firms and other active institutions.

The clear examples of innovative clusters of foreign countries are:

* USA - 380 clusters, Specialized in - Computer Technologies. Cluster - "Silicon Valley". Homeland of the world famous companies: Intel, AMD, Oracle, Apple, Cisco, Yahoo !
* France - 96 clusters, Specialized in - pharmaceutical and cosmetics. Production of food products. Cluster - "Cosmetic Valley" - 600 enterprises, the world leader in the production of cosmetics.
* India - 106 clusters, Specialized in - Computer Technologies. The turnover of IT sectors in India is about 70 billion dollars.
* Italy - 206 clusters, Specialized in - production of consumer goods and food products. Cluster - "Sassuolo": 330 million cubic meters of ceramic tiles per year 3 billion euros.

However, despite all of the above-mentioned advantages, there is no universal concept of Clusters Development in Georgia. The concept of "cluster" is not approved by the legislation. In this conditions the Cluster policy is gaining a particular importance.

Cluster Policy is a system of state measures and mechanisms for supporting clusters, ensuring the growth of competitiveness of enterprises in clusters, as well as introduction of innovations. It is collection of clusters initiatives. The necessity of supporting and sustaining innovative clusters is confirmed by many arguments.

Improvement of clusters development and creation for Georgia can be useful, for this there should be the following preconditions for the formation of an innovative cluster:

- Existence of scientific potential (presence of world class science, large scientific centers, existence of higher industrial science);

- Institutional prerequisites to support the idea of ​​innovative cluster formation - Various funds from budget funds, as well as the state and regional support of this idea;

- Political prerequisites (government decision on innovation activities, as one of the strategic priorities);

- Preconditions of production, namely, the level of innovation in the region and individual firms.

Georgia should form a combination of favorable factors for innovative development. Among them are high concentration of persons with higher education in the structure of the population, the development of scientific infrastructure, the realization of projects developed by the enterprises in the regions and towns.

For the further development and strengthening of scientific-technical potential in Georgia, it is possible to create regional clusters of small innovative enterprises.

Based on the theoretical preconditions of Western experience, the following innovative approaches can be offered to create conditions for the development of small innovative clusters in Georgia:

1. Preparation level, which provides the general methodological processing of cluster model in the region of Georgia.
2. Analytical level , which provides the steps for formatting clusters core and potential;
3. Organizational-economical level, which envisages processing of clusters for effective work;
4. Cluster Performance Assessment Phase. This phase provides an analysis of the effectiveness of the Cluster Development Strategy, in various directions.

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***reziume.*** *sabazro ekonomikis pirobebSi, samedicino saqmianobis procesSi aucilebeli xdeba servisis miRebis mamotivirebeli faqtorebis, axali midgomebis Seswavla da gamoyeneba, radgan swored es faqtorebi axdens yve­laze SesamCnev gavlenas pacientis qcevis cvlilebebze. kvlevis pro­cesSi Seswavlili iqneba pirveladi jandacvis dawesebulebaSi (polik­linikaSi) ojaxis eqimis mier miwodebuli samedicino momsaxurebiT pacientTa kmayo­filebis done. kvlevis miznidan gamomdinare, ZiriTadi amocanebia im mniSv­ne­lovani cvladebis da mastimulirebeli faqtorebis gamovlena, rome­lic am konkretul SemTxvevaSi, monawileobs momxmareb­lisTvis, pacientisTvis eqimis mier SerCeuli mkurnalobis da diagnostikis sqemebis gaTvaliswi­nebasa da dacvaSi da, Sesabamisad, pacientis qcevis models ayalibebs. kvle­vas eqneba rekomendaciis xasiaTi pirveladi jan­dac­vis servisis mim­wode­beli provaiderebisaTvis. kvlevis Sedegebi gamo­yenebuli iqneba pirve­ladi jandacvis momsaxurebis xarisxis strategiuli gegmis SemuSavebis procesSi.*

***sakvanZo sityvebi:*** *pirveladi jandacva, saerTaSoriso standartizebuli kiTxvari, pacientis kmayofileba, CarTulobis parametrebi*.

**Sesavali**

janmrTeloba sruli fizikuri, sulieri da socialuri keTildReo­baa. medicina mravalmxriv saqmianobas iTvaliswinebs, romelic, Tavis mxriv, yvela rgols ukavSirdeba. janmrTelobis dacva mowodebulia, uzrunvel­yos sazogadoebis janmrTelobis SenarCunebis, dacvisa da aRdgenis pro­cesebi, rac sazogadoebis arsebobis da ganviTarebis aucilebeli pirobaa. Tavis mxriv, sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis TandaTan cvlileba jandacvis sistemis ganaxlebasac moiTxovs. amgvarad, jandacva aris rogorc sazoga­doebis keTildReobis, ise qveynis ekonomikuri mdgomareobis erT-erTi mniSvnelovani indikatori. Sesabamisad, jandacva sazogadoebis mier aRiq­meba, rogorc cxovrebis donisa da xarisxis aucilebeli Semadgeneli komponenti, romelic mTavar rols TamaSobs saxelmwifos ekonomikur gan­vi­TarebaSi da uzrunvelyofs SromiTi resursebis warmoebasa da xarisxs. medicina Tavisi arsiT momsaxurebis sferos miekuTvneba, romelic Tana­medrove ekonomikis erT-erTi perspeqtiuli mimarTulebaa. am sferoSi gan­sakuTrebuli adgili ukavia jandacvas, romelic sakmaod did inves­tirebas saWiroebs. jandacvis erovnuli sistemebi yvela qveyanaSi gansxvavebulia.

jandacvaSi saxelmwifos wilobrivi monawileobiT didi britaneTi liderobs. bevri qveyana asustebs saxelmwifo kontrols da nergavs sabaz­ro meqanizmebs, rac jandacvaSi pacientTa nawilobriv monawileobas gu­lisxmobs. jandacvaze gaweul mTlian danaxarjebSi saxelmwifos wilis zrda meore msoflio omis Semdeg daiwyo da 1980 wlamde gagrZelda, dResdReobiT, msoflioSi xdeba kerZo seqtoris wilis zrda, rac sabazro ekonomikis ganviTarebas ukavSirdeba.

Temis aqtualoba ganpirobebulia msoflioSi mimdinare sistemuri cvlilebebiT g standartizaciiT, biznesis internacionalizaciiT da, rac mTavaria, samedicino biznesis marTvaSi sistemuri midgomis rolis gazr­diT. sabazro ekonomikis pirobebSi, samedicino saqmianobis procesSi aucilebeli xdeba servisis miRebis mamotivirebeli faqtorebis, axali midgomebis Seswavla da gamoyeneba, radgan swored es faqtorebi axdens yvelaze SesamCnev gavlenas pacientis qcevis cvlilebebze. momsaxurebis sfe­ro msoflio ekonomikis erT-erTi yvelaze mniSvnelovani mimarTulebaa. igi perspeqtiuli da swrafad ganviTarebadi dargia. rac dro gadis, mom­saxurebis sferos sul ufro meti yuradReba eqceva, kerZod imas, Tu risi miReba surs momxmarebels da ra motivacia gaaCnia mas. kacobriobis isto­riaSi samedicino sfero erT-erT yvelaze aqtualur momsaxurebis sfe­­rod ganixileba. saWiroebis dadgomis Semdeg misgan Tavis arideba TiTqmis warmoudgenelia. dRes am sferoSi Zalian mniSvnelovania momx­mareblis molodinebis gamarTleba da iseTi garemos Seqmna, romelic maT loialurs gaxdis. samedicino momsaxurebis sferos mimarTulebiT garemo dRiTi dRe ufro konkurentunariani xdeba.

**pirveladi jandacvis Taviseburebebi**

Cvens qveyanaSi samedicino servisebis miReba momxmareblebs SeuZ­liaT saxelmwifo programebSi an kerZo sadazRvevo sqemebSi monawileo­biT. momx­ma­rebels aseve aqvs SesaZlebloba, samedicino servisi TviTdi­nebiT, anu jibidan gadaxdis saSualebiT miiRos. am SemTxvevaSi xSirad adgili aqvs pirveladi jandacvis ZiriTadi rgolis \_ ojaxis eqimis gverdis avlas. pirveladi jandacvis eqimisTvis pacientTan urTierToba uwy­ve­ti procesia. igi pacients xangrZlivad, zogjer ki mTeli sicocxlis ganmavlobaSi akvirdeba. Sedegad, eqimma kargad icis konkretuli pacientis samedicino istoria. es codna ki mas saSualebas aZlevs marTos daavadeba, moaxdinos samedicino xarjis minimumamde dayvana da samedicino momsaxu­rebis uwyve­to­bis SenarCuneba. Tumca, xSirad adgili aqvs am rgolis amog­debas da isec xdeba, rom ambulatoriuli SemTxvevis dadgomisas pacients ar marTavs ojaxis eqimi.

jandacva rTuli sistemaa. pacients uZneldeba imis garkveva, Tu romel eqims mimarTos da ra saxis samedicino servisebi Caitaros. aseT sistemaSi mas swored ojaxis eqimi uwevs koordinacias. Sesabamisad, oja­xis eqimis mimarT pacientis ndobis Camoyalibeba sabolood ekonomikuri sargebelis da samedicino xarisxis amaRlebis erT-erTi winapirobaa. eqimi am SemTxvevaSi gvevlineba ara mxolod rogorc pacientis mkurnali, aramed is aris pacientis samedicino gzis damgegmavi, damkvalianebeli. rac ufro kmayofilia pacienti pirveladi jandacvis provaideri dawesebulebis da konkretuli ojaxis eqimis momsaxurebiT, miT ufro izrdeba imis albaToba, rom samedicino SemTxveva pirveladi jandacvis rgolis mier efeqturad iqneba marTuli.

 samedicino momsaxurebis, miT ufro ambulatoriuli servisis sir­Tule ganpirobebulia im garemoebiT, rom gaweuli servisebis xeliT Sexeba SeuZlebelia. Znelia maTi maxasiaTeblebis gazomva da, ra Tqma unda, moiT­xovs maRali kvalifikaciis specifikur (samedicino) codnas. momxmareb­lebs uZneldebaT jandacvis servisebis xarisxis windawin Sefaseba, radgan es mxolod maTi miRebis Semdeg aris SesaZlebeli da rig SemTxvevaSi SeuZlebelic). amasTanave, pirveladi viziti samedicino dawesebulebaSi su­lac ar gulisxmobs imas, rom es pacienti servisis mimwodeblebis Ziebas ar ganagrZobs da exeba rogorc samedicino dawesebulebas, aseve mkurnal eqims. pacientTa kmayofileba mniSvnelovan gavlenas axdens samedicino mom­sa­xurebis uwyvetobaze. es ukanaskneli ki, jandacvis servisebis xarj­T­efeq­turobis garda, servisebis adeკvatur utilizacias ganapirobebs. paci­en­tze orientirebuli janmrTelobis dacvis sistemis ganviTarebisaTvis mniSvnelovania, gaumjobesdes rogorc samedicino momsaxurebis xelmi­sawv­do­moba, aseve, xarisxi. samedicino daxmarebis bazari kardinalurad gansxvavdeba yvela sxva tipis bazrisagan. igulisxmeba is, rom samedicino ganaTlebis armqone adamianisTvis praqtikulad warmoudgenelia samedici­no daxmarebis xarisxis gansazRvra da amis safuZvelze misTvis sasurveli servisis amorCeva. samedicino servisebis Tavisufali bazris principebze gadasvlis mowinaaRmdegeni miiCneven, rom samedicino ganaTlebis armqone adamiani (pacienti, aseve mis ojaxis wevri) sruliad arakvalificiuria Tavad gansazRvros araTu samedicino daxmarebis servisis xarisxi, aramed isic ki, saerTod dgas Tu ara adamianisTvis servisis miRebis saWiroeba. momxmareblebs (pacientebs) SesaZloa aqvT Tavisufali arCevanis SesaZ­lebloba. maT SeiZleba airCion konkretuli samedicino dawesebuleba, Tumca ver airCeven momsaxurebis moculobas. momxmarebelma SesaZloa gan­sazRvros samedicino dawesebuleba mxolod gamarTuli infrastruqturiT da maRalteqnologiuri aparaturiT, Tumca miRebuli momsaxurebis gan­sazRvra garkveul sirTუleebTan aris dakavSirebuli. Tavisufali bazris erT-erTi ZiriTadi moTxovnaa momxmareblis sruli informirebuloba Se­saZeni saqonlis (an momsaxurebis) fasze, moculobaსა da xarisxze. samedi­cino bazarze, misi specifikurobidan gamomdinare, ufro rTuli mdgo­mareoba SeiniSneba, rac ganpirobebulia samedicino daxmarebis xa­risxis gansazRvris zusti kriteriumebis ararsebobiT. upirveles yovlisa, samedi­cino momsaxurebis momxmarebeli ar flobs iseTi saxis codnas, romlis meSveobiTac samedicino organizaciasa da eqims racio­nalurad airCevda da, Sesabamisad, miiRebda maRali xarisxis samedicino momsaxu­rebas. pacien­tis STabeWdileba umTavresad wina mkurnalobiT miRebuli gamocdilebiT an sxva eqimTa azriT ganisazRvreba. saWiro in­formaciis mopoveba drosa da resur­sebTan dakavSirebul garkveul xar­jebs moiTxovs. inglisis jandac­vis ekonomikis eqspertTa TvalsazrisiT, rac ufro informirebulia momx­marebeli da rac ufro naklebia Ziebis danaxarjebi, sabazro struqtura miT ufro axlos aris srulyofil konkurenciasTan [Health economics, Barbara Mcpake, 2003 gv. 202].

pacientebma ar ician samedicino daxmarebis romeli saxea maTTvis yve­laze efeqturi, ra tipis samedicino momsaxurebas saWiroeben an ra sargeb­lobas moutans SemoTavazebuli samedicino daxmareba. paciente­bisaTvis sirTules warmoadgens agreTve maTze Catarebuli mkurnalobis Sedegis da xarisxis Sefasebac. swored am faqtorebis gamo, samedicino momsaxurebis sferoSi rTulia komunikacia.

samedicino sferoSi individualuri gadawyvetilebebi miiReba ara calkeuli momxmareblis informirebulobis da finansuri SesaZleblo­bebis Sesabamisad, aramed misi janmrTelobis saWiroebebidan gamomdinare. klasikuri modelis mixedviT, aucilebeli samedicino momsaxurebis Sesa­Zenad gadawyvetileba Tavad momxmarebelma unda miiRos.

sainteresoa klinikisa da eqimis SerCevis procesSi reputaciuli pa­ra­metrebis mniSvnelovnebis gansazRvra. samedicino dawesebuleba ar aris sabanko servisi, sadac SesaZloa misaRebi iyos standartuli momsaxurebis parametrebis arseboba.

sayovelTaod miRebulia, rom samedicino momsaxurebis xarisxis Sefasebis arsebiT indikators warmoadgens pacientis kmayofilebis maCve­nebeli, samedicino momsaxurebis Sesabamisoba pacientebis da maTi ojaxis wevrebis molodinTan. pacientTa kmayofilebis Seswavlis farTo gavrce­lebas xeli Seuwyo orma mocemulobam: erTi mxriv, mTel msoflioSi pacient­Ta uflebebis dacvis gazrdam da, meore mxriv, medicinaSi sabazro ekonomikis aspeqtebis damkvidrebam da pacientis e.w. momxmareblis rangSi gadanacvlebam. pacientTa azris Sesaswavlad SemuSavebulia da gamoiyeneba sxvadasxva instrumentebi. specialuri literaturis gacnoba adasturebs, rom Tanamedrove etapze farTod gamoiyeneba rogorc xarisxobrivi, ise raodenobrivi kvlevebi. rogorc wesi, am tipis kvlevebi tardeba or doneze. populaciur doneze kvlevebis Catareba miznad isaxavs erovnuli masStabiT janmrTelobis Rirebulebebisa da prioritetebis gamovlenas.

pacientTa kmayofilebis donisa da xarisxis Sesaswavlad aqtiurad gamoiyeneba evrokomisiis kiTxvari ,,eurobarometrikk da standartize­bu­li saerTaSoriso kiTxvari „europepi”. evrosabWos mier SemuSavebuli meTodo­logia - „evrobarometri“ - miznad isaxavs pacientTa usafrTxoebisa da jan­dac­vis xarisxis sakiTxebis Seswavlas, xolo evropepi – praqtikosi eqime­biT pacientTa kmayofilebis Seswavlas. 2009 wels „evrobarometris“ gamo­ye­nebiT kvleva Catarda 27 qveyanaSi da moicva 406.557.138 adamiani.1995-1998 wlebSi mecnierTa jgufma SeimuSavea pacientebis mier zogadi praqtikis Sefasebis saerTaSoriso standartizebuli instrumenti \_ „evropepi“ [<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3409606/>]. mocemuli meTodologia gamoyenebulia ukve 20-ze met qveyanaSi. standartuli ,,evrobarometris mo­de­li“ SemuSavda 1973 wels da tardeba rogorc raodenobrivi, aseve Tvi­sebrivi kvlevebis saxiT. TiToeuli raodenobrivi kvleva moicavs 1000 pirispir intervius evrokavSiris qveynebisTvis. kvlevebis Sedegebi qveyn­de­ba weliwadSi orjer.

swored zemoaRniSnuli meTodologiis safuZvelze SemuSavda Cata­re­buli kvlevis ZiriTadi kiTxvari. kvlevis kiTxvari Sedgeboda pacientis CarTulobis mniSvnelovnebis blokisgan. SerCevis (imave amonakrebis zoma) - 100 pacienti, romlebmac isargebles ojaxis eqimis momsaxurebiT kon­kretul sam ambulatoriul samedicino dawesebulebaSi. kvleva Catarda qa­laq TbilisSi da ambulatoriuli klinikebi SeirCa vake-saburTalos, mu­xianis da varkeTilis teritoriaze. rogorc ukve aRiniSna, kvleva mul­ti­disciplinuri xasiaTisaa da aRmoCnda rom ojaxis eqimis momsa­xurebiT kmayofilebasa da klinikiT kmayofilebas Soris dafiqsirda maRali da­debiTi korelacia (spirmeni) - rs=0.62, p=0.000. mimarTeba ojaxis eqimis momsaxurebiT kmayofilebasa da klinikiT kmayofilebas Soris, anu rac ufro kmayofilia pacienti ojaxis eqimis, miT metad kmayofilia klinikisac (ix. cxrili 1).

cxrili 1

rogorc aRiniSna, kargi Sedegia miRebuli ojaxis eqimis momsaxurebiT kmayofilebasa da klinikiT kmayofilebas Soris kavSiris dadgenis dros. korelaciuri analizidan aseve Cans, rom ojaxis eqimis momsaxurebiT kma­yo­filebasa da klinikiT kmayofilebas Soris korelacia yvela demog­rafiul WrilSi (jgufTan) statistikurad mniSvnelovania, anu rac ufro kma­yofilia pacienti ojaxis eqimiT, miT ufro kmayofilia klinikis mom­saxurebiTac da dadebiTi tendencia gamoikveTa nebismieri sqesis, asakis da ganaTlebis donis mqone pacientebSi (cxrili 2).

cxrili N2

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **spirmenis korelaciis koeficienti** | | |
| jamuri | | **0.62\*** |
| filiali | varkeTili | **0.70\*** |
| vaJa | **0.54\*** |
| muxiani | **0.64\*** |
| sqesi | qali | **0.60\*** |
| kaci | **0.64\*** |
| asaki | 18-35 | **0.72\*** |
| 36+ | **0.52\*** |
| ganaTlebis done | umaRlesi | **0.53\*** |
| dawyebiTi/ saSualo | **0.73\*** |

kvlevis saSualebiT gaizoma samedicino servisis miRebis procesSi pacientis CarTulobis parametrebis mniSvnelovneba. aRmoCnda, rom zo­gadad yvela debuleba pacientisaTvis, momsaxurebis miRebis procesSi sakmaod mniSvnelovania da maRal Sefasebas aniWeben TiToeul maTgans. Se­sa­bamisad, arsebobs varaudi imisa, rom am parametrebze zemoqmedeba pacientSi gazrdis ojaxis eqimis mimarT loalobis xarisxs (cxrili 3).

cxrili 3

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| maCvenebeli | saS. qula |
| eqimma mogawodoT sakmarisi informacia Tqveni daavadebis da simptomebis Sesaxeb | 6.5 |
| eqimma agixsnaT samedicino gamokvlevebis, Carevebis, mkurna­lobis arsi da mizani | 6.5 |
| eqimi agixsnaT, Tu ratom aris mniSvnelovani, rom Seasru­loT misi rCevebi | 6.5 |
| dagisaxeloT savaraudo diagnozi | 6.5 |
| gamoavlinos interesi konkretulad Tqveni SemTxvevis mimarT | 6.5 |
| gqondeT SesaZlebloba, telefoniT esaubroT eqims Tqven­Tvis saWiro dros? | 6.5 |
| konsultaciis dros gagrZnobinoT, rom sakmarisi dro ar aqvs TqvenTvis | 6.5 |
| CamogaTvlevinoT damaxasiaTebeli simptomi, gagaxsenaT, rac ar gaxsovdaT | 6.4 |
| Seqmnas garemo,, sadac Tavisuflad SegiZliaT uamboT Tqveni problemebis Sesaxeb | 6.4 |
| Tqveni piradi monacemebi da Canawerebi iyos konfiden­cialuri | 6.4 |
| agixsnaT diagnozis alternatiuli versiebi | 6.4 |
| ecados, Cawvdes Tqvens problemebs | 6.4 |
| eqimis damxmare personalmac gagrZnobinoT mzadyofna Tqvens mxardasaWerad | 6.4 |
| ecados, CarTuli iyoT gadawyvetilebis miRebis procesSi | 6.4 |
| axsovdes, Tu ra giTxraT wina Sexvedris/konsultaciis dros | 6.2 |

**daskvna**

pacientis kmayofilebasa da samedicino procesebSi mis CarTulobas Soris dadebiTi korelaciis aRmoCena iZleva saSualebas, Semcirdes imis albaToba, rom pacientma meorad gegmiur servisebs mimarTos pirveladi rgolis (ojaxis eqimTan konsultacia) gamotovebiT, rac, garda imisa, rom gazrdis adreuli diagnostikisa da mkurnalobis SemTxvevebs, sabolood Seamcirebs rogorc pacientis, ise jandacvaze gaweul saxelmwifo da­na­xarjebs. saboloo jamSi, es iqneba socialuri sargebeli. calke aRniSvnas saWiroebs polipragmaziis (avadmyofisaTvis erTdroulad gaumarTleblad mravali wamlisa da samkurnalo proceduris daniSvna) mwvave problema. im SemTxvevaSi, Tu klinikis menejmenti gaakontrolebs gaidlainebis da pro­tokolebis aqtiur sargeblobas saojaxo medicinis mimarTulebiT, ojaxis eqimis konsultaciaze misul pacients, romelsac aqvs maRali ndo­ba oja­xis eqimis da rogorc kvlevidan ikveTeba Sesabamisad, klinikis, naklebad gauCndeba motiviacia SeiZinos sxvadasxva sainformacio sivrceSi gamocdili medikamentebi.

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**COST-EFFECTIVE PRIMARY HEALTHCARE AND ITS BENEFITS**

**Expanded Summary**

The complexity of medical services, especially outpatient services, is caused by the circumstances that provided services are not tangible. It is difficult to measure their characteristics, and of course, it requires high qualified, specific (medical) knowledge. Consumers find it difficult to evaluate the quality of healthcare services in advance since it is possible only after receiving them (in some cases it is even impossible). At the same time, the initial visit to a medical establishment does not mean that a patient is not looking for any other service provider, and this applies both to the medical establishment and the treating doctor. The patient’s satisfaction has a significant impact on continuing medical care. And the latter one, apart from cost-effective medical services, determines the adequate utilization of services. For the progress of the patient-oriented healthcare protection service it is important to improve both the accessibility of medical services and their quality. The medical care market differs fundamentally from any other market. It means that it is practically impossible for a person who has no medical education to define the quality of medical help and, based on this, to choose a more suitable service. Opponents of transition to free market principles of medical services consider that a person who does not have medical education (a patient, as well as a member of his/her family) is not completely qualified to define not only the service of medical care itself, but also whether it is necessary at all for a person to use these services. Consumers (patients) may have an opportunity of free choice. They might choose a specific medical establishment, but they will not be able to choose the scope of the service. The consumer may define the medical institution for its good infrastructure and high-tech equipment, although the definition of the services received is associated with certain difficulties. Free healthcare consumers do not know which type of medical care is more effective for them, what type of medical care they need, or what benefit the proposed medical assistance will bring to them. It is also difficult for patients to assess the quality and outcome of the undergone treatment. It is due to these factors in the field of medical services that it is hard to conduct effective communication.

In the medical field individual decisions are made not in accordance with the awareness and financial possibilities of individual consumers, but based on their health needs. According to the classical model, the decision on the purchase of medical services should be made by the consumer himself.

It is interesting to consider the meaning of reputation criteria during the selection of doctor and clinic. A medical establishment is not a banking service where the existence of standard service parameters can be applied.

The indicator of quality of medical services is the index of patient satisfaction. Two factors contributed to the spreading of the extensive study of patient satisfaction: on the one hand, the growth of protection of patients' rights throughout the world, and on the other hand, the legitimation of the market economy aspects in medicine and the transfer of patients to the rank of consumers. With such a background it becomes clear that the engagement of patients in the decision-making process has increased. According to the developed recommendations from the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Consulate, the guarantee for quality assurance of medical services on the part of the government demonstrates protection of the dignity and rights of patients. And at the same time, it is recognized that every citizen should take an active part in these processes. In addition to rights, patients are assigned a certain kind of responsibility. It is much more difficult to ensure participation of patients at all stages of medical services. To provide these processes while improving the quality of medical services, special initiatives, schemes and opinions are being developed to involve patients. To study the opinions of patients different tools are developed and applied. To study the satisfaction of patients by level and quality, the questionnaires of the European consulate, the Eurobarometer and the standardized international questionnaire of Europep are used. Methodology developed by the European consulate - Eurobarometer - aims to study the patient safety and health care issues, while Europep studies the satisfaction of patients with the services of practicing doctors. In 2009, due to the use of the Eurobarometer, a study was conducted in 27 countries, and the survey included 406,557,138 people. In 1995-1998 the group of scientists developed an international standardized tool for general practice evaluation by patients –Europep (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3409606/>).

This methodology is already used in more than 20 countries. With this having been taken into consideration, a questionnaire for quantitative research was developed, which consisted of a section on the significance of the patient engagement. The size of the selection (random selection) is 100 patients who used family doctor services in Tbilisi, in three specific outpatient medical establishments. It turned out that there was a high positive correlation between family doctor services and the satisfaction with the clinic - (Spearman) - rs=0.62, p=0.000.

***giorgi bregaZe***

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*saxelmwifo universitetis doqtoranti*

**turizmis pirdapiri ekonomikuri sargeblianobis gamoTvlis meTodologiuri sakiTxebi**

***reziume.*** *turizmis swrafma zrdam da diversifikaciam saWiro gaxada am globaluri fenomenis ufro siRrmiseuli Seswavla da turizmis erovnul ekonomikaze realuri gavlenis gazomvis aucileblobis sakiTxi daayena. naSromSi xazgasmulia turizmis problemaTa kvlevaze dafuZnebuli sa­xelm­wifo politikis SemuSavebis aucileblobis sakiTxi. saqarTveloSi bolo periodSi mogzaurebis gazrdili raodenoba da maTi kontribucia ekonomikaSi sazogadoebis udides interess iwvevs. naSromis mizani swored msoflioSi gavrcelebuli turizmis pirdapiri ekonomikuri efeqtebis meTodologiebis analizia, rac am sferoSi optimaluri ekonomikuri politikis SemuSavebis safuZveli unda gaxdes.*

***sakvanZo sityvebi:*** *turizmis ekonomikuri efeqtianoba, turistuli danaxarji, turizmis politika, turizmis kvlevebi.*

**Sesavali**

dResdReobiT turizmi mniSvnelovani ekonomikuri aqtivobaa qveynebis umravlesobaSi. misi gavlena ekonomikaze mravalmxrivia. turizmi exmareba adgilobriv mcxovreblebs, gaiumjobeson ekonomikuri mdgomareoba, gazar­don Semosavali da dasaqmeba, Seqmnan axali produqtebi da biznesebi.

turizmi ganviTarebad qveynebSi, rogorc ekonomikuri ganviTarebis saSualeba, gansakuTrebiT aqtualuria da arc saqarTveloa am mxriv gamo­naklisi. turizms sxva industriebze ufro swrafad SeuZlia ekonomi­ku­ri ganviTarebis waxaliseba, is swrafad axdens saWiro finansuri kapitalis generirebas, zrdis qveynis turistuli destinaciis cnobadobas, aumjo­be­sebs infrastruqturas da qmnis axal samuSao SesaZleblobebs. ganviTa­rebad qveynebSi turizmis ganviTarebisgan sargebeli ufro Tval­saCinoa. im SemTxvevaSi, Tu qveyana SeZlebs vizitorebis moTxovnis xaris­xianad dak­mayofilebas, maSin qveynis saeqsporto Semosavlebi mniSvne­lovnad izrdeba [Edgell, Swanson, 2013:90-91]. am Semosavlebis nawili miedin­eba sazogadoebis sxvadasxva jgufisken da Tu saxelmwifos turizmis politika mkveTrad siRaribis daZlevazea orientirebuli, amiT sargeb­lobas mosaxleobis Raribi jgufebi iReben. es SesaZlebelia adgilobrivi mosaxleobis turiz­mis sawarmoebSi dasaqmebiT, turistebisTvis saqonlisa da momsaxurebis miyidviT an mcire sawarmos funqcionirebiT, riTac sazogadoebaSi siRa­ribis done mcirdeba.

turizmi, gansakuTrebulad ki saerTaSoriso turizmi umniSvnelo­vanesi ekonomikuri ganviTarebis saSualebaa soflis mosaxleobisTvis. sof­lis mosaxleobas mravali saintereso servisis SeTavazeba SeuZlia vizitorebisTvis. soflis mosaxleobaSi turizmis ekonomikuri ganviTa­rebis saSualebad gamoyenebis damabrkolebeli faqtorebi adamianuri, fi­nan­suri da teqnikuri resursebis ukmarisoba SeiZleba iyos. soflis mo­saxleoba dResdReobiT eZebs dominanti industriebis (rogoricaa ferme­roba da mesaqonleoba) alternativas, damatebiTi Semosavlis wyaros miRe­bis mizniT. turizmi SesaZloa swored is industria iyos, romelic maT moTxovnebs miesadageba. Tumca amisTvis bevri dabrkolebis gadalaxvaa sa­Wi­ro, maT Soris yvelaze mniSvnelovani soflis mosaxleobaSi adgi­lob­rivi rezidentebis mier turizmis ekonomikuri ganviTarebis saSua­lebad aRiareba da adgilobrivi rezidentebisTvis turizmis industriaSi saWiro unarebis Seswavlaa. turizmis, rogorc ekonomikuri ganviTarebis saSua­lebis upiratesoba mdgomareobs im faqtSi, rom is damokidebulia adgilis kulturul, istoriul, eTnikur, geografiul da bunebriv unika­lurobaze. es resursebi moipoveba saqarTvelos yvela sasoflo raionSi, aris ganax­lebadi da SeuZlia adgilobrivebs siamayis grZnoba gauCinos maTi simdid­ris adgilobriv da saerTaSoriso vizitorebisTvis CvenebiT [Edgell, Swanson, 2013:93].

sazogadoebaSi turizmis ekonomikuri efeqtebis mimarT interesi mzardia. maT ainteresebT turizmis seqtorSi Seqmnili samuSao adgilebis raodenoba, RonisZiebis mier generirebuli Semosavali da efeqti mTlian ekonomikaze. turizmis ekonomikuri sargeblianobis analizi swored am mi­zans emsaxureba. turizmis ekonomikuri mniSvnelobis xazgasma sazogadoe­bas, bizness da saxelmwifos am dargis mimarT meti pativiscemiT ganawyobs, rasac, saboloo jamSi, turizmis seqtorisTvis xelsayrel gadawyve­ti­le­be­bamde an saxelmwifo politikamde mivyavarT. turizmis biznesebi erTma­neTze da sxva seqtoris biznesebze Zlier aris gadajaWvuli. turiz­mis ekonomikuri sargeblianoba da xarjebi garkveulwilad yvelas exeba sazo­gadoebaSi. ekonomikuri efeqtebis analizi iZleva am ekonomikuri urTerT­damokidebulebis Sefasebas, rac turizmis rolis da mniSvnelo­bis ukeT gaazrebas uwyobs xels.

\* \* \*

ekonomikuri efeqtebis analizi daviwyoT turizmis danaxarjis cvli­lebiT, gamowveuli „pirdapiri efeqtis“ mniSvnelobis ganmartebiT. pirda­piri efeqti, rogorc saxelidan Cans, Tavad turistul danaxarjs war­moadgens. yoveli kvlevisaTvis turizmis efeqtis gasazomad sawyisi wer­tilia turistebis danaxarjebi ganTavsebaze, sakvebze, dResaswaulebze, sayidlebsa da sxvadasxva turistuli danaxarjebis kategoriebze. aRniSnu­lis Sefasebas vaxdenT gansxvavebuli tipis mogzauris mier ganxor­cie­lebuli danaxarjebis Sesabamisad. Semdeg mocemuli danaxarjebis dife­rencireba SesaZlebeli xdeba sxvadasxva danaxarjTa kategoriis mixedviT. saboloo nabijs ki warmoadgens pirdapiri efeqtebis gamoTvla iseT cvla­debze, rogoric aris warmoeba, dasaqmeba, eqsporti da gadasaxadebi.

vizitorebis danaxarjebis Sefasebas msoflioSi ramdenime meTodiT axdenen. maT Sorisaa: saerTaSoriso da Sida vizitorebis kvleva, Semosv­lis da gasvlis baraTebi, erovnuli bankis kvleva da turistuli obieq­tebis kvleva.

**saerTaSoriso vizitorebis kvleva.** smitis (Smith) azriT, „turizmis ekonomikuri efeqtebis kvlevebis sazomebis umravlesoba specifikuri indikatorebia, romelic mxolod vizitorebis gamokiTxvis bazaze aris dafuZnebuli“ [Smith, 2000:225]. es kvlevebi damyarebulia SerCevaze, ris Semdegac xdeba maTi mTlian populaciaze ganzogadeba. kiTxvarSi arsebuli danaxarjebTan dakavSirebuli kiTxvebi, rogorc wesi, gvaZlevs vizitoris saSualo danaxarjis Sefasebas erT dReSi, Semdeg am ricxvis Sesabamisi vizitorebis raodenobaze gadamravlebiT viRebT vizitorebis mTlian danaxarjs [Crompton, Lee, Shuster ,2001:84].

mogzaurebis gamokiTxva SesaZlebelia maSin, roca isini Sedian qvey­nis teritoriaze, toveben qveynis teritorias an gamokvlevis teri­toriaze imyofebian. garda amisa, satranzito kvlevebi SesaZloa Catardes, roca mogzaurebi mgzavroben TviTmfrinaviT, matarebliT, avtobusiT, gemiT destinaciisken an destinaciidan da mas Semdeg, rac vizitorebi saxlSi dabrundebian [Daniels, Margaret, Norman, Henry 2004:185]. am kvlevebidan yvelaze naklebad damakmayofilebeli vizitorebis Semosvlisas da satranzito periodSi gamokiTxvaa, radgan maT ar SeuZliaT realuri danaxarjebis Sesaxeb informaciis moZieba, mxolod im Tanxas igeben, romlis daxarjvac mosalodnelia mogzaurobis dros. intervius meTodebi moicavs perso­nalur da TviTadministrirebad gamokiTxvas (kiTxvarebis gadacema da Semdeg ukan gamorTmeva xdeba SerCeuli vizitorebisTvis).

albaTobaze dafuZnebuli vizitorebis SerCeva ar aris martivi amocana, Tumca is erTaderTia SerCevis meTodebs Soris, romelsac vali­duri da sando SerCeva SeuZlia populaciis Sesaxeb [Vanhove, 2005:22]. geT­zis (Getz) azriT, arc erTi araSemTxveviTi meTodi ar unda iqnes gamo­yenebuli mTliani populaciis maxasiaTeblebis Sesafaseblad, mkacri sta­tistikuri praqtikis Sesabamisad“ [Getz, 1994:440], rac niSnavs kvotirebis da sxva moxerxebuli SerCevis meTodebis ugulebelyofas. flemingis da toeperis (Fleming and Toepper) azriT ki, didi SerCevis zomas ar SeuZlia defeqturi SerCevis dizainis kompensireba [Fleming, Toepper, 1990:37].

monacemebi adasturebs, rom vizitorebis mier qveynis datovebisas Catarebul kvlevebs yvelaze zusti informaciis mocema SeuZlia vizito­rebis danaxarjebze, Tu informaciis gaxseneba xdeba wina 24 saaTis Sesaxeb da gamravlebulia gamoTvlili gaCerebis saSualo periodze [Frechtling, 1994:370.

**Semosvlis da gasvlis baraTebi.** bevr qveyanaSi Semosvlis da gasvlis baraTebi umniSvnelovanesi wyaroa saerTaSoriso vizitorebis dinebis da maTi maxasiaTeblebis Sesaxeb, maT Soris danaxarjebisac. msoflio turiz­mis organizaciis 2008 wlis rekomendaciebSi naxsenebia, rom rodesac Semomyvani mogzaurobis gazomvis SesaZlebloba aris sazRvrebze, reko­mendebulia iseTi administraciuli kontrolis saSualeba, rogoricaa Se­mosvla/gasvlis baraTebi Seivsos an Canacvldes mogzaurebis kvleviT, ZiriTadad maSin, roca vizitorebi qveyanas toveben. Semosvlis da gasvlis baraTebis vizitorebis kvleviT Canacvlebis rekomendacia gamowveulia am meTodis naklovanebebiT. aeroportis da imigraciis administraciis xe­d­­­­­va dakavSirebulia momxmareblebis umaRlesi xarisxis momsaxurebis mi­wo­­debasa da ucxoeli vizitorebis registraciis avtomatizaciasTan. isi­ni cdiloben, Seamciron mgzavrebis Camosvlis dabrkolebebi aero­portebSi. maTi xedviT es mizani umniSvnelovanesia maspinZeli qveynis­Tvis da Semosvla/gasvlis baraTebi swored am dabrkolebaSi moiazreba, radgan dakavSirebulia vizitorebis mTliani raodenobis mier monace­mebis xeliT SeyvanasTan.

baraTebis sxva naklovaneba dakavSirebulia mis zomasa da admi­nis­trirebasTan. baraTebi, rogorc informaciis wyaro SezRudulia ba­ra­Tis zomidan gamomdinare. misi zomis gazrda masSi damatebiTi kiTxvebis SetaniT arc ise advilia. rac ufro meti dro sWirdeba baraTis Sev­se­bas, ufro rTulia maTi administrireba, Sesabamisad ufro rTulia yvela mgzavris darwmuneba maT SevsebaSi. logistikasTan dakavSirebuli sakiTxebi erT-erTi mniSvnelovani dabrkolebaa Semosvla/gasvlis bara­Tebis gamoyenebisas. baraTebis brunvis Seyovnebebi, romelic dakav­Si­rebulia mis erTad mogrovebasTan, aRricxvasa da dekodi­re­basTan, iw­vevs dagvianebul analizs da monacemTa gamoqveynebas. aseve, gazrdili aero­portebis raodenobis da mgzavrTa nakadis pirobebSi momatebuli baraTebis raodenoba moiTxovs damatebiT muSaxelis daqiravebas, rac monacemebze pasuxismgebel organos mZime tvirTad awveba.

msoflio turizmis organizaciis gamokiTxvis Tanaxmad, msof­lios 125 qveynidan, sadac Semomyvani turizmis Sesaxeb informacias agroveben, 90 iyenebs Semosvlis da gasvlis baraTebs, mas mosdevs saerTaSoriso vizitorebis kvleva da ganTavsebebSi vizitorebis gamokiTxva. bevri qve­yana maTi gamokiTxvis meTodebis kombinirebas axdens. aTidan Svidi qve­yana msoflioSi iyenebs Semosvla/gasvlis baraTebs, Tumca es maCve­ne­be­li ufro mcirea evropaSi, sadac sazRvrebi Ria da ufro datvirTu­lia. aq mxolod aTidan 5 qveyana iyenebs am meTods. es maCvenebeli bev­rad uf­ro didia aziur qveynebSi [UNWTO, 1978:18]. Tu davakvirdebiT ro­gor icvleba Semomyvani turizmis gazomvis meTodologiebis gamoyeneba dro­Ta ganmavlobaSi SevamCnevT, rom baraTebis gamoyeneba stabiluria an odav mcirdeba msoflioSi, maSin roca Semomyvani vizitorebis kvle­vis gamoyeneba gasammagda bolo 20 wlis ganmavlobaSi. savaraudoa, es ten­dencia momavalSic gagrZeldeba [UNWTO, 2005:10].

**Sida vizitorebis kvleva.** msoflio turizmis organizacia Sina­meurneobebis kvlevas yvelaze efeqtur da moxerxebul instrumentad gani­xi­lavs Sida turizmis aqtivobebis gasazomad [UNWTO, 2005:1]. bevr qveyanas aqvs sistemebi, sadac mudmivad xdeba albaTur SerCevaze dafuZ­nebuli Si­nameurneobebis gamokiTxvebis Catareba samomxmareblo danaxar­jebze, pirad Semosavalze, dasaqmebaze, samuSao ZalaSi monawileobasa da samomxmareblo Taviseburebebze [UNWTO, 2005:28]. vizitorebs sTxoven, ganasxvaon Cveuli garemos gareT gakeTebuli Sesyidvebi adgilobrivisgan. zog SemTxvevaSi Si­na­meurneobebis kvlevebi mTlianad Sida turizmis aqtivobebsa da dana­xarjebze informaciis mosaZieblad tardeba [Dae-Kwan, Spots, Holecek, 1998:110].

am meTodis validurobis mTavari safrTxe aris gaxsenebis Sefasebis sistematiuri Secdoma an maxsovrobis defeqtebi. es problemebi iqmneba im SemTxvevaSi, Tu vizitorebs ekiTxebian maTi mogzaurebis aqtivobebis Se­saxeb vizitis Sesrulebis Semdeg erTi Tvidan 1 wlis SualedSi. uzus­toba gansxvavebulia da damokidebulia mgzavrobasa da gamokiTxvas Soris ar­sebul droze. aseTi uzustobebi dokumentirebulia turistuli dana­xarjis kvlevebSi.

turistul aqtivobasa da kvlevis Catarebas Soris ganvlil dros mniSvnelovani gavlena aqvs mgzavrobebis raodenobis gaxsenebaze. mkvle­va­rebma aRmoaCines, rom respondentebis mier naTqvami mgzavrobebis raodenoba mcirdeba gaxsenebis periodis zrdasTan erTad [Lian, Denstadli, 2003:111]. amerikaSi mogzaurobis kvlevam, romelic SeerTebuli Statebis mTavrobam Caatara 1995 wels, respondentebs sTxoves gaexsenebinaT in­terviumde sami TviT adre ganxorcielebuli mgzavrobebis raodenoba. Sedegebis analizma aCvena, rom Sesabamisad ufro meti mgzavrobebi iqna napasuxebi, roca sTxovdnen erTi Tvis winandeli periodis gaxsenebas, vidre 2 da 3 Tvis SemTxvevaSi[[1]](#footnote-1). garda amisa, safrangeTis erovnuli persona­luri transpor­ti­­rebis kvlevaSi aRmoaCines, rom „xalxi iviwyebs maT biznesvizitebs ufro xSirad, vidre maT moklevadian pirad vizitebs da ukanasknels ufro xSirad, vidre maT grZelvadian pirad vizitebs [Armoogum, Madre, 2003:152] .

unda aRiniSnos, rom vizitorebis danaxarjebis kvlevebSi xSir prob­lemas (es iqneba Sinameurneobebi Tu saerTaSoriso vizitorebi) warmoad­gens turebi paketiT, sadac transportis, ganTavsebis, sakvebis, garTobis kombinireba xdeba da erT fasad aris SeTavazebuli. aseTma turma SeiZleba moicvas viziti ramdenime destinaciaze. Semsyidvelebi ver ansxvaveben, Tu ra fasi aqvs TiToeul kategorias mocemul teritoriaze. Sedegad, maT ar SeuZliaT miscen interviuers sando informacia maTi danaxarjebis gana­wilebis Sesaxeb (mag. ganTavsebaze, sakvebze, lokalur transportze). msoflio turizmis organizaciis rekomendaciiT paketiT turebze dana­xarjebis gamosaTvlelad turoperatorebis kvlevis gamoyenebaa saWiro imisTvis, rom vizitorebis pasuxebi gadanawildes mTliani paketis dana­xarjebze [UNWTO, 2000:62].

**erovnuli bankis kvleva.** ucxouri valutis gacvliTi transaqciebis sabanko Canawerebi yvelaze xSirad gamoyenebuli meTodia turistuli danaxarjis mogrovebis meTodebs Soris [Sheldon 1993:33]. mravali qveyana zomavs ucxoeli vizitorebis danaxarjebs maTi qveynis sazRvrebSi uc­xouri valutis Sesyidvis raodenobiT. qveynis centraluri banki cdilobs, gamoTvalos erovnuli valutis odenoba, romlis gayidvac moxda ucxoel vizitorebze saagentoebisgan, romlebic am operaciebs axorcieleben. am sistemis validuroba damokidebulia sistemis SesaZleblobaze [UNWTO 2000:63], ganasxvaos saerTaSoriso vizitorebis mier ganxorcielebuli transaqciebi sxva transaqciebisgan; moicvas saerTaSoriso vizitorebis yvela ganxorcielebuli tranzaqcia (dafarvis principi);uzrunvelyos transzaqciebis Cawera, identificireba da sizustis dacviT gadacema centralur bankze.

am meTods, msoflio turizmis organizaciis eqspertebis azriT, ramdenime problema aqvs, rac erovnuli bankis mier saerTaSoriso vizi­torebis danaxarjebis Sefasebas safrTxes uqmnis. centraluri bankis meTods ucxoeli vizitorebis danaxarjebis gamoTvla mxolod erovnul doneze SeuZlia da ver axdens am danaxarjebis kategoriebis daTvlas an romelime Sida danaxarjis daangariSebas. es xels uSlis mis gamoyenebas vizitorebis danaxarjebis gasazomad regionebze an asocirebul indi­vidualur RonisZiebebze. es meTodi ugulebelyofilia evropaSi sxva mizezebis gamoc. evrokavSiris monacemebze dayrdnobiT meTodi gamoiye­neboda sagadasaxdelo balansSi kategoria mogzaurobis gamosaTvlelad 11 evropul qveyanaSi [Ortolani 2000:25] . mas Semdeg, rac am qveynebSi evros SemoReba moxda, maT mouwiaT SerCevaze dafuZnebuli gamokiTxvis meTodze gadasvla. Sejamebis saxiT SeiZleba vTqvaT, rom es meTodi ver asrulebs dafarvis, relevanturobis da sizustis principebs da ar gamoiyeneba regionebsa da calkeul RonisZiebebze.

**turistuli obieqtebis kvleva**. turizmis sxvadasxva seqtoris, maT Soris sxvadasxva transportis \_ sahaero, rkinigzis, sakruizo servisis gamyidvlebs SesaZlebloba aqvT, vizitorebis danaxarjebis Sefaseba maRa­li sizustiT moaxdinon. Tumca naklebad savaraudoa, rom restornebs, benzingasamarT sadgurebs, sportul gasarTob centrebs saSualeba hqon­deT, ganacalkevon vizitorebi rezidentebisgan. es meTodi problema­turia, radgan SeiZleba moicvas adgilobrivi danaxarjebi, SeiZleba ar moicvas yvela is dawesebuleba, sadac vizitori fuls xarjavs da ver SeZlebs vizitorebis raodenobis, gaCerebis xangrZlivobisa da sxva maCveneblebis Sefasebas [Sheldon 1990:230]. am meTodTan dakavSirebuli sxva problema aris is, rom am dawesebulebebis menejerebma SeiZleba uari ganacxadon mona­cemebis gaziarebaze imis SiSiT, rom es monacemebi maTi konkurentebis xelSi aRmoCndeba [Vaughan ,Slee 2000:100].

mkvlevarebi zemoT mocemul statistikur meTodebs iyeneben sxva­dasxva ekonomikuri indikatorebis analizisTvis, romelzec turizms eko­nomikuri efeqtis moxdena SeuZlia. maT Soris SesaZlebelia Semdegi Zi­riTadi indikatorebis gamoyofa warmoeba, dasaqmeba, Semosavali, eqsporti da garemoze efeqti.

**warmoeba.** mkvlevarTa mier xSirad xorcieldeba warmoebis gazrdili donis, mSp-s an romelime sxva indikatoris gazomva,romelic regionisTvis ekonomikuri aqtivobis maCvenebelia. turizmi vizitorebis danaxarjebis Sedegad axdens didi raodenobiT damatebuli Rirebulebis generirebas, misi wili msoflio Siga produqtSi 10%-s aRwevs.

**dasaqmeba.** mkvlevarebis interesis obieqti xSirad xdeba turistuli aqtivobis Sedegad dasaqmebaSi gamowveuli cvlilebebi. turizms gan­sa­kuTrebuli roli aqvs ganviTarebad qveynebSi, sadac tradiciuli seq­to­rebis garda arsebobs damatebiTi samuSao adgilebis saWiroeba. ekono­mikuri perspeqtiviT turizmis yuradRebis centrSi yofnis erT-erTi mizezi misi Sromatevadobaa sxva industriebTan SedarebiT. turizmi ZiriTadad koncentrirebulia servisis seqtorSi, sadac adamianebs Soris meti kon­taqtia da, Sesabamisad, ufro meti samuSao adgili iqmneba. yoveli damate­biTi dolari, daxarjuli turizmis ganviTarebaze, qmnis bevrad met da­saqmebas danarCen seqtorebTan SedarebiT.

turizmi, rogorc Sromatevadi industria, dasaqmebis SesaZleblobas iZleva maTTvis, vinc samuSao bazarze pirvelad Semodis an aqvs dasaqmebis problemebi. turizmi mniSvnelovan rols TamaSobs dasaqmebis SesaZleb­lobebis gaCenaSi dabalkvalificiuri muSaxelisTvis, eTnikuri umcire­sobebisTvis, migrantebisTvis, dausaqmebeli axalgazrdebisTvis, qale­bisTvis ojaxuri movaleobebiT, romlebsac mxolod arasruli samuSao ganakveTiT SeuZliaT muSaoba [UNWTO, ILO, 2014:17].

Tumca, meore mxriv, turizmi aseve moiTxovs datreningebul da ganaTlebul muSaxels. turizmi Seqmnilia mravali sxvadasxva segmentisgan, romelic moicavs transportirebas, ganTavsebas, sakvebs, mogzaurobis dagegmvas, komunikacias, garTobas da bevr sxva komponents. turizmis sxva­dasxva elementi moiTxovs inovaciur da kreatiul menejerebs, romlebic ganaTlebulebi arian da SeuZliaT adaptireba moaxdinon cvalebad gare­moSi. turizmis zrdadoba da diversifikacia ganapirobebs Sromis bazris gafarToebas. teqnologias esaWiroeba menejerebi, romlebsac gaazrebuli aqvT turistuli informaciis sxvadasxva SesaZleblobebiT gavrcelebis aucilebloba, rogoricaa mobiluri telefoni, internetis da smar­t­fonebis aplikaciebi an navigaciuri sistemebi. aseve, swrafad mzardi seg­mentia da didi raodenobis samuSao adgilebs qmnis festivalebi da Ronis­Ziebebi, sadac dasaqmebulebis kreatiuloba da inovaciurobaa aucilebeli. turizmi damokidebulia xarisxian servisze da maRal doneze datrei­nin­ge­bul muSaxelze, Sesabamisad moTxovna aseT personalze mudam mzardi iqneba. turizmis industriis warmateba damokidebuli iqneba profe­sio­na­lizmis maRal doneze [Edgell, Swanson, 2013:100]. turizmis biznesebi xSirad individis an ojaxis kuTvnilebaa. mcire da saSualo biznesi moiTxovs nakleb kapitals, rac SesaZleblobas qmnis, mosaxleobisTvis daiwyos biznesi. xSirad qalebi iyeneben arsebul unarebs imisTvis, rom gaxsnan mcire zomis biznesebi, rogoricaa gesThausebi da restornebi [Mc Kenzie, 2007:480].

msoflioSi ganTavsebis saSualebebSi saSualod erTi adamiania dasaqmebuli erT oTaxze. erTi samuSao adgili mTavar turistul indust­ri­a­Si qmnis erTnaxevar (arapirdapir) samuSao adgils turizmTan dakav­Sirebul ekonomikaSi. ufro metic, sami muSaxeli arapirdapir damokidebulia TiToeul ganTavsebis saSualebaSi momuSave adamianze, rogoricaa turis­tuli saagentos personali, gidebi, taqsi, avtobusis mZRolebi, sakvebis da sasmelis mimwodeblebi, suvenirebis gamyidvlebi da sxva, aseve aeroportSi dasaqmebulebi [Bolwell, Weinz, 2008:6].

Sedegad, turizmis industria mravali saxis dasaqmebis SesaZleb­lobas iZleva da, rac yvelaze mniSvnelovania, qmnis siRaribis daZlevis SesaZleblobebs ganviTarebad qveynebSi.

**Semosavali.** saxelmwifos mizania damatebiTi Semosavlis, maT Soris sagadasaxado Semosavlebis miReba, romelic, Tavis mxriv, gazrdili tu­ristuli danaxarjebis Sedegad iqneba miRebuli. saxelmwifo sagadasaxado Semosavlebs iRebs turistebis sxvadasxva aqtivobidan. magaliTad, turisti ixdis oTaxisTvis, rac bevr saxelmwifoSi ibegreba. garda amisa, saga­dasaxado Semosavlebis generireba aseve xorcieldeba sastumroSi dasaq­mebulebidan da biznessawarmoebis mogebidan.

turizmi mniSvnelovani Semosavlis wyaroa msoflios umravlesi qveynisTvis. turistuli danaxarjebidan saerTaSoriso Semosvlebi zrdas ganagrZobs, rac mas sagadasaxado Semosavlebis mniSvnelovan generatorad aqcevs. saerTaSoriso vizitorebi did danaxarjebs axorcieleben saqo­nelsa da momsaxurebaze, amas Sedegad ki mniSvnelovani mateba moaqvs Se­mosavalze. turistebi dainteresebulebi arian maRalxarisxiani produq­tebis da, aseve, adgilobrivad Seqmnili produqtebis SeZeniT, kargi kvebiT, RirsSesaniSnaobebis daTvalierebiT da kulturuli aqtivobebiT. turizmi moicavs mogzaurebis saqonelsa da momsaxurebaze yvela danaxarjs. man SeiZleba moicvas transporti, ganTavseba, RirsSesaniSnaoba, sakvebi, gar­Toba, suvenirebi, turebi da sxva. es Sesyidvebi aseve moicavs turizmis mxar­damWeri industriebis produqcias, rogorebicaa banki, taqsi, avtobusebi, kamera da filmebi, sarezervacio sistemebi, kompiuterebi, telefonebi da sxva. ar unda dagvaviwydes saerTaSoriso turistuli danaxarjebi aseve moicavs aviakompaniebs, rkinigzas, sakruizo gemebs da manqanebis gaqiravebas [Edgell, Swanson 2013:102].

**eqsporti.** turizmi ekonomikuri ganviTarebis mniSvnelovani elemen­tia, radgan saeqsporto industriaa. is uzrunvelyofs saqonlisa da mom­saxurebis vizitorebze gayidviT axali fulis Semodinebas ekonomikaSi. turizmi gansxvavdeba sxva saeqsporto industriebisgan, romlebic gayid­vebs saqonlis gadazidviT axorcieleben. igi sakuTari servisebis gayidvas vizitorebis mozidviT axdens. miuxedavad amisa, turizmis industriisTvis, iseve, rogorc sxva industriebisaTvis, romlebic saqonels sazRvargareT yidian, fuladi nakadebi analogiuri efeqtis momxdenia: ekonomikaSi xdeba axali fulis Semodineba [Reece, 2010:51].

turizmi mravalferovani seqtoria, Sedgeba mravali sxvadasxva in­dus­triebisa da firmebisgan. arsebobs martivad cnobadi didi kor­po­ra­ciebi, romelTac sakuTrebaSi aqvT sastumros qselebi, aviakompaniebi, sak­ruizo xazebi, gasaqiravebeli manqanebis saagentoebi, Tematuri parkebi da sxva. garda amisa, arsebobs mcire sawarmoebi, rogoricaa saojaxo sas­tumroebi, restornebi, sasaCuqre maRaziebi da sxva. es gansxvavebuli fir­mebi dainteresebulebi arian turizmSi rogorc eqsportSi, radgan saerTa­Soriso vizitori ufro mets xarjavs, vidre adgilobrivi [Edgell, Swanson 2013:103].

**garemoze efeqti.** garemoze ekonomikuri efeqtebi moicavs: socialur da kulturul efeqtebs (mosaxleoba, cxovrebis stili da sxva); fizikur efeqtebs (mSenebloba, danagvianeba, erozia da sxva); biologiur efeqtebs (egzotikuri jiSebis gadaSeneba da sxva) [Reece, 2010:51].

**daskvna**

amrigad, turizmi umniSvnelovanes rols TamaSobs ekonomikaSi da misi pirdapiri gavlena sxvadasxva ekonomikur indikatorebze mravalmxrivia. turizmis ekonomikuri efeqtianobis analizi da Sesabamisi kvlevebi mniSvnelovania dagegmvisa da ekonomikuri politikis formirebisTvis. is aseve mniSvnelovani faqtoria marketinguli da menejeruli gadawyve­tilebebisTvis. sazogadoebas sWirdeba, gaiazros turizmis mniSvneloba saxelmwifo Tu regionis ekonomikaSi. am naSromSi warmodgenili msof­lioSi gavrcelebuli turizmis ekonomikuri gavlenis gazomvis meTo­do­logiebis analizis saqarTvelos realobaSi gaTvaliswineba umniSvne­lovanesia.

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**METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN MEASURING TOURISM DIRECT ECONOMIC BENEFITS**

**Expanded Summary**

Tourism is the most viable and sustainable economic development option for Georgia and one of the main sources of foreign exchange earnings. Number of international traveler visits is increasing in Georgia, contributing to the national economy. The given article stresses the necessity of research based economic policy in tourism sector. In this regard, it is of paramount importance to measure direct economic effects of the tourism. Public would like to know how much inbound visitors are contributing to the economy. In this article we discuss the methodology available around the world that helps answering this question.

Tourism recognition as an economic development tool is increasing in lesser-developed nations, including Georgia. Tourism can promote economic development more quickly, than other industries, it can attract significant amount of financial capital, support infrastructural development and provide new job opportunities. Furthermore, if the country’s economic policy is strictly oriented on poverty reduction the largest share of income from tourism will go to the poorest segment of the population, contributing to the reduction of poverty in the country. Another use of tourism can be for rural population development. Rural communities in Georgia are looking for the alternatives of the tradition industries that can generate addition income. Tourism can be the industry that will provide addition source of income for the people, especially in mountainous regions.

The society in Georgia is increasingly interested in economic effects of tourism. They would like to know how addition expenditure spent by visitor can effect different economic variables. The expenditure from visitor is viewed as a direct economic effect of tourism. Expenditures can come in different forms and applied methodology of measurement may also be different, including: international visitor survey, entry/departure cards, domestic visitor survey, national bank survey and tourist establishment survey.

International visitor survey focuses on international visitors travelling in the country. The survey can be conducted as they enter the country, as they leave the country, or while they are still in the country. Furthermore, route surveys can also be conducted while they are travelling using different transport means to or from the destination. Among these methods most efficient are the one conducted while visitor departs from the country. It allows to capture actual expenditure of the total trip, rather than amounts intended. The experience of other countries shows that the exit-survey model provides most exact expenditure information, if respondents are asked question about previous 24 hour period and multiplied by the projected length of stay.

Entry departure cards are one of the major source for estimation of international visitor expenditure. It allows to measure the total population of visitors and gives opportunity to disaggregate on national level. Its weakness is connected with the administrative burden levied on the visitors, its size and difficulties connected with administration.

Domestic tourism survey measures expenditures of domestic visitors. It is based on household survey and many countries have systems that allow systematic measurement of the variables: personal income, labor force participation and etc. Some countries conduct domestic tourism survey separately, it allows more disaggregation of data connected with tourism. The main weakness connected with this type of surveys are connected with recall bias. Memory effects are mainly connected with miscalculation of number of trips.

Participation of the Central Bank in estimation of visitor’s expenditures is mainly connected with bank records of foreign exchange transactions. A lot of countries estimate international visitor expenditures by computing amount of national currency sold visitors from the agencies actually making this sales. This method has it weaknesses as well. It’s difficult to distinguish international visitor from others, include all transactions made by them and administer accurately data delivery. Furthermore this method does not allow to categorize expenditure types.

Tourist establishment survey measures the expenditure made on main categories of tourism and include: accommodation, restaurant, transportation, etc. Although the providers can measure sales to travelers with a high degree of reliability, it is highly unlikely that they can distinguish international visitors from other customers. Another problem is connected with the refusal to share data. This could be caused by feat that data will be shared with other competitors.

Researchers use methodologies provided above to estimate effects tourism on different economic variables including: output, employment, income, export, and environment.

Output-researchers are often interested how increased expenditure effected levels of output, production, GDP or similar measures.

Employment- researchers measure changing level of employment which is cause by changing level of visitor expenditure.

Income- Tourism is important source of income for the most countries of the world. Expendtiures from tourism are increasing annually generating addition income (also in terms of wage) to the people and to the government as tax revenues.

Export-the expenditure of foreign guests has a huge effect on the national balance of payments. On the asset side, it reports the income from international visitors.

Environment-many researchers go beyond the traditional economic variables and measure social, cultural, physical and biological effects of tourism.

To summarize, tourism plays very important role in economy and its direct contribution to the economic indicators is significant. Tourism Economic effect analysis and corresponding surveys are important for planning and formation of economic policy. It is also the source for marketing and management decisions in tourism and other industries as well. Society needs to understand the importance of tourism in economy. For this, methodologies discussed in this paper and accepting world’s best practices is of paramount importance in Georgia.

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**saxelmwifo marketingi da misi roli marTvis procesSi**

***reziume.*** *statiaSi ganxilulia marketingis mniSvneloba saxelmwifo seq­torSi; sworad SemuSavebuli saxelmwifo marketinguli programebis ro­li qveyanaSi arsebuli socialur-ekonomikuri gamowvevebis pirobebSi.*

*saxelmwifo marketinguli programebisa da teqnologiebis gamoyeneba SesaZleblobas iZleva gadaiWras saxelmwifos winaSe dasmuli amocanebi, daZlios ZiriTadi problemebi, uzrunvelyos kerZo da samoqalaqo sazo­gadoebis ganviTareba. saxelmwifo marketingi marTvis sistemis ganu­yo­fe­li nawilia, romelic socialur-ekonomikur da politikur procesebTan aris integrirebuli. mis ZiriTad amocanas warmoadgens sazogadoebisa da kerZo seqtoris moTxovnilebebis dakmayofileba.*

*statiaSi warmodgenilia Cven mier Seswavlili centraluri da adgi­lobrivi organoebis marketinguli midgomebi da aqtivobebi. marke­tinguli kvlevis farglebSi Seswavlil iqna samTavrobo marketinguli programebi marketinguli instrumentebis gamoyenebisa da qveynis imijis amaRlebis mimarTulebiT. aqvea naCvenebi kvlevis Sedegebze dayrdnobiT gakeTebuli zogierTi daskvna.*

***sakvanZo sityvebi:*** *marketingi, saxelmwifo marketingi, marTva, saxelmwifo seqtori.*

**Sesavali**

marketingis gamoyeneba sasicocxlod mniSvnelovania rogorc kerZo, ise saxelmwifo seqtorisTvis. qveyanaSi arsebuli socialur-ekonomikuri problemebis gamowvevebis pirobebSi umniSvnelovanes rols iZens sworad SemuSavebuli saxelmwifo marketinguli programebi, marTvis inovaciuri meTodebi da efeqtiani socialur-ekonomikuri politika.

saxelmwifo marketinguli programebisa da teqnologiebis gamoyeneba SesaZleblobas iZleva gadaiWras saxelmwifos winaSe dasmuli amocanebi, daZlios ZiriTadi problemebi, uzrunvelyos kerZo da samoqalaqo sazo­gadoebis ganviTareba.

saxelmwifo marketingi marTvis sistemis ganuyofeli nawilia, rome­lic socialur-ekonomikur da politikur procesebTan aris integri­re­buli. mis ZiriTad amocanas warmoadgens sazogadoebisa da kerZo seqtoris moTxovnilebebis dakmayofileba.

marketinguli saqmianoba mmarTvelobiTi saqmianobis gansakuTrebul saxeobas warmoadgens. nebismier mmarTvelobiT moRvaweobaSi centraluri adgili gadawyvetilebis miRebas ukavia. gadawyvetilebaTa miReba marke­tingis funqciebisa da procedurebis ganxorcielebis logikuri damTav­rebaa. marketinguli gadawyvetilebebis miRebis adekvaturobasa da efeqtu­robaze mniSvnelovnadaa damokidebuli Sedegis miReba [1].

\* \* \*

saxelmwifo marketingi moicavs moqalaqeebsa da saxelmwifos, xalxsa da politikosebs, masebsa da elitas Soris kavSirurTierTobas[2].

saxelmwifo marketingis misia, mizani da Sesasrulebeli amocanebi warmodgenilia sworad SemuSavebul da ganxorcielebul saxelmwifo marketingul programebSi.

mTavrobis mier marketinguli teqnologiebis gamoyenebis aucileb­lobas ganapirobebs saxelmwifos mier sazogadoebrivi amocanebis ganxor­cieleba, marTvis procesi, moqalaqeebis saWiroebebisa da moTxovnilebebis dakmayofileba, saSinao da sagareo bazrebze mewarmeTa mxardaWera, da­debiTi imijis Camoyalibeba, adgilobrivi mewarmeebis xelSewyoba ucxouri bazrebis aTvisebis mizniT, erovnuli ekonomikuri struqturebis rolis zrda, saeqsporto produqciis konkurentunarianobis zrda, sainvesticio mimzidvelobis zrda, qveynis globaluri da lokaluri miznebi. aseve, qveyanaSi sainformacio da prevenciuli RonisZiebebis gatareba (magaliTad, mavne CvevebTan brZola).

Tanamedrove pirobebSi marketinguli instrumentebis gamoyeneba efeq­tiania municipalur Tu regionul doneze. aris sakmaod efeqtiani inst­rumenti sxvadasxva tipis problemebis gadaWris, teritoriis socia­lur - ekonomikuri ganviTarebis, saxelmwifo momsaxurebis amaR­lebis, qalaqebis brendingis, investiciebis mozidvis, turizmis populariza­ciisaTvis, rac, jamSi xels uwyobs mosaxleobis cxovrebis donis amaRlebas.

saxelmwifo marTvis doneebidan (federaluri, saxelmwifo da adgilobrivi) adgilobrivi mTavroba yvelaze axlos aris sazogadoebasTan (dainteresebul mxareebsa da subieqtebTan). es gaTvaliswinebulia loka­lur samTavrobo aqtivobebsa da programebSi [3].

kvlevebi adasturebs, rom marketingi, rogorc sazogado termini, gansxvavebuli mniSvnelobiT aris warmodgenili samTavrobo da biznes seqtorSi, sadac centraluri da adgilobrivi mTavrobis mier marke­tin­guli gegma da marketinguli instrumentebis gamoyeneba SesabamobaSi unda iyos mis potencialTan.

marketingul gegmas gadamwyveti mniSvneloba aqvs biznesis Tu saxelm­wifo seqtoris warmatebisaTvis. marketinguli gegma emsaxureba marketin­gul Zalisxmevas, iTvaliswinebs strategiul da taqtikur kom­ponentebs, gansazRvravs sabazro SesaZleblobebs, ikvlevs da aanalizebs miznobrivi segmentis specifikur saWiroebebs, axdens produqtisa da momsaxurebis stimulirebas [4].

saxelmwifo seqtorSi marketingi ganixileba, rogorc monoliTi, romelic warmodgenilia xelmZRvanelebis marketinguli ideebiTa da prog­ramebiT. saxelmwifo organizaciebSi naCvenebia Semdegi marketinguli for­mebi: produqtisa da momsaxurebis marketingi, socialuri marketingi, dema­rketingi (saxsrebis optimizaciis mizniT) da politikuri marketingi [5].

saxelmwifo marketingi konceptualurad neitraluria, amasTan mo­na­wileobs demokratiul procesebSi. misi koncefcia, meTodi da teqno­logia dafuZnebulia sazogadoebriv marketingze. gamoiyeneba sazo­gadoe­basTan, politikosebTan, biznes da saxelmwifo seqtorTan urTie­rTq­me­debisaTvis [6].

saxelmwifo marketingSi ZiriTad samizned ganixileba 3 tipis saxelm­wifo momxmarebeli [7]:

* mimwodeblebi (kontraqtorebis/specialistebis CaTvliT);
* gavlenis momxdeni pirebi (programis menejerebis/gadawyvetilebis mimRebi pirebis CaTvliT);
* saboloo momxmareblebi (produqtisa da momsaxurebis momxmare­beli TanamSromlebis CaTvliT).

kvlevebi adasturebs, rom politikuri subieqtebis marketinguli stra­tegia, programebi da gamoyenebuli marketinguli teqnologiebi pir­dapir kavSirSia politikur sistemasTan, procesebis marTvasa da marTvis koncefciasTan.

marketinguli strategiis SemuSavebis procesSi gasaTvaliswinebelia Semdegi ZiriTadi mimarTulebebi:

1. qveynis prioritetebis gansazRvra, strategiuli amocanebis dasma da analizi;
2. marketinguli gegmis SemuSaveba, qveynis strategiasTan Sesabamiso­baSi myofi marketingis amocanebis da miznobrivi auditoriis gan­sazRvra; marketinguli kvlevebi da reitingebis analizi;
3. brendis ageba: imijis formireba, brendingi, misi populariza­cii­saTvis instrumentebis SerCeva, reklama; SeTavazeba da qveynis uni­kalurobis warmoCena: sainvesticio SesaZleblobebi, proeqtebi, ideebi, brendebi;
4. finansuri da adamianuri resursi: miznobriv jgufebTan muSaoba, resursebis marTva, marketinguli komunikacia (komunikaciis meTo­debis SerCeva, informaciuli zegavlenis teqnologiebi; resursebis SezRudva da konkurencia [8];
5. marketingmiqsi: marketingmiqsis marTva amartivebs organizaciis marTvis process. marketinguli programebi aCvenebs marketingmiqsis integraciul komponentebs [9];
6. saxelmwifo funqciebis avtomatizacia, marTvisa da eleqtronul momsaxurebis politika [10];
7. socialuri mediamarketingi: marketingSi socialuri media ganixi­leba, rogorc moqalaqeebze orientirebis umniSvnelovanesi instru­menti. misi arxebi brendis aRqmisa da produqtis aTvisebis ZiriTadi platformaa. amasTan, auditoriis rekomendacia warmoadgens moqa­laqeTa ndobis sareklamo saSualebas [10].

zemoaRniSnulis garda, marketinguli strategiaSi ganixileba gav­lenis momxdeni marketingi (influencer marketing-s) samizne jgufebiT, romlebic gavlenas axdens sxvebze saxelmwifo marketinguli miznebiT.

2017 wels Cven SeviswavleT centraluri da adgilobrivi organoebis marketinguli midgomebi da programebi. marketinguli kvlevis farglebSi Seswavlil iqna samTavrobo marketinguli programebi, marketinguli ins­tru­mentebis gamoyenebisa da qveynis imijis amaRlebis programebi. kvle­vam aCvena, rom saxelmwifo uwyebis ZiriTadi nawili SeimuSavebs da efeqtu­rad axorcielebs samTavrobo marketingul programebs. mniSvnelovani mocu-lobisaa saxelmwifo uwyebebis mier aRniSnuli mimarTulebiT gaRebuli xarji.

**daskvna**

Catarebulma marketingulma kvlevam aCvena, rom mosaxleobis cxov­rebis donis amaRlebaze gavlena iqonia ganxorcielebulma infrast­ruq­turulma proeqtebma, wyalmomaragebis sistemis gamarTvam, usafrT­xoebis uzrunvelyofam, ekologiuri problemebis Semcirebam, keTil­mowyobisa da dasufTavebis procesebma.

kvlevisas dadginda, rom sazogadoebas unda mTavrobis kontroli, gamWvirvalobisa da angariSvaldebulebis zrda, mravalferovani produqti da momsaxureba, mTavrobis mier pasuxismgelobisa da produqtiulobis zrda.

jamSi, saxelmwifo, regionul da municipalur doneze, marketin­gu­li programebi qmnis qveynis socialur-ekonomikuri ganviTarebis pirobebs.

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***Lia Metonidze***

**STATE MARKETING AND ITS ROLE IN THE MANAGEMENT PROCESS**

**Expanded Summary**

The article deals with the importance of marketing in the state sector, the role of correctly developed state marketing programs on the condition of socio-economic challenges in the country.

The use of state marketing programs and technologies will facilitate to solve the tasks set before the state, to overcome major problems, to ensure the development of private and civil society. The state marketing is an integral part of the management system that is integrated into socio-economic and political processes. Its main objective is to satisfy the needs of the public and private sectors.

In the article are presented the marketing approaches and activities of central and local bodies studied by us. Within the framework of marketing research have been studied governmental marketing programs in the direction of using marketing instrumentalities and the country image enhancement. Here are some conclusions made based on the results of the survey.

The use of marketing is vital for private and public sector. The challenges of socioeconomic problems in the country are of vital importance to the development of state marketing programs, innovative methods of management and effective socio-economic policy.

Marketing activities are a special type of management activities. The decision-making takes a central place in any management activities. It is a logical end of the implementation of marketing functions and procedures.

Obtaining the results sufficiently depends on the adaptability and efficiency of marketing decision-making.

The article deals with the importance of marketing in the state sector, the role of correctly developed state marketing programs on the condition of socio-economic challenges in the country.

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Our marketing research has shown that the improvement of the living standards of the population has been impacted by infrastructure projects, water supply system, safety, reduction of ecological problems, cleaning and cleaning processes.

The survey revealed that the public should control the government, increase transparency and accountability, diverse product and service, increase government responsibility and productivity.

In total, marketing programs offer state, regional and municipal level the socio-economic development of the country.

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**SOME ISSUES IN IMPROVING THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOR REMUNERATION SYSTEM IN THE CONSTRUCTION SECTOR OF GEORGIA**

***Summary.*** *The paper deals with the opportunities of using one of the methods of strategic analysis and organization of effective remuneration system based on it to achieve financial sustainability in the construction sector of Georgia.*

***Keywords:*** CVP Analysis, marginal income, break-even point, operational leverage, margin of safety.

**Introduction**

At every stage of economic activity, it is important for a businessman, when formulating a business strategy, to answer questions - how much profits are produced at a certain level of sales, also, about the minimum sales volume needed to ensure profitability, stability and growth of the company.

CVP (Cost-Volume-Profit) analysis is one of the most effective methods of strategic analysis. Most auditors and experts use it to better assess the financial performance of the company and to provide well-substantiated recommendations (on organization development strategy).

One of the objectives of the CVP analysis is to determine an optimal proportion of the fixed and variable costs of the organization in such a way as to minimize business risk.

Since a significant part of the fixed and variable costs is the remuneration of labor (in various forms), the purpose of analysis is to organize a flexible system of remuneration in the company.

**Discussion**

The main components of CVP analysis are:

* **Marginal income** – measures the difference between total revenue and variable costs of sales of products (works, services) ;
* **Break-even point**- the level at which total costs and total revenue from sales of products (works, services) are equal (at this point, a business neither earns any profit nor suffers any loss.);
* **Operational leverage** - mechanism to measure the extent of the change in operating income resulting from change in sales volume of products (works, services);
* **Margin of safety** - Showing the deviation from break-even point of actual profit from sales of products (works, services). [1]

As already noted above, the break-even point (BEP) is determined on the basis of the sales volume and the costs incurred. It is necessary to classify costs into fixed costs and variable costs. Variable costs (raw material, piece wage,  etc ) are expenses that vary in proportion to the volume of goods or services. Fixed costs (repair and maintenance costs of equipments and buildings, lease and leasing payments, utilities costs, time salary etc.) are expenses that are not dependent on the volume of production.

The break-even point is calculated by the following formula:

A low break-even point indicates the success of the company, and its increase reflects deterioration of the Company's financial situation. However, it is possible to explicitly assert that in the case where the company scale remains unchanged since the increase in sales automatically leads to increase in fixed costs. Thus, the break-even point is not an optimal indicator of the company's success. It shows what the minimum sales should be so that the company can operate without losses, but not always reflect the financial position of the company. To do this, there is another indicator, in particular margin of safety, which is calculated by the following formula:

The margin of safety indicates the amount by which a company's sales could decrease before the company will become unprofitable. The higher the percentage of this indicator, the more stable the financial situation of the company and less dependence on market fluctuations and rising costs.

On the basis of the presented formulas, it can be concluded that the break-even point will increase when the amount of variable costs increases, but the margin of safety decreases. So, the increase in variable costs of the company (the main part of which is the piece wage) leads to a deterioration in the financial stability of the company.

When the break-even point is reached, the first profit is generated, and the management of the company is interested in its growth rate. To do this, the operational leverage is used, which is expressed  in percentages and calculated by the following formula:

The degree of operational leverage is determined by the costs structure (distribution of funds between variable and fixed costs). The higher the share of fixed costs in the total costs, the higher the degree of operational leverage. A company with low operational leverage has high variable costs.

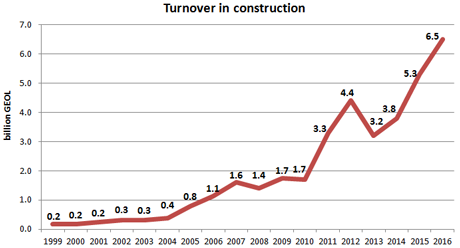
It should be noted that in case of sales growth the company with a high operational leverage increases profit at a rapid pace, but when sales shrink, a high operational leverage may drag on a company’s profits. [2,3]

It is clear that in some cases the high degree of operational leverage, i.e. the high share of fixed costs in the total costs, is not suitable for the company. This means that the dominance of time wages is in some cases harmful to the company in some cases.

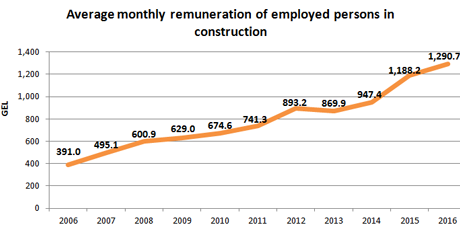
According to 2013 General Industry Compensation Survey of Georgia by EY Georgia, 88% of companies are using variable components together with a fixed salary. However, it should be noted that only 41% of companies have implemented the performance evaluation system that provides an objective determination of the amount of variable compensation of management. Interestingly, the ratio of variable pay to fixed payments is 12% in ordinary workers and 15% in middle and top managers. [4]

Since 2013, the stable growth in turnover and increase in labor costs is observed in the construction sector of Georgia.

According to the National Statistics Office of Georgia, the turnover in the construction sector increased from 3,2 billion GEL in 2013 to 6.5 billion GEL in 2016, or by 203%.



As for the labor costs in the field, they increased from 682.8 million GEL in 2013 to 1 079,1 million GEL in 2016, or by 158%.



The average monthly salary was 869.9 GEL in 2013 and 1290.7 GEL in 2016, which means a 148% increase. [5]



Thus, the statistics show that the growth rate of turnover in the construction sector has outpaced the growth of average monthly wages and total labor costs. That is, the time wage in the salary schedule structure prevails at the current stage.

**Conclusion**

In the formation of the expenditure policy in the construction sector in Georgia, it is necessary to keep proper proportion between the time and piece wages in the salary schedule, so that the company can maintain financial stability even under unstable dynamics of the sales. The best way is to use the Hay`s profile spreadsheet method (grading system) for administrative and support staff, and lump sum salary for the builders (workers, masters and others), which is the most flexible form of remuneration in terms of variable sales.

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***oTar soselia***

*Tbilisis ivane javaxiSvilis saxelobis*

*saxelmwifo universitetis doqtoranti*

**Sromis anazRaurebis sistemis organizaciis srulyofis zogierTi sakiTxi saqarTvelos samSeneblo seqtorSi**

***reziume.*** *statiaSi ganxilulia saqarTvelos samSeneblo seqtorSi fi­nansuri mdgradobis misaRwevad strategiuli analizis erT-erTi meTodis gamoyenebis da mis safuZvelze Sromis anazRaurebis efeqtiani sistemis organizaciis SesaZleblobebi.*

***sakvanZo sityvebi:*** CVP analizi, marginaluri Semosavali, rentabelobis zRvari, samewarmeo (operaciuli) berketi, simtkicis marginaluri maragi.

**Sesavali**

nebismieri ekonomikuri saqmianobis warmarTvisas TiToeul etapze mniSvnelovania biznesmenma sakuTari kompaniis strategiis Camoyalibebisas upasuxos kiTxvebs - ra mogebas naxavs kompania garkveuli donis gayidvebis miRwevisas, aseve, rogoria iseTi minimaluri gayidvebis moculoba, rome­lic aucilebelia organizaciis momgebiani, stabiluri da mzardi funq­cionirebisaTvis.

strategiuli analizis erT-erT efeqtian meTods CVP (Cost-Volume-Profit) analizi warmoadgens. auditorTa da eqspertTa umravlesoba mas kompaniis muSaobis finansuri Sedegebis ufro Rrma Sefasebisa da ufro dasabuTebuli rekomendaciebis (organizaciis ganviTarebis strategiis Sesaxeb) gasacemad iyenebs.

CVP analizis erT-erTi amocanaa organizaciis mudmivi da cvladi xarjebis iseTi optimaluri proporciis gansazRvra, rom samewarmeo riski minimaluri iyos.

vinaidan rogorc mudmivi, aseve cvladi xarjebis mniSvnelovani nawili Sromis anazRaurebaa (sxvadasxva formiT), analizis amocanas kom­paniaSi Sromis anazRaurebis moqnili sistemis organizacia war­moadgens.

CVP analizis sakvanZo elementebia:

* marginaluri Semosavali (**marginal income**) – sawarmos produqciis (samuSao, momsaxureba) gayidvisas Semosavalsa da cvlad xarjebs Soris sxvaoba;
* rentabelobis zRvari (**break-even point**) - maCvenebeli, romelic axasiaTebs produqciis realizaciis iseT moculobas, rodesac sawarmos Semosavali produqciis (samuSao, momsaxureba) gayidve­bidan misi erToblivi xarjebis tolia (anu gayidvebis is moculoba, rodesac sawarmo arc mogebaSia da arc zaralSi);
* samewarmeo (operaciuli) berketi (**operational leverage**) - produqciis (samuSao, momsaxureba) realizaciis moculobis cvlilebidan gamom­dinare sawarmos mogebis marTvis meqanizmia;
* simtkicis marginaluri maragi (**margin of safety**) - produqciis (samuSao, momsaxureba) gayidvebis faqtobrivi Semosavlis rentabelobis zRvridan gadaxris procentuli gamosaxuleba [1].

rogorc aRiniSna, rentabelobis zRvari (BEP) produqciis realizaciis moculobisa da masze gaweuli danaxarjebis Sesaxeb monacemebis safuZvel­ze ganisazRvreba. gaangariSebisas aucilebelia xarjebis cvlad da mudmiv xarjebad dayofa. cvladi xarjebi (nedleuli, masalebi, sanardo xelfasi da sxva) produqciis warmoebis moculobis proporciulad icvleba. mudmivi xarjebi (danadgarebisa da Senoba-nagebobebis remontisa da Senaxvis xarjebi, saijaro da salizingo gadasaxadebi, komunaluri momsaxurebis xarjebi, droiTi Sromis anazRaureba da sxva) ar aris damokidebuli warmoebis moculobaze.

rentabelobis zRvari Semdegi formuliT gamoiangariSeba:

rentabelobis zRvris dabali maCvenebeli aris kompaniis warmatebis niSani, xolo misi zrda kompaniis mdgomareobis gauaresebaze metyvelebs. Tumca, amis mtkiceba SesaZlebelia mxolod im pirobebSi, rodesac kompaniis masStabebi ucvlelia, vinaidan gayidvebis moculobis zrda mudmivi xarjebis avtomaturad zrdas iwvevs. amrigad, rentabelobis zRvari ar war­moadgens kompaniis warmatebulobis optimalur maCvenebels. igi gviCvenebs rogori unda iyos gayidvebis minimaluri moculoba, rom kompaniam zaralis gareSe imuSaos, Tumca yovelTvis ver asaxavs kompaniis finansuri mdgo­mareobis gaZlierebas an Sesustebas. amisaTvis arsebobs sxva maCvenebeli, kerZod, simtkicis marginaluri maragi, romelic Semdegi formuliT gamoiangariSeba:

simtkicis marginaluri maragi miuTiTebs imaze, Tu ramdeni pro­centiT aris savaldebulo realizaciis maCveneblis gazrda kompaniis za­ra­­lis gareSe muSaobisaTvis. rac metia aRniSnuli maCveneblis procentuli gamosaxuleba, miT ufro myaria kompaniis finansuri mdgomareoba da igi naklebad damokidebulia bazris ryevebsa da xarjebis zrdaze.

warmodgenili formulebis safuZvelze SesaZlebelia davaskvnaT, rom cvladi xarjebis zrdasTan erTad izrdeba rentabelobis zRvaric, Tumca mcirdeba kompaniis simtkicis marginaluri maragi. amrigad, kompaniis cvladi xarjebis (romlis ZiriTad nawils sanardo formis xelfasi warmoadgens) zrdis pirobebSi uaresdeba kompaniis finansuri mdgradoba.

rodesac miRweulia rentabelobis zRvari, warmoiqmneba pirveli mogeba, xolo kompaniis menejmenti interesdeba misi zrdis tempiT. aR­niSnulis dasaxasiaTeblad samewarmeo berkets iyeneben, romelic procentebSi aisaxeba da Semdegi formuliT gamoiangariSeba:

samewarmeo berketis sidides xarjebis struqtura (cvlad da mudmiv xarjebs Soris finansebis gadanawileba) gansazRvravs. rac ufro maRalia mudmivi xarjebis wili saerTo xarjebSi, miT maRalia samewarmeo berketi. dabali samewarmeo xarjebis mqone organizaciebSi cvladi xarjebi dominirebs.

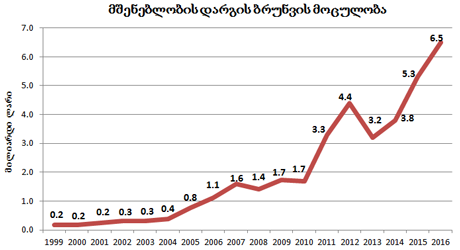
aRsaniSnavia, rom gayidvebis Tanabari zrdis pirobebSi maRali samewarmeo berketis mqone kompaniis mogebis zrda viTardeba swrafi tem­pebiT, Tumca, gayidvebis vardnis SemTxvevaSi maRali samewarmeo berketis mqone kompaniaSi aseve swrafi tempebiT mcirdeba mogebis miRebis procesic [2,3].

naTelia, rom kompaniisaTvis rig SemTxvevaSi maRali sawarmoo ber­keti, anu mudmivi xarjebis maRali wili saerTo xarjebSi ar aris mizan­Sewonili. es niSnavs, rom saxelfaso fondSi Sromis anazRaurebis droiTi formis dominireba rig SemTxvevaSi kompaniisaTvis sazianoa.

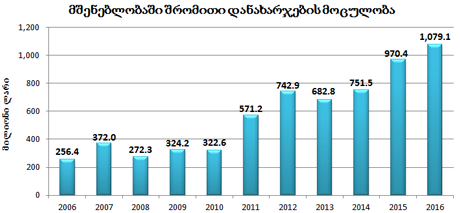
EY georgia-s 2013 wlis saqarTvelos zogadi industriis saxelfaso kvlevis mixedviT, kompaniebis 88%-Si Sromis fiqsirebul anazRaurebasTan erTad cvlad komponentebsac iyeneben, Tumca aRsaniSnavia, rom Tanam­SromelTa Sefasebis iseTi sistema, romelic xelmZRvanelobis cvladi kompensaciis odenobis obieqturi gansazRvris saSualebas iZleva, kompa­niebis mxolod 41%-s aqvs danergili. sainteresoa, rom fiqsirebul anaz­RaurebasTan cvladi anazRaurebis wilobrivma Sefardebam rigiT momu­SaveebSi 12%, xolo saSualo da maRali rgolis menejerebSi 15% Seadgina [4].

2013 wlidan dRemde saqarTveloSi samSeneblo seqtorSi SeiniSneba brunvis moculobis stabiluri zrda da, aseve, aRniSnul sferoSi SromiTi danaxarjebis matebac.

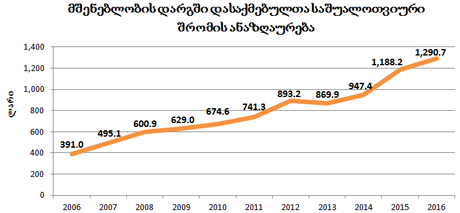
saqarTvelos statistikis erovnuli samsaxuris monacemebiT, qveynis samSeneblo seqtorSi brunva 2013 wlis 3,2 miliardi laridan 2016 wels 6,5 miliard laramde, anu 203%-iT gaizarda.



rac Seexeba dargSi SromiT danaxarjebs fulad gamosaxulebaSi, isini 2013 wlis 682,8 milioni laridan 2016 wlis 1 079,1 milion laramde, anu 158%-iT gazrdilia.



saSualo Tviuri Sromis anazRaureba 2013 wels 869.9 lars, xolo 2016 wels 1290.7 lars Seadgenda, rac 148%-ian zrdas gulisxmobs [5].



amrigad, statistikuri monacemebidan Cans, rom samSeneblo seqtorSi brunvis moculobis zrdis tempi uswrebs saSualo Tviuri Sromis anaz­Raurebisa da saerTo SromiTi danaxarjebis zrdis tempebs, anu saxelfaso fondis struqturaSi droiTi xelfasis Semadgeneli mimdinare etapzec prevalirebs.

**daskvna**

saqarTveloSi samSeneblo seqtorSi xarjebis politikis Camoya­libebisas saWiroa saxelfaso fondSi Sromis anazRaurebis droiTi da sanardo formebis iseTi Tanafardobis dacva, rom gayidvebis arastabiluri dinamikis pirobebSic kompaniam finansuri mdgradobis SenarCuneba SeZlos. optimaluri iqneba administraciuli da damxmare personalisaTvis e.w. greidebis sistemis gamoyeneba, xolo mSeneblebisaTvis (muSebi, ostatebi da sxva) sanardo Sromis anazRaurebis erT-erTi saxis - akorduli Sromis anazRaurebis gamoyeneba, rac cvalebadi gayidvebis pirobebSi xelfasis yvelaze moqnili formaa.

**gamoyenebuli literatura**

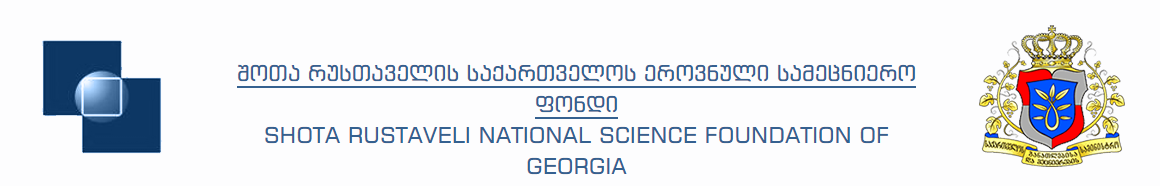
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**ESTIMATION OF GOVERNMENT SPENDING MULTIPLIER IN COUNTRIES IN TRANSITION**

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***Summary.*** *This paper examines theoretical and empirical approaches for estimating government spending multiplier for Countries in Transition, among them the focus here is Post-Soviet Countries (CIS countries). Government spending multiplier is low in developing countries, mainly it is caused with high debt level and weak institutions of those economies, CIS countries are not exception of these features. The paper studies the effects of government spending on CIS economies and how this effect depends on economic conditions, such as public debt level, cyclical position of economy, currency regime and etc.*

*Keywords: government spending multiplier, CIS economies*

***Acknowledgment:*** I would like to show my warm thank to Professor Iuri Ananiashvili, who is my supervisor at the department of econometrics at Tbilisi State University. Also, I wish to present my special thanks to Professor Temirlan Moldogaziev and Professor James Monogan from University of Georgia (USA) for their comments and beneficial revision of the article.

### Introduction

### The main purpose of this paper is to investigate evidence about fiscal policy (spending side) efficiency in CIS countries (Common Wealth of Independent States: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan). Limited numbers of publications are available for developing countries on fiscal multipliers. Actually, the shortfall of relevant evidences about developing countries stems from the data limitation. Moreover, time series on main macroeconomic variables are nonstationary and serial correlation is a serious problem.

### The paper studies the effects of government spending on CIS economies and how this effect depends on economic conditions, such as public debt level, crisis time and exchange rate regime. In order to evaluate effects of spending shock to economy two stage model is applied in the paper. On the first stage, exogenous spending shock is identified and on the next stage its effect to economy is assessed based on fixed effect panel data model. Spending multiplier is not constant and it varies across policy environment, spending effect is stronger in crisis time, however, there are opposite cases as well. Also, bad fiscal time measured in GDP/debt ratio influence negatively on multiplier effect, as well as in case of currency peg regime the spending effect is stronger. The paper contributes to literature on fiscal policy in CIS economies by identifying government spending effect across different policy environment.

After global financial crisis in 2008-2009 and the boost of Bubble on the assets market, we face sequential boost in the literature as general and about fiscal policy efficiency in particular. Interest among economists is due to unprecedented huge fiscal stimulation packages proposed by national governments for recovering their economies. In principle, the total amount of anti-crisis package was $2.18 trillion or 3.5% of world`s GDP. Existed literature about developed countries shows high efficiency of fiscal policy, i.e. high multipliers. In contrast, despite this boost in literature about developed countries, the developing countries still remain as a periphery of researches about the government spending multiplier and CIS countries are not exception.

There is no “the multiplier”[[2]](#footnote-2) and the effect of government spending varies with economic conditions. The size of the multiplier is affected by crowding out effect of private consumption and investment, if this effect dominates, then multiplier is small and sometimes it can be negative. However, the effect varies in response to the economic situation. During economic and financial crisis fiscal policy is more efficient than in expansion, as there is scarce liquidity during recession while government spending shock address this constraint. As well as literature shows spending multiplier is high in case of fixed exchange regime. Government spending shock results in higher interest rate, if financial market is open then it causes appreciation of local currency and export is declined in case of floating exchange regime, however, in case of fixed exchange regime government purchases foreign currency to defeat local currency from appreciation and there is no trade off in terms of export.

One of the stylized facts on multiplier is that it is smaller in developing countries. This means more crowding out effect of government spending in less developed countries. Also, in case of advance economies there is no or limited difference between government consumption and investment multipliers, but the multiplier effect of government investment is higher in developing countries. Another stylized fact is that in case of high public debt level, fiscal policy can be contractionary for economy and vice versa fiscal consolidation can be expansionary as consolidation results in lower risk premium of a country because of the lower debt burden. To sum up, the size of government spending multiplier is not unique number for a particular economy; moreover, its size is affected by various economic conditions.

Post-soviet countries have experienced one of the turbulent economic environment after the collapse of the Soviet Union, on the way from socialism to market economy the size of government declined substantially, they have experienced financial and currency crisis in 1998 and 2008, as well as there was wave of currency devaluation from 2014 in CIS countries, what is effect of government spending in those countries and how it contributes to GDP under such a turbulent economic environment is a main research question of this paper.

In literature various econometric models are applied for identifying government spending multiplier, among them VAR model (such as Ilzetzki and others (2009)) and Dynamic Stochastic General Equilibrium model (DSGE), (such as Blanchard and other 2002) are widely used. To evaluate government spending multipliers which vary across economic conditions such as crisis time, currency exchange regime, debt level and etc. In the paper two stage linear estimation technique is applied to identify government spending shock at the first stage and to evaluate conditional multiplier on the second stage.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 reviews existed literature on identification issue of spending multiplier especially in developing countries. Section 3 briefly describes theory and methodology for estimating government spending multiplier, Section 4 presents data, Section 5 describes results from two stage fixed effect model for 12 CIS countries; Section 6 concludes.

**Literature Review**

Limited numbers of publications are available for developing countries on fiscal multipliers. Actually, the shortfall of relevant evidences about developing countries stems from the data limitation in those groups of countries. Moreover, time series on main macroeconomic variables are nonstationary and serial correlation is a serious problem.

Despite those limitations, there still exists some analysis for developing countries and various econometric models are applied. Researchers have to work out a new manner to isolate fiscal policy shock in developing countries. This shock should be unanticipated and not related to the current economic situation, otherwise private agents, who internalize government budget constraint in their intertemporal constraint, change their behavior and estimation will be biased. One of the contemporary studies for the sample of 102 developing countries on estimation of government spending multiplier was applied by Kraay in 2012. Best of my knowledge this is largest panel of countries such analysis is applied for, because of data limitation, Kraay (2012) in his paper use instrumental variable procedure for determining fiscal shock. In principle, he uses a debt reimbursement as an instrument of government spending shock. Kraay tray to address problems related to policy anticipation and independence from the current economic situation by the assumption that debt reimbursement is determined in advance and it is not related to the current economic situation. Moreover, as Kraay shows, only 20% of the total loan is disbursed in the first period and 17% in the second year and so on. Resulted from this evidence, Kraay claims that disbursement of particular loan is predetermined, but as in developing countries loan is one of the basic sources to finance expenditures, then it can be a good instrument of government spending. In this group of countries, Kraay applies his analysis, on average 16% of expenditure is financed at the expense of loan taken from multilateral and bilateral official creditors. But this strategy cannot be taken without careful judgment. Firstly, Kraay has conducted this analysis about 102 developing countries, but approximately 84% of those countries use foreign debt as a significant source for financing government expenditures. Hence, if we follow Corsetti`s analysis about fiscal multiplier, most part of developing countries are below -6% critical threshold of negative budget balance (i.e. net borrowing).

The multiplier identified by Kraay varies from 0.38 to 0.42; which is fairly lower then multiplier for developed countries. However, there is a question about the multiplier calculated by Kraay; is it really unconditional multiplier i.e. multiplier in normal times? If we take into account the fact that most of the countries, Kraay applies his analysis, use loans to finance its expenditure, it is a conditional multiplier in case of high indebtedness. As other studies show fiscal policy is less efficient in case of higher debt, and then we can claim that the multiplier identified by Kraay in developing countries makes difficulties to interpret as multiplier in normal times in those countries. Moreover, the size of multiplier is affected not only by debt level but also, the source of debt financing matters. The rest part of this section deeply review some stylized facts in the literature on government spending multiplier.

**Effect of debt level and its composition on the size of multiplier**

The indebtedness level of a country effects on the size of the fiscal multiplier and it is higher for countries with low levels of debt (Corssetti, 2012). Initially, when the public debt level is not very high government spending and private consumption are positively correlated, but when the debt level reaches a critical level they move in the opposite directions. The motivation of this argument is that a high level of debt is accompanied by a high interest rate because of higher risk premiums, especially in developing countries. Consequently, the crowding out effect dominates and fiscal policy efficiency is small. Furthermore, if the Debt/GDP ratio is above 50%, then fiscal policy is strongly unproductive; the long run multiplier in this case is -2 (Ilzetski, 2009). This once again means that to finance government consumption at the expense of taking debt is not a good deal. It is obvious that we face strong crowding out effect, which can be result of expectation about future consolidation and higher taxes, i.e Ricardian equivalence holds.

There exists some evidence about the strong crowding out effect of private investment due to public expenditures financed at the expense of domestic loans from banks. For instance, Emran and Farazi (2008) showed that if governments in developing countries take loans from banking sector, then each $1 (taken from a bank) caused a reduction of private investment by $0.8. This evidence emphasizes the liquidity constraint in developing countries. Moreover, Gupta et al (2005) argues that a 1 percentage point increase of expenditures financed through domestic loans causes a reduction of the potential growth rate by 0.75 percentage points. The argument is that if deficit is financed through domestic debt, then it amplifies inflation, which negatively effects on growth.

It should be mentioned that the source of financing matters for the size of multiplier. In particular, debt financed expenditure causes an increase in private investment in developing countries; if such expenditure is financed through tax then it has a negative effect (Miller and Ahmed, 1999). Miller and Ahmed (1999) analyzed the effect of source of spending on crowding out effect on investment and show that debt-financed expenditure crowds out investment if it concentrates on social security and welfare, but expenditures on communication and infrastructure crowds in. As for tax-financed expenditure, we face a negative effect on investment if it is spent on infrastructure.

This idea is also supported by the analysis of Barro (1990), He states that tax-financed government expenditure causes a negative effect on GDP. Moreover, if it is productive spending, then it balances negative tax effect and causes a positive impact in the economy. While argument in favor of debt financed expenditure shows a liquidity constraint in developing countries. A government provides additional liquidity to economy by taking loans instead of tax based expansion. However, we should not forget the discussion about critical level of debt and its negative impact on the effectiveness of public expenditure.

**Composition of Government Spending**

To determine the size of the fiscal multiplier is equivalent to identify when it crowds in or crowds out private consumption and investment. Existing literature about the effect of fiscal policy on investment can be summarized as follows: government capital expenditure in developing countries crowds in investment, as private and public investment can be considered as complements, while government investment is not more effective than consumption in developed countries. The last finding fits the traditional view of crowding out effect of government spending due to higher interest rates. However, evidence about developing countries is a non-traditional view, which is more powerful under non full employment condition. However, the magnitude of this effect depends on the structure of spending. For example, Sadeghi et al (2013) in their panel analysis about developing and developed countries show that the elasticity of private investment with respect to public investment is positive and significant (0.31), while it is 0.18 in developed ones. Moreover, private investment elasticity w.r.t. other type of expenditures is negative and lower than in developed countries, i.e. crowding out effect. Those authors conclude that in developing countries public investment is more efficient because private agents face a liquidity constraint, and interest rate differentials. However, there exist some other evidences which do not support this idea. For example Hasan (1960) states that in developing countries public investment has a long run nature (infrastructural projects, irrigation and other) and it has a low effect on current output and it contributes to inflation. The paper by Hassan (1960) is only a theoretical discussion, but recent empirical evidence from the IMF suggests that public spending on investment has positive impact on the economy, not only in the short run, but also in the medium-run; Estevao and Samarke (2013) in this paper estimate investment multiplier as from 0.2 to 0.7 and from 0.42 to 0.92 in the short-run and in the medium-run, respectively, in case of central American developing countries, while non-productive expenditure has a negative impact on those countries. As for the type of expenditure, the empirical evidence about developing countries shows that cutting expenditures on investment can be more harmful in the case of economic downturn relative to cuts in current expenditure.

Devarajan et al (1996) showed that in the case of developing countries, current expenditures positively effect on GDP, while capital expenditures have a negative influence for the panel of 43 developing countries over 20 years. In their model, they also account for the total level of government spending; hence, in their model a one dollar increase of capital spending automatically means a dollar reduction in current expenditures. But in other models which do not account for total level of expenditures, then as Devarajan et al (1996) claim, the strong positive effect of capital expenditure can be a reflection of level effect of expenditure and not the relative advantage of capital over current expenditure. Actually, Miller and Ahmed (1999) do not control the total level of expenditure in their linear fixed effect estimation for 23 developing and 16 developed countries. Their result is more informative and different than the previous evidences. In principle, they showed that if expenditure on transportation and communication is financed through either taking loans or tax, then it has a positive effect on investment for developing countries, but we have zero or a negative impact on investment in developed countries. However, if the government spends money on social security and welfare, it crowds out private investment. The work by Miller and Ahmed (1999), however, does not say anything about the gross effect on GDP due to different types of budget outlays.

In case of developing countries full effect of government investment is not reflected in multiplier. Kraay et al (2013) claim that higher share of expenditure on investment does not mean that it is automatically resulted in the higher asset accumulation in developing countries due to inefficiency and waste. This analysis is supported by Kneffer and Kanck (2007). Moreover, Gupta et al (2011) numerically showed that a significant part of public expenditures on investment are not reflected in productive investment in developing countries. For example, in case of low income countries the share of capital stock adjusted with efficiency criteria is 30.1% of GDP, while the raw share is 71%. This finding magnifies our intuition that due to institutional rigidities, the spending on productive assets is not effectively used in those countries. Furthermore, the income share of adjusted public investment in GDP is lower (0.14 instead of 0.25), but because of downward adjustment of public investment by efficiency criteria, then marginal productivity for low income countries reaches 0.88, which is too high. Moreover, it is slightly higher than the marginal productivity of private investment (0.71).

To sum up, as it was previously stated in the analysis by Ilzetzki et al (2010), the government investment multiplier is 0.6, which is significantly much higher than consumption multiplier (-0.19) in developing countries ; the paper clarifies that with 95% confidence level we can say that the efficiency of government investment is higher than the consumption multiplier in those countries. Moreover, the multiplier effect is further eroded with inefficiency.

**Fixed Exchange Regime versus Flexible**

In his paper, Müller (2012) identifies government spending multiplier as 0.75 under a floating regime vs. 1.2 under a pegged regime. The difference is significant but not as large as in other works. For example, Petroviḉ et al (2014), for a panel of 10 emerging European economies show that the spending multiplier under a pegged regime is 1.31 versus 0.03 under fixed exchange regime. Moreover, Muller finds evidence against the traditional Mundel-Flaming channel; in this standard framework, government spending under the flexible exchange regime causes appreciation of the domestic currency and additional crowding out of net export, but in this evidence we face no deterioration of net-export. This means that there are other channels for making the difference between fiscal policy efficiency under fixed and flexible regimes.

There is no strong convention among economists about fiscal policy efficiency under fixed and flexible regimes. One cohort of economists for example, Corsetti et al (2012) claim that increasing outlays from the budget causes an increase of the interest rate. As a result, it causes currency appreciation, but if then monetary authority desires to fix the exchange rate, then it should increase money supply, which is additional stimuli for an economy and because of this we would expect a higher multiplier. But as other studies show, the real world is not so simple and we should investigate the effect of fiscal expansion under a fixed exchange regime and its interaction with other conditions of an economic environment. For example, Bonam and Lukkezen (2013) show that when a country experiences high sovereign debt risk, then currency devaluation is expected to the response of fiscal expansion. As a result, the monetary authority will have to tighten monetary policy in the case of a fixed exchange regime. Consequently, we face a higher interest rate and stronger crowding out effect of investment and consumption, hence a lower multiplier under a fixed exchange regime instead of the big stimulus predicted by one group of authors. However, Bonam and Lukkezen (2013) argue that there is a room for fiscal policy when its effect is higher under a pegged than flexible regime, even if we introduce sovereign risk in our analysis. For example, expansionary fiscal contraction holds only in the case of a fixed exchange regime only in the short run. Hence, if sovereign risk is high and fiscal authority consolidates, then it reduces the risk premium and stimulates an inflow of capital, which causes appreciation of the domestic currency. Under the peg, however, monetary authority intervenes and we do not face crowding out effect of export. This last finding once again emphasizes the importance to account existed economic environment during discussions on spending multipliers.

The difference between multipliers under fixed or flexible regime is also determined by degree of capital mobility. Riguzzi at el (2015) find that the output multiplier is lower (0.71) if capital markets are well functioned, relative to the case when capital mobility is limited (1.44). The intuition is that when capital mobility is limited then to the response of fiscal expansion exchange rate appreciates, but if capital mobility is limited, then the degree of possible appreciation is lower and as a result crowding out effect of export is minor, hence multiplier is higher. If we account imperfect capital market in the developing countries then this factor would have a positive effect on the size of spending multiplier. Moreover, Kraay (2012) show that in case of developing countries there is no difference between multipliers under fixed or flexible regime, because if financial market aren`t well functioned then there is no appreciation of domestic currency and no necessity of intervention. Hence, financial openness negatively effects on spending multiplier as well trade openness causes the lower multiplier.

**Effect of openness on the size of multiplier**

There is abundant empirical evidence about the relationship between openness and the effectiveness of fiscal policy, for example, Corsetti et al. (2012), Ilzetzki et al (2011) and etc. Also, Karras (2011) conducted analysis for 62 developed and developing countries and show that fiscal multiplier is decreasing function of degree of openness. For example, when openness is around 10%, then multiplier is too high (1.39) for this group of countries, but if openness is 50%, then multiplier becomes 1.05 and in the very extreme case when openness is more than 100% then multiplier reaches the lowest level (0.61). If the degree of openness is high, then the significant part of purchases by government are concentrated on imported commodities and the impact of policy on the domestic economy is limited. Above mentioned findings can be summarized with the table I.

To sum up we face significant variation of fiscal multipliers across various policy environment, the above discussion supports Corsetti`s idea that there is no “the multiplier”. Consequently, in this paper we analyses government spending multiplier by accounting policy environment, as it is suggested by Corsetti and others (2012).

**Government spending multiplier in developing countries**

There exists a significant evidence gap in the literature about the size of the spending multipliers in developing countries, while it is widely researched for advanced economies. Nevertheless, some evidence about fiscal policy efficiency in developing countries still exists. For instance, the short run multiplier for developing countries is 0.4, (Kraay (2012)); while it is higher and close to one in the developed countries (Corssetti, 2012). As a result (see, table I

I), first stylized fact from literature about developed and developing countries is that fiscal policy efficiency is higher in developed countries.

The basic reason why empirical evidence about developing countries is scarce is in lack of precise and long time series data for government spending as well as for other relevant variables to estimate fiscal policy efficiency. Due to this, for example, Kraay (2012) uses different methodology to estimate the multiplier in developing countries. In principle, Kraay in his paper uses an external debt reimbursement as an instrumental variable of government spending, because this variable is well accounted by the World Bank for each country and it is strongly correlated with government spending in developing countries.

Table I. Summary of literature on fiscal multipliers.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Country | Impact multiplier | Cumulative | Methodology | Shock |
| **Developed countries[[3]](#footnote-3)** | | | | | |
| Perotti (2005) | Australia | -0.1/0.4 | 1.4/0.7 | VAR | Government spending |
| Canada | 1/-0.3 | 0.6/-1.1 |
| Germany | 0.6/0.5 | -0.8/-1.1 |
| UK | 0.5/-0.3 | 0/-0.9 |
| USA | 1.3/0.4 | 1.7/0.1 |
| Romer and Romer (2008) | USA | 1.2 (one year) | 4 (cumulative) | Narrative | Tax |
| Ramey (2008) | USA | 1.5 | 1.5 | Narrative | Gov. spending |
| Johnson, Souleles, and Parker (2006) | USA | 0.2/0.4 | n.a. |  | Tax rebates |
| Ilzetzki and Vegh (2008) | High income | 0.4 | 1.5 | VAR | Government spending |
| Blanchard and Perotti (2002) | USA | 0.9 | 1.3 | VAR | Government spending |
| Cogan and others (2009) | USA | 1.0 | 1.2- 1.5 | DSGE | Government spending |
| Dalsgraard, Andre, and Richardson (2001) | USA | 1.1 -1.5(one year) | 2.1-2.8 | OECD INTERLINK model | Government spending |
| Japan | 1.7-2.6 (one year) | 2.8-4.5 |
| Euro Area | 1.2-1.9 (one year) | 2.1-3.4 |
| Elmendorf and Furman (2006) | USA | 1 | n.a. | DSGE | Government spending |
| Corsetti and others (2012) | OECD | 0.7 | n.a. | Two step model | Government spending |
| **Developing and emerging economies** | | | | | |
| Kraay (2012) | 102 developing countries |  | 0.38-0.42 | IV estimation | Government spending |
| Ilzetzki and others(2009) |  | -0.19 | 0.38 | VAR | Government spending |
| Ilzetzki (2011) |  | 0.2 |  | VAR | Government spending |
| Shen and S.Yang (2012) | Developing countries |  | 0.39 | DSGE | Government[[4]](#footnote-4) spending |
|  | 0.32 | DSGE | Government[[5]](#footnote-5) spending |
| Petrovic and others (2014) | Emerging European economies | 0.2 | 0.58 | VAR | Government spending |

1. **Theory**

In this section, I review different theoretical approaches to identify fiscal multipliers; i.e. what they are and why they vary across different theory. Ilzetski and others (2012) claim that there is no “the multiplier” and it varies across different policy environment. Therefore, I will review key drivers of the size of multipliers resulted from the different economic environment and finally based on theoretical discussion; I will formulate two stage procedures for estimating government spending multipliers, similar to the model developed by Ilzetski and others (2012).

The simplest definition of a fiscal multiplier is that “it [spending multiplier] is the change in output due to a change in fiscal policy instrument” (as cited in Chinn 2013). Algebraically, it is ∂y/∂x where y is output and x is a policy instrument. If we wonder about the immediate impact of a policy, we should calculate the impact multiplier (i.e. ∆Y/∆G), but in most cases, especially when we try to calculate fiscal multiplier based on quarter data, we should calculate a cumulative multiplier:

, t=1………T

Most of empirical evidences about multipliers use not only Yt (GDP) as an endogenous variable, but also, researchers try to investigate how a change in fiscal policy is reflected in changes in consumption, investment, current account balance, exchange rate and other macroeconomic variables (Corssetti, 2012; Petroviḉ, 2014).

I begin the discussion about the fiscal multiplier from the perspective of Neoclassical Synthesis. This theoretical model is characterized by Keynesian properties in the short run and Classical properties in the long run. As a result, as prices are sticky and cannot adjust quickly in the short run, fiscal policy is efficient and the multiplier is larger. Nevertheless, we expect no permanent effect from the change of fiscal policy as we use properties of Classical theory in the long run (Chinn, 2013).

The government spending multiplier is close to zero in Neoclassicists` approaches, as they assume no nominal rigidities. Moreover, this theory predicts a negative fiscal multiplier if taxes are distortionary.

Finally, as a New Keynesian model uses inter temporal optimization, it is close to Classical approaches in its predictions, but additionally the model uses the assumptions about nominal and real rigidities. Due to these last extensions, fiscal policy has an effect on output in the short run (Chinn, 2013). Fiscal policy is not secured itself from a negative spending multiplier if expenditure is expected to be financed at the expense of taxes in the future; this is reflection of Ricardian equivalence (Capet, 2004). An expectation that taxes will be higher in the future erodes consumption and investment today and output decreases consequently, so there is a negative spending multiplier.

In order to estimate multiplier in practice at least two conditions must be satisfied for government spending shocks, it should be unanticipated by economic agents and contemporaneous exogenous. Moreover, there is no “the multiplier” and it varies in relation to the economic environment. First of all cyclical nature of government spending matters. If government spending is acyclical, then the requirement of contemporaneous exogeneity holds. But we still do not have a guarantee that fiscal policy is unanticipated. Empirical literature about the cyclical nature of fiscal policy can be summarized as follows: fiscal policy is acyclical or counter cyclical in developed countries and mostly pro cyclical in developing ones (Ilzetzki, 2008). For example, the measure of the cyclical nature of government spending is 0.61 for developing countries and -0.11 for developed ones based on GMM estimation. Kraay et al. (2013) make a distinction between discretionary fiscal policy and automatic stabilizers and claim that in the case of developing countries, both of them are pro cyclical; automatic stabilizers are ineffective in those countries to smooth fluctuation of output. Moreover, they state that the procyclical fiscal policy is a reflection of constraint on financial resources, and also, sometimes it is politically motivated. Kraay points out that during the post crisis in 2008, the developing world and their governments had a better fiscal stance and they had a tendency to more counter cyclical policy then in the pre-crisis period. Theoretically, counter cyclical policy is optimal, as increase in government spending relaxes liquidity constraint in economy in case of recession and its effect is stronger. Hence, recommendation is that government should increase spending in crisis time and reduce it in boom. In contrast to last argument about the advantages of counter cyclical fiscal policy, Hemming (2002) advocates that contractionary fiscal policy can be expansionary. Hence, fiscal consolidation causes a positive response from the private sector. The basic reason is that consolidation, in particular, if a country faces high public debt, causes reduction of risk premium, and as a result, the crowding out effect will be lower after consolidation and fiscal policy recreates power. Moreover, if low and negative fiscal multiplier is tendency in developing countries, then pro-cyclical fiscal policy seems rational for those economies; moreover, if they have problems related to solvency. For example, if a particular country increases its expenditure in bad times and the multiplier is negative, then it causes an additional reduction in GDP due to counter cyclical fiscal policy. Based on this discussion pro cyclical fiscal policy takes advantages in the case of developing countries mainly during recession. Debt level is main reason why counter cycle fiscal policy is not optimal in case of developing countries, high debt level bears positive and high risk premium from investor’s point of view, hence, if public debt is high then better strategy is to reduce government expenditure. In addition to low multiplier in case of high level of public debt, if it is financed through domestic loan then the multiplier is lower than if it is financed through foreign loan. Intuition is that if financial resource is scarce within country then additional financial resource from abroad provides additional liquidity to economy and crowing in effect of government spending is larger.

Not only debt composition matters in terms of size of multiplier but also spending composition is important, in developing countries public investment is more efficient then government consumption, as public investment has complimentary effect and crowds in private investment, as a result effect is stronger.

In case of fixed exchange rate multiplier is higher, as expansionary fiscal policy provokes expansionary monetary policy. However, situation changes if capital market mobility is low. Higher government spending financed with debt causes higher interest rate that can be reflected in inflow of financial resources from abroad, it pushes exchange rate up, and monetary authority has to increase supply of money to reduce interest rate differential. But if capital mobility is low then there is no pressure on exchange rate and no necessity for monetary expansion as a result no additional multiplier effect.

Based on empirical strategy described below size of spending multiplier will be iterated with different macroeconomic conditions.

**Empirical strategy**

The existing literature on government spending (or consumption) multipliers are mostly concentrated on identification issue of discretionary fiscal policy shock, i.e. the unanticipated part of government expenditure and its effect on output, private consumption, exports and many other macroeconomic variables. To identify the unanticipated part of government outlays is a principal requirement for precise estimation, especially for the research concentrated government spending multiplier based on VAR (vector autoregressive) model. In order to identify the unexpected part of government consumption SVAR (stochastic specification of VAR model), models make some linear assumptions about fiscal policy rules, and the rest of government spending can be considered as the unanticipated part. But as Ilzetki (2010) points out, there is no guarantee that the unexplained part by econometric models cannot be predicted by private agents; this is common across other papers based on the conventional VAR estimation developed by Blanchard and Perotti in 2002. But if the fiscal shock is predicted by private agents, this causes changes in their behavior and we cannot estimate the efficiency of fiscal policy precisely.

There are also a few papers, for example, Ramey (2011) which use extraordinary shocks in the economy which cannot be anticipated. For example, Ramey uses war time expenditure in the case of the USA to predict the government spending multiplier. Ramey argues that military expenditures in the case of the USA were properly exogenous shock. Other findings notify us about that the exogeneity assumption about war time requisition is ambiguous. For example, Ilzutski (2008) in his paper argues that war time can be predicted in advance by individuals. The reason why it is problematic is that when we want to predict exogenous fiscal shock there are two basic requirements. Firstly, as we already said, fiscal shock should be unanticipated and secondly, shock should not be related to the current economic situation. Without ambiguity it can be said that wartime requisition is absent from the current economic situation. But it can be anticipated by private agents, because war cannot be started immediately. Moreover, the main reason why the model proposed by Ramey contains potential problems is that it requires a long time series, For example, the analysis by Ramey is applied over a long period of history of the USA and it covers a war time in Vietnam as well in Korea. Such long data is not available for most of other countries; moreover, those wars were out of the territory of the USA and these war times were not related to a significant reduction of capital in this particular country. Of course, this is not the case in other countries where the result of war was an extraordinary destruction of capital. Those are the main drawbacks of the model proposed by Ramey; at least it is too problematic to apply this model for other countries besides the USA.

As we say, the basic requirement is that fiscal shock should be contemporaneously exogenous, hence, fiscal stimulus should not be driven by the current economic situation. Because of this, researchers have to make an assumption about the lag in which fiscal policy can react to contemporaneous change in the economy. In normal times, of course, this lag is just one year; as the fiscal authority works out a new budget plan within one year intervals; but more problematic is that what happens during sudden and sharp downturn or boom periods. Most researchers who use quarter data claim that one quarter lag is quite relevant in this case; i.e. fiscal authority needs at least one quarter to adjust its initial budget plan. The assumption that fiscal shock is contemporaneously exogenous is difficult to apply in the analysis which are based on annual data; in this context contemporaneously exogeneity means that the fiscal authority does not make any adjustment in the budgetary plan during one year. As Corsetti claims, a one year period as an implementation lag is relevant if there is no extraordinary case; for example, as this was in the case in the global financial crisis in 2008.

The second part of literature for identifying fiscal multiplier is based on New-Keynesian DSGE models. Structural models are not sensitive to assumptions required by VAR model, but they still bear some restrictions. The main assumption is related to price setting behavior. DSGE framework follows Calvo type price setting; according to this, one part of prices on intermediate goods are rigid in the short time period, but some part of prices are free to optimize to the response of change in the economic situation. For example, Christiano, Eichenbaum, Rebelo (2009) in their paper for identifying the spending multiplier makes the assumption that 0.85 parts of price are rigid. And only under such exaggerated assumption they make a conclusion that the fiscal multiplier is 1.05. It is obvious that the size of the fiscal multiplier identified by DSGE models is sensitive with respect to the assumption about Calvo type price setting; if prices are less rigid then DSGE identifies a smaller multiplier against higher rigidity when the identified multiplier is close to Keynsian multiplier, and it is not a big surprise in the case of high price rigidity.

Moreover, there is no convention among economists about fiscal policy rule, which is one of the basic equation in DSGE framework (Batini et al, 2014); in principle, we observe different modelling of fiscal rule in different papers; this can be a potential source of variation of the fiscal multiplier itself.

Those problems related to conventional VAR and DSGE models is amplified by data limitation in the case of developing countries, this is a main reason why we have little empirical evidence for this group of countries. As we face lack of convention in estimation procedures and huge variation among calibrated multipliers is tendency, Batini et al (2014) provide a new model for estimating multiplier under data limitation called “the bucket approach”. This model is basically an “analytic guess” about the fiscal multiplier. The multiplier under this model is a simple weighted average of scores assigned to particular state of country (openness, rigidity of the labour market, level of automatic stabilizers, fixed or flexible exchange regime, level of government debt, effective expenditure/revenue management), but the authors allocate this measure of multiplier to three different intervals, hence, it gives us interval estimation and not point estimation of the fiscal multiplier. Unfortunately, except its simplicity under data limitation, this model has no theoretical background.

Finally, we can say that each type of model, i.e. VAR and DSGE models cannot be used without pros and cons, and we need deeper analysis of specific application of those models to determine when the identified multiplier by economists can be obtained without any significant bias.

As it is stated in many papers, for example Perotti (2007), Muller (2012) the conventional VAR models proposed by Blanchard and Perotti (2002) are unable to predict fiscal shock, which is perfectly discretionary or unanticipated. Perotti`s argument is that most of the papers use one quarter implementation lag which is too short for fiscal policy to be implemented in this period, because of long implementation lag it can be anticipated by private agents. This idea is tolerated by Muller et al (2012). They proposed to add predicted government spending in model. Due to this, we can reduce the risk of anticipation. This approach is practically implemented by Corsetti (2012) for OECD countries when he uses composite leading indicator as a proxy of predicted GDP in his two stage regression. As long run time series about predicted GDP or government spending is not available in the case of developing countries, then economists will have to work out new ways for predicting unanticipated fiscal shock, for example, Kraay use instrumental variable estimation (but as was discussed, his approach is not free from problems).

Corsetti, Meier, and J. Muller (2012) suggests a two-stage model to identify fiscal multiplier. This model tries to solve omitted variable problem which is the main problem in conventional VAR models. In principle, they put dummy variables which describe the economic environment in the model, such as: currency peg dummy, crisis dummy, the state of the primary balance of budget, public debt level.

The objective on the first stage the model identifies fiscal shock which will be orthogonal to other developments in the economy, i.e. exogenous shock of government spending. At this stage this model assumes that the fiscal policy rule can be described with past information on the economic environment. In principle, the explanatory variables at this stage are: trend variable, two lagged values of government spending (gt-1, gt-2); two lagged value of real GDP per capita (Yt-1, Yt-2); public debt/GDP ratio (bt-1); peg dummy (pegt-1,i); the dummy variable which shows the level of the primary deficit (straint-1,1), crisis dummy (crisist-1,i). But as it pointed out in other papers fiscal shock which is generated through fiscal policy rule can be anticipated if the rule is based on only past information, and public expenditure can be predictable in this case. Due to this Corsetti and others try to control future development in the economy by introducing composite leading indicator (clit-1,i) which is used as a proxy of predicted GDP. The dependent variable is government spending per capita in t period.

**Stage (1)**

Gt,I =Өi +δi \*trendt +βi,1 gt-1 + βi,2 gt-2+γi,1 Yt-1 +γi,2 Yt-2+θiclit-1,I +λi bt-1+ ρi,1 pegt-1,1 + ρi,2straint-1,1 + ρi,3 crisist-1,1+μt, (I)

At the second stage, this model uses fiscal shock and its lagged values as explanatory variables (μhatt,I, μhatt-1,I ,μhatt-2,I ,μhatt-3,i) generated from the first stage regression. Also, interaction between fiscal shock and dummies which describes economic environment is applied (μhatt,I\*dt,I μhatt-1,I\*dt-1,I , μhatt-2,I\*dt-2,I , μhatt-3,I\*dt-3,I ), as well pure effect of dummy variables on the dependent variables is considered (dt,I,dt-1,I,dt,i-2,dt-3,I ). The dependent variable can be firstly, GDP per capita, as well as, consumption, investment, export, exchange rate and many other macroeconomic variables.

**Stage (2)**

Xt,i =ai +kitrendt +qixt-1,I +ξiμhatt,I + ξ2μhatt-1,I + ξ3μhatt-2,I + ξ4μhatt-3,I+τ1(μhatt,I\*dt,I )+ τ2(μhatt-1,I\*dt-1,I )+ τ3(μhatt-2,I\*dt-2,I )+ τ4(μhatt-3,I\*dt-3,I )+ω1dt,i+ ω2dt-1,i+ ω3dt,i-2+ ω4dt-3,I +εt, (II)

Corsetti and others (2012) use this model to estimate the spending multiplier for OECD countries, based on annual data. In this section I am going to apply this model for CIS economies. The main limitation is the lack of sufficient data; I use annual data from 1991 to 2016 on GDP per capita (current USD), instead of dummy variable of bed fiscal time which is defined based on primary balance in the original paper, I use GDP/public debt threshold. Also, the data about composite leading indicator is not available for those groups of countries, and instead of this, I use a one year forward lag value of the trend component of GDP.

1. **Data**

In this paper government spending multiplier is estimated with two stage linear model. On the first stage government spending shock is identified based on the fiscal policy rule as it was described in empirical strategy, fiscal policy rule is determined with public debt level, budget balance, currency peg regime, and crisis periods. Detailed description of those variables and their sources is given in the table II.

Table II. List of variables

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Variable** | Data source |
| Log of per capita GDP | World Bank database, World Development Indicators: GDP per capita (constant 2010 US$) World Development Indicators. Data is available from 1992 to 2015, in total we have 290 observations |
| Log of real per capita government spending | World bank database: World Development Indicators, general government final consumption expenditure (% of GDP) is used together with per capita GDP to reconstruct per capita government expenditure, data are available from 1992 to 2015, in total we have 288 observations. |
| General government gross debt (as % of GDP) | IMF, Data is available from 1992 to 2015 only for Russia and Ukraine, also, data on debt is available from 1995 to 2015 for most CIS countries. In total we have 256 observations for 12 countries |
| Financial crisis dummy | Takes on value of 1 during financial crises, and 0 otherwise, when one of them Systemic Banking Crisis (starting date) Currency Crisis,Sovereign Debt Crisis happens. The data comes from IMF Working Paper "Systemic Banking Crises Database: An Update" by Luc Laeven and Fabian Valencia (2012) which is available from 1992 to 2012 , In total we have 262 observations for 12 countries. |
| Bad fiscal times dummy | Takes on a value of 1 when lagged public debt exceeds 100 percent of or alternatively time when General government net lending/borrowing (Percent of GDP) is less than -6%. Because of limited data availability on General government net lending/borrowing, we have to use public debt threshold for determining bed fiscal time. The 100% threshold is taken by Corsetti at al. (2012) for advanced economies, but 60% threshold is more prudent for CIS countries. |
| Peg dummy | Carmen M. Reinhart database: [Exchange rate regime classification, annual, 1946-2016](http://www.carmenreinhart.com/user_uploads/data/238_data.xlsx), (<http://www.carmenreinhart.com/data/browse-by-country/> ) is used as a peg dummy variable  Data is available from 1992 to 2015, in total we have 288 observations. |

### Results and discussion

### On the first stage 12 individual regressions were run and residuals (spending shocks) were identified. Residuals from the first stage linear regressions are government spending shock, i.e. part of government spending that cannot be explained by fiscal policy rule.

On the second stage initially unconditional multiplier was estimated, hence, the model was estimated without putting dummy variables on economic condition in it. On the second stage firstly unit root test was applied for logarithmic value of GDP and as it was predicted non-stationarity was detected with Im–Pesaran–Shin test, but first difference of ln(GDP) is stationary. Hence, on the left hand side dependent variable in our model is growth rate of GDP. Unconditional fixed effect model predicts that coefficient of impact of government spending over growth rate of GDP is 0.045, however, this cannot be interpreted as multiplier, because the multiplier is level change in GDP from 1 dollar change in government spending; as the average share of government spending is 15% in CIS countries, we can say that 0.045/0.15=0.3 is unconditional government spending impact multiplier for CIS. Hence, one dollar government spending shock cause 0.3 dollar increase in GDP, this coefficient is quite close to multiplier identified by Kraay. First and second year lag multipliers are insignificant, on the third year impact multiplier is negative and significant, as a result cumulative multiplier is smaller than impact multiplier, this finding suggests that government spending is significant contemptuously, but close to neutral in the long run.

Table III. Second stage regression analysis

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Unconditional  (model 1) |  | Debt level  (model 2) |  | Fixed vs. flexible exchange regime (model 3) |  | Recession vs. expansion  (model 4) |  |
|  | (1)[[6]](#footnote-6) | (2)[[7]](#footnote-7) | (1) | (2) | (1) | (2) | (1) | (2) |
| Spending shock | 0.0456\* | (3.78) | 0.0529\* | (3.36) | 0.0495\* | (2.50) | 0.0195\* | (2.23) |
| Spending shock -1 | -0.0385 | (-1.40) | -0.00577 | (-0.16) | -0.0262 | (-0.85) | -0.0399 | (-1.79) |
| Spending shock -2 | 0.0293 | (1.30) | -0.0224 | (-0.92) | -0.0180 | (-1.07) | 0.0302 | (1.52) |
| Spending shock-3 | -0.0261\* | (-2.97) | 0.0267 | (0.48) | -0.000842 | (-0.09) | -0.0342\* | (-5.12) |
| Spending shock\*debt dummy |  |  | -0.00946 | (-1.36) |  |  |  |  |
| Spending shock1\*debt dummy1 |  |  | -0.0539\* | (-5.24) |  |  |  |  |
| Spending shock2\*debt dummy2 |  |  | 0.0600\* | (6.68) |  |  |  |  |
| Spending shock3\*debt dummy3 |  |  | -0.0553 | (-1.10) |  |  |  |  |
| Debt dummy |  |  | 0.0404\* | (3.60) |  |  |  |  |
| Debt dummy -1 |  |  | -0.0330 | (-1.79) |  |  |  |  |
| Debt dummy -2 |  |  | -0.0234\* | (-2.62) |  |  |  |  |
| Debt dummy -3 |  |  | 0.00549 | (0.75) |  |  |  |  |
| Spending shock\*peg dummy |  |  |  |  | -0.00148 | (-0.11) |  |  |
| Spending shock1\*peg dummy1 |  |  |  |  | -0.0349\* | (-4.78) |  |  |
| Spending shock2\*peg dummy2 |  |  |  |  | 0.0605\* | (4.52) |  |  |
| Spending shock3\*peg dummy3 |  |  |  |  | -0.0203 | (-0.96) |  |  |
| Peg dummy |  |  |  |  | 0.0377\* | (3.36) |  |  |
| Peg dummy 1 |  |  |  |  | 0.00183 | (0.21) |  |  |
| Peg dummy 2 |  |  |  |  | -0.0155 | (-1.70) |  |  |
| Peg dummy 3 |  |  |  |  | 0.00459 | (0.55) |  |  |
| Crisis dummy[[8]](#footnote-8) |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.0466\* | (6.12) |
| Crisis dummy 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.0379\* | (-7.46) |
| Crisis dummy 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.00922 | (-1.43) |
| Crisis dummy 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.0325\* | (-3.98) |
| Spending shock\* crisis dummy |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.00781 | (0.67) |
| Spending shock1\* crisis dummy1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.0363\* | (4.56) |
| Spending shock2\* crisis dummy2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.00620 | (0.57) |
| Spending shock3\* crisis dummy3 |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.000126 | (-0.01) |
| \_cons | 0.0534\* | (104.52) | 0.0621\* | (9.94) | 0.0280\* | (2.82) | 0.0658\* | (21.46) |
| *N* | 210 |  | 210 |  | 210 |  | 210 |  |

One of the core question in our model was how economic environment effects on the size of multiplier.

**Effect of public debt level**

60% of debt to GDP ratio was taken as a threshold to analysis effect of government spending when it keeps low level of debt versus higher level of debt. When the debt/GDP ratio is less than 60% (low level) then impact multiplier is 0.35[[9]](#footnote-9). Coefficient of interaction between government spending and debt dummy is not significant contemporaneously. Hence, impact multiplier at high debt versus low debt is not different. However, coefficient of first and second year lags of interaction variable is significant, but signs of those coefficients oscillate. Hence the model doesn’t provide enough evidence to conclude that fiscal multiplier is smaller in case of high debt versus low debt level in the case of CIS countries, probably, it happens because of low frequency of sovereign debt problems among those countries in data.

**Crisis and spending multiplier**

I defined crisis as negative deviation from HP trend of GDP, hence the negative output gap, while positive deviation is expansion. Government spending impact multiplier in crises time is 0.13[[10]](#footnote-10), this is significantly smaller than unconditional multiplier. Coefficient of interaction variable of government spending and crisis dummy on impact is not significant; hence, impact multiplier is not different across crises versus non crises conditions. However, the previous year multiplier in case of expansion is positive and significant (0.0363), this means that if government increases expenditure in crises time then it will have negative effect on GDP in the next year (negative multiplier is 0.24). This evidence supports the idea on expansionary fiscal consolidation. Hence, if government will consolidates budget in crises time it has expansionary effect on GDP. Alternatively, I defined sever crisis as negative one standard deviation from HP filter. In this least case impact multiplier in non-crises time is 0.28 while coefficient of interaction variable is insignificant too.

**Currency regime and the size of multiplier**

Based on Carmen M. Reinhart database on currency regimes I have applied interaction between currency peg dummy variable and government spending shock to assesses variation of multiplier in flexible versus fixed exchange rate regime. Impact multiplier in case of fixed exchange rate regime is 0.33, but model failed to identify different impact multiplier in case of flexible exchange rate regime. However, government spending shock has smaller effect in case of flexible regime versus fixed regime (multiplier is smaller by 0.23) after one year when fiscal shock is implemented, probably, this means that monetary expansion channel needs time to react on fiscal policy changes.

### Conclusions or Implications

### There is scarcity of researches on government spending efficiency, and developing countries are not exception. This paper analyses government spending multiplier in CIS countries. Main challenge for economists to measure government spending multiplier is to identify spending shock which will be unanticipated and contemporaneously exogenous. This paper use two stage linear model approach , on the first stage spending shock is identified based on modeling fiscal policy rule, and on the next stage spending shock is used as policy variable to estimate multiplier for the panel of 12 CIS countries.

### Government spending unconditional multiplier identified in this paper is 0.3 for CIS countries. In principle, the multiplier is close to other estimates for developing countries. It shows that 1 dollar unexpected increase in government expenditure is resulted in increase of GDP by 0.3 dollar. As a result there is no evidence of expansionary effect of government spending in CIS countries.

### Together with unconditional multiplier the paper also identifies spending multiplier across different economic condition. As model shows there is evidence that in crisis time government expansion can lead negative consequence to economy, it supports the idea on expansionary fiscal contraction. According to the model there is no evidence on variation of multiplier across debt level, while model estimates smaller multiplier in case of flexible exchange rate regime versus fixed regime. There is no strong evidence on lagged effect of government spending, hence, cumulative multiplier (long run multiplier) is not higher then impact multiplier which is close to 0.3 for the panel of CIS countries, as it was expected spending multiplier is low in this group of countries and this estimation is close to empirical evidences for other developing countries. To sum up based on the evidence of two stage models for CIS countries; fiscal authorities from those countries should not expect significant effect of government spending shock to their economies, in addition, there is evidence that fiscal consolidation contributes positive response of economy in crisis time in those group of countries.

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### *laSa arevaZe*

### *Tsu doqtoranti*

### samTavrobo danaxarjebis multiplikatoris Sefaseba gardamavali tipis ekonomikebisaTvis

**gafarToebuli reziume**

### am naSromis mizans warmoadgens fiskaluri politikis efeqtia­nobis (danaxarjebis maxaris) Sefaseba zogierTi gardamavali tipis eko­nomikebisaTvis, ufro zustad kvleva exeba dsT-is wevri qveynebis[[11]](#footnote-11) (som­xeTi, azerbaijani, belorusia, yazaxeTi, yirgizeTi, molova, taji­keTi, TurqmeneTi, ukraina, uzbekeTi) da saqarTvelos paneluri monace­mebis sa­­fuZ­velze samTavrobo danaxarjebis multiplikatoris Sefase­bas. zo­ga­dad ganviTarebadi qveynebisaTvis am mimarTulebiT kvlevebi ar gamoirCeva mravalferovnebiT da maT Soris am jgufis qveynebi ar war­moadgenen gamonakliss, erT erT dmabrkolebel faqtors am kuTxiT warmoadgens monacemebis simwire.

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### multiplikatoris Sesafaseblad gamoyenebulia orsafexuriani eko­nometrikuli modeli, pirvel etapze xdeba fiskaluri politikis wesis modelireba da danaxarjebis egzogenuri Sokis Sefaseba, rac war­moadgens pirveli safexuris modelis narCenobiT wevrs, xolo Sem­dgom etapze xdeba miRebuli Sokis efeqtis gavlenis Sefaseba mTlian Siga produqtze. samTavrobo danaxarjebis multiplikatori ar aris mudmivi da is icvleba gamomdinare im makroekonomikuri garemodan ra drosac xorcieldeba danaxarjebis Soki.

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1. Bureau of Transportation Statistics (1997). *1995 American Travel Survey Technical Documentation*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Transportation. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Corsetti at al. 2012. “What Determines Government Spending Multipliers?”, *International Monetary Fund WP/12/150* [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. All those multipliers are taken from IMF staff paper note about fiscal multiplier (2009) [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Source of expenditure is domestic debt [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Source of expenditure is external debt [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Coefficient [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. t-test [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. 1 –in case of expansion and 0- in case of recession. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Elasticity of GDP w.r.t. government spending is divided by share of government spending in GDP 0.0529/0.15 [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. 0.019/0.15 [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. mTlian jgufs darCenil nawilSi movixsenieb rogorc post sabWoTa garadamavali tipis ekonomikebs, ufro mokled ki post sabWoTa ekonomikebs (kvleva ar moicavs litvis, latviisa da estoneTis SemTxvevas, vinaidan am qveynebis institucionaluri ganviTarebis done ganapirobebs danaxarjebis efeqtis gansxvavebul zomas). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. upirobo multiplikatorSi igulisxmeba, multiplikatoris Sefaseba modelSi rodesac ganxiluli aris Sokis gavlena sxvadasxva ekonomikur mdgomareobasTan (recesia/eqspansia, valis done, ekonomikis gaxsnilobis maCvenebeli da aS.) interaqciis gareSe. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)