BUILDING SOCIETAL SUPPORT FOR THE RULE OF LAW IN GEORGIA: SUMMARY OF PROJECT REPORT

Project Report to the National Institute of Justice
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I. Introduction

Corruption throughout Georgia's government and society is a major obstacle to economic development and the establishment of a vibrant democracy. Far from the only challenge facing this small and troubled country, corruption is, however, among the most urgent of Georgia's problems and a barrier to effectively confronting any of the others.

Georgians recognize the problem. With the assistance of the international donor community, many in the government have attempted to reduce corruption, primarily through increased enforcement activities and regulatory reform. These efforts, however, have had only limited success. An underlying problem—the absence of a critical mass of Georgian citizens who believe in and support the rule of law—has yet to be systematically addressed. A diverse and growing number of Georgian policymakers and civil society leaders have come to recognize this and now believe that cultural and educational interventions are needed to develop this critical mass.

This summary is based on the Project Report submitted by the National Strategy Information Center (NSIC) to the National Institute of Justice. Completed in October 2003, the report describes a two-year process undertaken by NSIC to:

1) assess the extent of existing pro-lawfulness efforts, the feasibility of expanding them, and opportunities to reinforce them;

2) assess Georgian leaders' interest in and commitment to building societal support for the rule of law; and

3) identify appropriate and significant lawfulness-building activities, begin to build consensus in various sectors of Georgian society around these proposed activities, and produce an action plan and timeline for their implementation.

Despite Georgia's political turmoil and economic uncertainty, the results have been positive. High-level leaders in many sectors, including some who differ significantly in political affiliation or religious doctrine, have pledged to work together to prevent corruption. Fledgling projects are

underway, and diverse opportunities to foster support for the rule of law have been identified. While Georgian society continues to suffer from crippling poverty and lawlessness, agents of change exist and a coordinated movement has formed.

The development and institutionalization of a culture of lawfulness in Georgia requires a short-term approach geared toward long-term impact. First, a core group of Georgian leaders need to know about anticorruption and pro-lawfulness techniques that have proven effective in similar settings. Over three to five years, educational programs can train more than two thousand teachers, clergy, journalists, and other local leaders to foster support for the rule of law. These programs will also directly, if less intensely, influence the attitudes and knowledge of tens of thousands of schoolchildren, parents, parishioners, and others. During this initial phase, it will be necessary to supplement Georgian resources with small-scale financial and intellectual assistance.

Second, once this "pump priming" is complete, this skilled cadre of Georgian leaders and citizens is expected to take the initiative. No longer students, they become the next generation of teachers, helping foster a culture of lawfulness among their fellow citizens and mobilizing Georgian resources both inside and outside government to promote pro-lawfulness practices. Fortunately, the key sectors tapped by the cultural approach—public education, "centers of moral authority" (such as religious organizations and civil society groups), and the mass media—already possess the infrastructure and the human and financial resources that can be used to foster cultural change in support of the rule of law in the next 10 to 15 years and beyond.

These three sectors have established systems for disseminating ideas to large numbers of people. Thus, mobilizing their leaders to provide instruction in the rule of law can lead to rapid and highly effective civic education without the need for long-term outside assistance. Public schools have teachers, classrooms, and other pedagogical materials. Despite high levels of poverty, most Georgian children attend at least eight grades of school, and students look for moral direction from committed and well-educated teachers. Centers of moral authority—whether clergy, artists, writers, or local heroes—are often involved in formal and informal education. Religious leaders have their own centers of professional training, parochial schools, or media outlets. They counsel countless parishioners on days of worship or individually, enjoying their trust and respect. Lay

activists run or assist in sports programs or summer camps, undertake charitable and educational activities, and publish newsletters. The mass media is a powerful sector that through independent, fair, and objective reporting and educational programming can reinforce a culture of lawfulness. They have journalists, printing presses, cameras, editorial space, and airtime. Through exposés of criminal behavior, as well as coverage of local figures who resist illegality, they can stimulate public discussion and present positive role models.

This is the sustainability inherent in the cultural approach. Once the leaders of key sectors know how to foster a culture of lawfulness among their respective constituencies, they can tap into their own resources and infrastructure, whether public or private, to achieve this goal. Consolidating and expanding the Georgian program's early successes in the next few years is therefore critical to the long-term sustainability of the effort and its impact on the future attitudes and behavior of many Georgian citizens.

The initial phase of education and training is underway in Georgia. With the assistance of NSIC, Georgian leaders have developed pro-lawfulness projects based on effective examples from other countries. To date, the most promising progress in Georgia has been a two-year effort to teach eighth-grade students about the rule of law. In 2001, the Ministry of Education was persuaded to invest a significant portion of its scarce resources in this project. Eighth grade was selected because at this age most adolescents still attend public school. Furthermore, eighth graders are old enough to understand the complexities of corruption and the rule of law, but, for the most part, have not yet become involved in corruption on a large scale.

The popularity and success of Georgia's school-based Culture of Lawfulness curriculum is only the beginning, however. The school program provides a model of educational approaches that may be applied to other influential sectors of Georgian society. In the past few years, Christian and Muslim leaders have shown a willingness to invest their prestige in lawfulness efforts. Civil society organizations have mobilized to help coordinate and disseminate these efforts. Members of Georgia's increasingly professional and well-regarded independent mass media have also shown the desire and the capability to develop lawfulness programming.

This summary highlights the main issues and findings presented in the Project Report. It begins by briefly describing Georgia's corruption problem (section II). Then it enumerates the government's anticorruption efforts (section III), which are currently limited in efficacy by an absence of mass support for rule of law. In section IV, the summary argues for a cultural approach to strengthening the rule of law as a complement to institutional reform. Section V provides examples from other societies to illustrate the reasoning behind the cultural approach and to document its effectiveness. Section VI presents the opportunities that NSIC has identified for bringing about positive change through three key sectors: schools, religious and nongovernmental organizations, and the mass media. The seventh, and final, section outlines the particular projects that Georgian leaders, in consultation with NSIC investigators, have concluded would be most feasible and effective in reducing societal tolerance for corruption and fostering support for the rule of law. (Timelines for each project are included in the Project Report.)

II. Georgia's Corruption Problem

Corruption, both grand and petty, touches many aspects of Georgians' daily life and pervades many of the governmental and nongovernmental structures with which they come into contact. In recent years it has negatively affected the country's economy, political stability, and citizen morale. For example:

- Georgia ranked 127th out of 133, or seventh worst in the world, on Transparency International's 2003 Corruption Perception Index, a survey of both resident and nonresident businesspeople, academics, and risk analysts.[1]

- Reduced tax collection and declining foreign aid have reduced the government's ability to provide basic services such as electricity, and to maintain public infrastructure. People's responses have included smuggling and emigration.

- Criminal organizations have entered the mainstream, using corruption as a point of access to government officials. As the public loses faith in the legitimate political

process, criminal networks are increasingly seen as an alternative source of order and stability.[2]

- Even analysts sympathetic to President Eduard Shevardnadze note that corruption in Georgia's government agencies has "threatened the [international] credibility of Shevardnadze's regime and prevented the introduction of Western aid and assistance to his government."[3]

Many factors contribute to corruption in Georgia's public and private sectors. Certainly, institutional factors such as low salaries play a role. Other causes, however, are rooted in a *cultural* acceptance of corruption. For many decades, Georgians have been socialized to believe that there is no effective alternative to corrupt behavior. Rather than change this impression, the experience of the post-Soviet period has solidified it. The resulting fatalism has undermined Georgians' ability to build a thriving economy and vibrant democracy.

III. Government Anticorruption Efforts

With the support of the Council of Europe, the US Departments of State and Justice, and the local NGO sector, the Georgian government has taken steps to address its institutional shortcomings.

In 1999, the government established a working group to develop a national anticorruption program. Comprising representatives of both government and civil society, the panel recommended a variety of reform measures. Soon afterwards, with the support of the US government and civil society groups, President Shevardnadze set up a State Anticorruption Bureau and a permanent Anticorruption Policy Coordination Council.[4] These structures were authorized to develop legislative and other tools to combat corruption. The bureau has submitted several draft laws and amendments to the president and the Georgian parliament.

The most ambitious reform effort so far concerns the judiciary, law enforcement, and security agencies, known collectively as the "power ministries." In January 2002, President Shevardnadze appointed an interdepartmental commission, headed by Supreme Court Chairman Lado Chanturia and Deputy National Security Advisor Jamal Gakhokidze, to reform these agencies.

The commission's September 2002 final report outlined far-reaching reforms in both Georgian law and the organization of the country's police and security services.

The suggested reforms amount to an overhaul of the law enforcement and security sectors. A new criminal code is being written. New competency testing of officials in the judiciary has resulted in significant staff turnover. Similar testing is being adopted at the Tax Department, the Office of the Procurator General, and the Chamber of Control, which oversees government revenues and expenditures.

IV. The Missing Piece: A Cultural Approach

Critics have questioned the sincerity of the institutional reforms. But regardless of their motivation, a lack of broad societal support has limited their efficacy. Despite President Shevardnadze's repeated denunciations of corruption and his government's highly publicized efforts to reform public institutions, most specialists assert that a culture of corruption prevails. Georgians simply do not believe that the rule of law can protect their interests.

Many Georgian leaders are interested in cultivating this missing societal support for the rule of law. In April 2002, more than 50 decision-makers reviewed the preliminary findings of the Project Report with NSIC during a three-day seminar in the capital city of Tbilisi. (The seminar was co-sponsored by the Open Society-Georgia Foundation, an independent Tbilisi-based nonprofit group funded by the Soros Foundation.) Among the participants were senior officials from Georgia's Ministry of Education, Supreme Court, and National Security Council, as well as leaders from each of the major religions, reform-minded civil society activists, and the heads of major independent media organizations. The resident US Embassy legal adviser attended as an observer. All agreed that it is necessary to take a cultural approach to encouraging lawfulness in Georgia. (The Project Report reflects their comments and suggestions.)

The US Embassy in Tbilisi concurs with this analysis. The most recent USAID Georgia country strategy, endorsed by Ambassador Richard Miles, notes the following:

> Greater emphasis, even reliance, on grassroots action also seems necessary to combat a defeatist mindset amongst many Georgian citizens. … It is USAID/Caucasus' sense that

this commitment at the grassroots must be formed from a new set of values and attitudes that replaces a culture of entitlement with a culture of responsibility, and a culture of "rent-seeking" with a culture of "lawfulness."[5]

V. Fostering a Culture of Lawfulness

Current scholarship indicates that regulatory and law enforcement efforts to fight corruption cannot succeed in a democratic context without mass support for the rule of law.[6] Societal support, which has come to be known as a "culture of lawfulness," reinforces regulatory and law enforcement efforts in three ways:

- As more citizens follow the rule of law, the size of the problem diminishes.
- As more citizens assist law enforcement efforts by refusing to cover up corruption, public security agencies become more effective and less coercive.
- As more citizens monitor anticorruption efforts, they push government policymakers to follow through on their promises and initiatives.[7]

Broad-based civic education efforts in Hong Kong and western Sicily demonstrate that a cultural intervention, working in tandem with enhanced regulatory mechanisms, can contribute significantly to a reduction in levels of corruption and organized crime.[8] The culture of illegality and the forces of corruption in these regions are as strong, if not stronger, than those now in Georgia. Yet, positive cultural change was brought about within one generation.

Projects now underway in several Latin American societies—Mexico, Colombia, El Salvador, and Peru—also show that an education program to foster support of the rule of law can be effectively implemented and rigorously evaluated. In the Mexican state of Baja California, for example, almost three-quarters of ninth-grade students receive 60 hours of instruction in a Culture of Lawfulness (COL) curriculum developed by US and Mexican specialists. An evaluation of more than 11,000 students found that the course improved substantive knowledge about the negative consequences of crime and positively influenced attitudes toward the rule of law.[9] The course is now a required element of the Baja middle school curriculum.

The Baja experience also demonstrates that a successful school-based program can inspire lawfulness education programs at other grade levels and in other sectors. In 2004, selected high schools will pilot a complementary curriculum to reinforce and solidify lessons learned in middle school. Simultaneously, Mexico's national Ministry of Education has made the culture of lawfulness program part of its education policy. Outside of the schools, the Baja Ministry of Public Security is interested in developing a similar curriculum for cadets in the state police academy. A newly founded NGO, the Tijuana Renaissance Institute, is developing programs to help leaders from the media, religious institutions, and other NGOs to promote and implement COL activities. The Mexico branch of the Latin American University Department of Social Sciences (known by its Spanish acronym, FLACSO) is working to establish a post-graduate program to train public employees and leaders from the media, religious organizations, and civil society in methods to foster support for the rule of law.

VI. Opportunities for Change in Key Sectors

NSIC research has identified three main segments of Georgian society in which lawfulness programs would appear to be practical, sustainable, and effective. In the first sector, the education system, the culture of lawfulness program is already well underway. Government officials are supportive of the school-based effort; indeed, the national Ministry of Education has invested significant resources into expanding the program and has committed to include it in the required national curriculum by 2008. The program's early success demonstrates its long-term viability within the framework of Georgia's existing education system. It also reveals its potential value to other influential sectors of Georgian society: centers of moral authority, such as religious organizations; and the mass media.

A. School-Based Education

The school-based program has been the most palpable success of the Georgian initiative. It comprises a 60-hour Culture of Lawfulness course that addresses specific issues of crime and corruption confronting Georgia. The course has been piloted in both larger and relatively wealthier cities (Tbilisi and Batumi), as well as in smaller provincial towns (Tianeti, Telavi, Gori, and Senaki).

This course is the first civic education program accepted as official national policy. Despite habitual public criticism of most government initiatives, this program enjoys broad support from reformist sectors in civil society as well as teachers, school directors, parents, and the media. It has done a great deal to demonstrate that the cultural approach to rule of law is applicable and effective in Georgia.

In October 2000, the Ministry of Education signed a memorandum of understanding with NSIC agreeing to develop a Culture of Lawfulness course for inclusion in the national curriculum. The agreement created a cost-sharing arrangement under which the Ministry of Education would contribute significantly to the development of the program. As the program expanded to more and more schools, the ministry's contribution would grow. The agreement calls for no outside funding after 2008.

The Culture of Lawfulness course was piloted in 19 schools in 2002-2003. Based on its success, the course is now offered in all Georgian-language middle schools in Tbilisi (155 schools). Starting in 2008-2009, at least one eighth-grade class in every Georgian-language middle school in the country (about 1,700 schools, or 45,000 students) will receive the course. It is scheduled to reach all Georgian-language eighth-grade students in 2012.

The pilot phase has built a solid foundation. With the help of NSIC consultants, Georgian educators developed and fine-tuned a curriculum sensitive to local concerns and drawing on Georgian and international examples. The Ministry of Education has trained a strong group of pilot teachers; after one to two years of experience teaching the course and monthly meetings with project coordinators, they have coalesced into a unified and energetic group. Twelve of the most dedicated and effective of these pilot teachers have completed an additional seminar and are now able to train Georgian teachers throughout the country in the substance and pedagogy of the COL course. In addition, the Open Society-Georgia Foundation sponsored the publication of a Georgian translation of William Golding's novel *Lord of the Flies* (one of the course requirements).

The effort to date has managed to overcome the bureaucratic and psychological obstacles to developing a rule of law education program and to integrating it into the normal course of study.

- **The ministry** has committed significant financial and human resources. Already it has assumed responsibility for the teaching and training portions of the program, which can proceed in future without additional outside funding. In addition, it pays the salaries of a curriculum adaptation committee, 12 teacher trainers, and 155 teachers of the Culture of Lawfulness course. In a country where many schools lack chalkboards, the ministry gave pilot schools VCRs to screen a film that was part of the course. Ministry officials also meet regularly with pilot teachers, program coordinators, and NSIC consultants. The program is tentatively slated to expand by region, encompassing Tbilisi schools in 2003-2004 and the eastern Ajaria and Kakheti regions in 2004-2005.

- **Teachers** have shown an eagerness to be trained in the more interactive pedagogical methods—brainstorming, facilitation of discussion, group work—required to teach critical thinking and problem solving. Although initially reluctant to revise their often fatalistic outlooks, they have become among the most enthusiastic proponents of the Culture of Lawfulness project. Two teachers from the Ajaria region, for example, lobbied their school superintendents to expand the course regionally in advance of the national program.

Leaders in other sectors have responded enthusiastically to the school-based lawfulness program and have expressed interest in launching similar programs in their own fields. Leaders of Georgia's respected religious organizations, maturing NGO sector, and mass media are working to reinforce the values of lawfulness by speaking out against corruption and in favor of the rule of law.

B. Centers of Moral Authority

In 2000, the leaders of Georgia's many religious denominations founded the Inter-Religious Council of Georgia to Prevent Crime and Corruption and Promote Social Harmony (IRC). This action sent a strong signal that Georgia's major religious leaders are committed to collectively combating crime, corruption, and religious violence. The council includes top officials from the Georgian Orthodox, Armenian Apostolic, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Lutheran, and Salvation Army churches, as well as the Muslim Council. Meeting once a month, the IRC's members have

begun to speak out, either singly or in unison, using moral suasion to reverse the normalization of corrupt and criminal values. They have already given several joint newspaper interviews. Orthodox and Baptist leaders have preached to their congregants about the need to promote the rule of law. Students in several Muslim schools have received informal instruction. In a historic initiative, the IRC resolved to make lawfulness an integral part of religious education nationwide.

Given the high prestige of Georgia's Christian and Muslim clergy, religious schools are a promising site of lawfulness education. By teaching believers of different faiths to reject corruption and uphold the rule of law, such a program would not only fight corruption but also reinforce lessons of tolerance and social harmony. At a time of rising religious extremism and violence in Georgia, the program would show students that Georgia's many confessions share such fundamental values as human rights and freedom that the rule of law can protect.

C. The Mass Media

Georgia's increasingly independent and professional mass media have also shown an interest in the rule of law. Rather than continuing to merely report corruption scandals and exposés, some media outlets have been encouraged to create programs that reinforce the school-based program, combat public fatalism, and raise awareness of the rule of law.

- Since May 2003, the national daily newspaper *24 Hours* has published a bi-weekly special supplement, called "Letters to the Government". Tbilisi eighth graders, students in the Culture of Lawfulness school program, write letters to government officials about problems in their communities. A coordinator then solicits responses from national and local government officials (such as Mikhail Saakashvili, the chairman of the Tbilisi city council), which are also printed.

- Georgian national media have produced favorable coverage of the school program, including a well-reported press conference on an environmental issue sparked by a student letter to the supplement.

- A grant from the World Bank enabled the Association for Legal Public Education to help media managers produce a TV courtroom drama (with professional actors), a Rustavi-2 (independent television) feature story about court practice, a court chronicle supplement in the *Kviris Palitra* newspaper, and a series of public service announcements about the need for a strong legal system.

- The International Center for Civic Development has organized a "school for democracy" (already attended by 60 students), and is scheduled to broadcast a series of "debates for democracy" among university students on television's Channel 9.

VII. Projects to Expand and Reinforce a Culture of Lawfulness

The Project Report proposes a plan of activities to take advantage of these opportunities and consolidate the early successes. The activities enjoy broad support from leaders in various sectors of Georgian government and society. It is NSIC's belief that implementing these activities over a five-year period would build a critical mass of Georgians equipped with the skills required

This critical mass—from the education system, religious and civil society organizations, and the mass media—will then be able to use the resources already at their disposal to promote the values of honesty, integrity, and lawfulness in their society. The Culture of Lawfulness initiative will thus continue over the next 10 to 15 years and beyond, led by local Georgian leaders. It will not require additional outside assistance. In some cases local resources are already being utilized. Public schools have teachers, classrooms, and pedagogical materials, as well as access to most Georgian adolescents. Religious and lay community leaders run their own professional training academies, Sunday schools, media outlets, and informal educational or recreational programs. Newspapers and television stations have journalists, printing presses, cameras, and editorial space or airtime.

A detailed timeline for each of the proposed activities below—school-based projects and projects for centers of moral authority and the mass media—appears in Section VI of the Project Report.

A. School-Based Projects

Supporting and expanding the school-based lawfulness program is most urgent. The program is at a crucial stage: as the Ministry of Education integrates the Culture of Lawfulness course nationally into the required eighth-grade curriculum, it is important to sustain a high level of quality instruction.

In particular, efforts to monitor and evaluate the program need outside funding and technical assistance for the next three to four years. To maintain the integrity of the program model as the project expands, NSIC has helped design a system to assess and, if necessary, correct the implementation of the program in each school. (The system is called a process evaluation.). Tbilisi-based coordinators collect and analyze weekly reports from teachers, and monthly reports from trainers. Regular teacher-coordinator meetings and classroom visits by trainers underline the effort's importance in the minds of participants and, most important, help address problems quickly. If the program is not being implemented properly, trainers are able to problem-solve with teachers to identify and resolve major issues and ensure consistency and quality of program delivery. This close process of monitoring and adjustment, along with the use of a small group of highly skilled and motivated trainers, should help the program expand successfully to all 1,700 Georgian middle schools by 2008.

To measure the substantive impact of the course, NSIC has helped develop a quasi-experimental approach to measure changes in student knowledge and attitudes toward the rule of law. The quantitative evaluation relies on a 101-item, multiple-choice survey for students (written in Georgian). The survey comprises individual items and previously published standardized scales. It includes 11 substantive knowledge questions and 12 theoretically derived scales to measure students' attitudes towards school, feelings of personal safety, attitudes toward organized crime groups, sense of fatalism, acceptance of social responsibility, locus of control, self-esteem, obligation to obey the law, impressions of the police, levels of legal reasoning, self-reported delinquency, and nature of peer associations.

Each scale was selected for its appropriateness, availability, parsimoniousness, and prior validation, but in no case had the instruments been validated on Georgian youths similar to those participating in this project. Since the internal reliability of each scale may vary in different

cultural contexts, the entire instrument should be reassessed and revised as necessary after the first pre- and post-test periods.

Finally, NSIC proposes two additional educational projects. The first is a pre-service training program at the Tbilisi Pedagogical University to prepare future teachers to teach the subject matter. The second supplementary project would create a coherent and continuous middle school program by connecting the eighth-grade Culture of Lawfulness course with Georgia's two other middle-school civic education programs, Street Law (seventh grade) and the Iowa curriculum (ninth grade).

B. Projects for Centers of Moral Authority and the Mass Media

IRC members have decided to institute a lawfulness education program for church and mosque schools. They have agreed to devote one-third of their religious education time to the program. This may take the form of a shared interfaith curriculum or one curriculum, rooted in a single scriptural tradition, for each faith. Whichever path IRC members pursue, this represents a new and promising effort to use religious values and teachings as a means of influencing young people's attitudes about crime, violence, and the rule of law.

Over the next three years, the IRC will require a small amount of outside funding and technical assistance to complete curriculum development, teacher training, piloting, and program implementation. NSIC has also been asked to help develop a method to evaluate the quality of the resulting education program. Although it will be difficult to conduct a rigorous quantitative evaluation, an assessment is, nonetheless, particularly important for the IRC program. With curricula based in a variety of religious traditions and taught in several languages (Armenian, Azeri, and Georgian), it may serve as a model for faith-based lawfulness education initiatives throughout the Caucasus and the Middle East.

Other proposed activities involve influencing Georgian public opinion through informal civic education, primarily through the media. The newspaper supplement described above should become a standing feature in Georgian mass media. A program to train students as reporters and partisans of the rule of law would help prepare a cadre of young journalists and expose a wider public to their work. Finally, ongoing media coverage of the school-based initiative and the

IRC's activities will build public enthusiasm for these successful efforts. Positive stories will help reduce the fatalism that can be a side effect of persistent (although useful) media coverage of corruption scandals and other breaches of the rule of law.

VIII. Conclusion

This report maintains that a credible and effective approach to Georgia's corruption problem requires addressing the country's culture of corruption in addition to the reform of its institutional structures. While societal support alone will not result in the rule of law, it would appear to be a necessary element. Cultural interventions have been effective in other societies where poverty, fatalism, and political instability were the norm. This approach has already found broad support and shown early successes in Georgia.

With an additional three to five years of outside assistance, the activities detailed in this report could result in a core group of more than two thousand agents of change in key sectors of Georgian society: teachers, principals, education officials, religious leaders in all the major confessions, journalists, and civil society activists. Tens of thousands of schoolchildren, parents, parishioners, and others would receive education about the social cost of corruption, the necessity of a culture of lawfulness, and their own roles in fostering such a culture. Through channels that already enjoy broad reach and high prestige—education, mass media, and centers of moral authority—Georgian citizens can acquire the skills, knowledge, and beliefs needed to foster the rule of law.

Just as important, the short-term achievements of the program can be sustained and expanded in the long term, influencing current and future generations in decades to come. Leaders who are trained now in effective techniques to foster a culture of lawfulness are expected take the initiative in the future. The educational and communication channels at their disposal do not require an influx of new funds; key leaders can draw upon the infrastructure and resources at hand. Public schools have classrooms led by committed and well-educated teachers, whose opinions are highly regarded by Georgian students and parents; religious and community leaders have clergy, Sunday school teachers, religious and lay facilities, media outlets, charitable activities, and sports and educational programs; and the mass media have reporters, printing

presses, cameras, and editorial space and airtime for stories and programs that promote a culture of lawfulness.

The positive benefits of the short but intense pump priming stage—the next three to five years—have the potential to extend far into the future. As a result, consolidating and expanding the Georgian program's early successes in the next few years is critical. With the necessary training, key sectors of Georgian society can establish the framework to develop and sustain community efforts to effect a culture of lawfulness.

[1] Transparency International, Corruption Perceptions Index 2003. London, October 7, 2003. Available online at http://www.transparency.org/pressreleases_archive/2003/2003.10.07.cpi.en.html. This year's score is comparable to that of 2002, when Georgia ranked sixteenth-worst out of 192 countries.

[2] See Phil Williams, "Criminalization and Stability in Central Asia and South Caucasus," in *Faultlines of Conflict in Central Asia and the South Caucasus: Implications for the US Army*, Rand Institute, 2003.

[3] Carolyn McGiffert Ekedahl and Melvin A. Goodman, *The Wars of Eduard Shevardnadze* (2nd ed.). Brassey's, Washington, DC, 2001: 279.

[4] For a list of the Anticorruption Council's members, see Appendix 4.

[5] USAID/Caucasus Georgia Country Strategy, 2004-2008, abridged version released October 27, 2003. Available online at http://www.usaid.org.ge/pdf/FinalDocAbr.pdf. Page 8 and see footnote 4.

[6] See, e.g., Thomas Carothers, "Promoting the Rule of Law Abroad: The Problem of Knowledge," Rule of Law Series Working Paper #34, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 2003; Mark P. Lagon, "Visions of Globalization: Pretexts for Prefabricated Prescriptions—and Some Antidotes," *World Affairs* (Winter 2003).

[7] See Roy Godson, "Guide to Developing a Culture of Lawfulness," in *Trends in Organized Crime* 5, no. 3 (2000): 91-109.

[8] Sicilian Renaissance Institute, *Creating a Culture of Lawfulness*, Palermo, 2000. See also A. Lai., "A Quiet Revolution: The Hong Kong Experience," *Trends in Organized Crime* 5 (3) (2000); T. Wing Lo, "Pioneer of Moral Education: Anticorruption Education in Hong Kong," in *Furthering a Culture of Lawfulness* (Conference Report), Civitas International, Strasbourg, France, 1997; Leoluca Orlando, *Fighting the Mafia: Renewing Sicilian Culture*, Encounter Books, San Francisco, CA, 2001; Peter and Jane Schneider, *Reversible Destiny: Mafia, Antimafia, and the Struggle for Palermo*, University of California, Berkeley, CA, 2003.

[9] See Roy Godson and Dennis Jay Kenney, "Fostering a Culture of Lawfulness on the Mexico-US Border: Evaluation of a Pilot School-Based Program" in *Transnational Crime and Public Security: Challenges to Mexico and the United States*, eds. John Bailey and Jorge Chabat, Center for US-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2002. For more recent results, see "Culture of Lawfulness Update," National Strategy Information Center, Washington, DC, June 2002.

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I. Introduction

In 2000, several high-ranking government officials and civil society leaders in Georgia asked the National Strategy Information Center (NSIC) to help them address the problem of corruption in their country. Impossible to ignore, corruption was noticeably impeding economic development and threatening democracy and human rights. Furthermore, they noted that corrupt behavior was increasingly prevalent and tolerated by Georgian society.

These leaders proposed a two-pronged response. First, they advocated the continuation of an aggressive effort to increase enforcement and implement institutional reforms that would prevent illegal behavior as well as identify and prosecute people who had abused the public's trust. In 1999, President Eduard Shevardnadze launched a campaign of official denunciations of corruption and corrupt officials. In addition, he established a National Anticorruption Council comprising representatives of government and civil society. The council was instructed to develop reform measures liberalizing the business environment, improving management of state resources, enhancing law enforcement and the judiciary, and strengthening educational reform (National Anticorruption Program 2001).

Second, the leaders enlisted NSIC's help in conceptualizing and developing a program to address aspects of Georgian culture that had led citizens to tolerate or even support corruption. They proposed to match the regulatory crackdown with targeted civic education efforts involving schools, centers of moral authority (such as religious organizations), and the mass media. These programs would build citizens' long-term commitment to the rule of law and promote a culture of lawfulness.[1] The officials modeled this second track on promising efforts developed and implemented in Hong Kong (Wing Lo 1997); Palermo, Sicily (CIVITAS 1999); and Baja California, Mexico (Godson and Kenney 2003).

This report summarizes the two-year initiative in Georgia, from July 2001 to October 2003, which fulfilled the following goals:

1) To assess the extent of existing pro-lawfulness efforts, the feasibility of expanding them, and opportunities to reinforce them;

2) To assess Georgian leaders' interest in and commitment to building societal support for the rule of law; and

3) To identify appropriate and significant lawfulness-building activities, begin to build consensus in various sectors of Georgian society around these proposed activities, and produce an action plan and timeline for their implementation.

The results of NSIC's fruitful two-year collaboration illustrate the desirability, feasibility, and sustainability of a cultural approach in Georgia, as well as some promising ways of expanding this effort. First, a core group of key Georgian leaders needs to know about anticorruption and pro-lawfulness techniques that have proven effective in similar settings. With the support of small-scale outside funding and technical assistance, in three to five years a cadre of leaders and citizens can be equipped with the desire, skills, and capacity to independently foster a culture of lawfulness in Georgia.

Second, once this pump priming is complete, this skilled cadre of Georgian leaders and citizens is expected to take the initiative. No longer students, they become the next generation of teachers, helping foster a culture of lawfulness among their fellow citizens. They will be able to mobilize existing Georgian resources both inside and outside government to promote pro-lawfulness practices. Fortunately, the key sectors tapped by the cultural approach—public education, religious organizations and civil society groups, and the mass media—already possess the infrastructure and the human and financial resources needed to foster a culture of lawfulness in the next 10 to 15 years and beyond. In some cases, these groups have already committed significant resources of their own to the program.

These sectors have established systems for disseminating ideas to large numbers of people. Thus, mobilizing their leaders to provide instruction in the rule of law can lead to rapid and highly effective civic education. Public schools have classrooms and dedicated teachers, whose opinions are highly regarded by parents and students. Centers of moral

authority—whether clergy, artists, writers, or local heroes—are often involved in formal and informal education. They have their own centers of professional training, parochial schools, or media outlets. They run or assist in sports programs or summer camps, and undertake charitable and educational activities. The mass media is a powerful sector that through independent, fair, and objective reporting can reinforce a culture of lawfulness. They have journalists, printing presses, cameras, and editorial space and airtime. Through exposés of criminal behavior, as well as coverage of local figures who resist illegality, they can stimulate public discussion and educate the public about the advantages of lawfulness.

This report is broken into six main substantive sections. In section II, the report briefly outlines the problem of corruption in Georgia. Section III describes societal and historical trends that have contributed to a culture of illegality. Section IV begins by describing regulatory reforms and enforcement efforts already underway in Georgia, but limited in efficacy by an absence of mass support for rule of law. The report then presents the concepts behind the Culture of Lawfulness program, citing international examples in which a culture sympathetic to lawfulness worked in tandem with institutional efforts to support the rule of law. Section V outlines existing opportunities for positive change in key sectors of Georgia society: the education system, centers of moral authority, and the mass media. Finally, Section VI proposes a set of appropriate and sustainable cultural interventions identified by NSIC in consultation with Georgian leaders and scholars.

II. Georgia's Corruption Problem

Over the past decade, corruption has caused Georgia to lose foreign aid, business investment, and brainpower. Two analysts sympathetic to President Shevardnadze observe that corruption in Georgia's bureaucracy throughout the 1990s "threatened the [international] credibility of Shevardnadze's regime and prevented the introduction of Western aid and assistance to his government" (Ekedahl and Goodman 2001: 279). Direct foreign investment, resilient throughout the mid-1990s, began to fall by the end of the decade as well.[2] Partly as a result, the "incipient economic rejuvenation" that some observers glimpsed in the mid-1990s (Henze 1995) has notably failed to occur. And as more Georgians decide they must leave home if they are to find work, emigration has risen. According to government reports, nearly 300,000 Georgians have left in the past 10 years. Independent estimates, however, put the number closer to 1.6 million.[3]

The perception that there is no effective alternative to corruption appears to permeate Georgian society. Corruption is increasingly taken for granted as a fact of life. According to the 2001-2002 United Nations National Human Development Report, Georgians perceive corruption as the second most urgent national problem after unemployment, well ahead of poverty and education. The report continues:

> The distortions brought about by mismanagement, cronyism and other vices are affecting the population's perception of the value of important long-term investments, like education, which ranks low in the list of public concerns. The answer for this low ranking is as simple as it could be imagined: the public perceives that getting a good job has little to do with having good education but rather depends on one's networks of friends and contacts. (UNHDP 2001-2002: Chapter 1)

A. Modes of Corruption

In a society like Georgia's, where people are acclimated to corruption, no one is immune. It is impossible to avoid entanglement in corrupt practices on some level—whether as victim or perpetrator. Often the two categories are blurred, as people find they must violate the law in order to function in their society. In Georgia, elected and appointed

government officials, officers of the law, and hard-working citizens all fall within the harmful orbit of corruption.

1. Corruption by Public Officials

Corruption in Georgian political culture has become so visible and well accepted that criminal organizations are entering the mainstream, using corruption as a point of access to government officials (Williams 2003). As a result, public works projects languish while low-salaried government officials build large private homes in public view.[4]

A cozy symbiosis exists between Georgian organized crime networks and the central government, due to the country's former status as a Soviet republic and the illegality that flourished under Communism. In Soviet times, every republic had an underground "second economy" (also known as an informal or shadow economy) of bartered goods and favors, underreported production, and under-the-table commerce (Simis 1982). Thanks in part to the strength and ingenuity of its criminal networks, Georgia's second economy is considered to have been among the most developed in the Soviet Union (Byung-Yeon 2002). With independence, these networks stepped out of the shadows and into the centers of power. As Suny observes, Georgia's first independent government (under President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, 1991-1992) gave prominent posts to

> the Georgian "mafia," the complex network of entrepreneurs, politicians, and criminals that ran much of the "second economy" under the Soviets (Suny 1994:326).

Eduard Shevardnadze, who became president in the turbulent period following Gamsakhurdia's ouster, also made an "alliance of convenience" with known criminal figures (Suny 1994:327). Among them was Jaba Ioseliani, a convicted thief and guerrilla leader who became one of Shevardnadze's top military commanders.[5] Paramilitary and political groups with close ties to government agencies, including Ioseliani's Mkhedrioni militia, took control of large sectors of the Georgian economy (Ekedahl and Goodman 2001:279).

Over a decade later, criminal leaders are proving difficult to expel from the ruling elite. The free press has exposed some of their activities, but this has done little to reduce their power. When the state has taken action against them, the measures have been described as half-hearted (*Alia*, *Resonansi* and *Kviris Palitra*, March 19 and 20, 2003).

2. Corruption by the Police

Corrupt police are often informally characterized as either "grass-eaters" or "meat-eaters." The overwhelming majority are the former, content to solicit small payments from motorists, shopkeepers, and other businesspeople. For example, police stationed at roadblocks on the highway between Tbilisi and the airport routinely extort small sums of money from drivers.

"Meat-eaters," on the other hand, are far more aggressive in their search for profit. These officials devote most of their working hours to narcotics, gambling, and other offenses associated with organized or transnational crime (Knapp Commission 1983). The extent of organized police corruption in Georgia became clear in 2002, during the highly visible kidnapping of a British businessman in Tbilisi. Wearing police uniforms, the kidnappers abducted the victim from a busy public street while other officers witnessed the crime and did nothing. After government efforts to locate and rescue the victim proved futile, open speculation about police complicity became widespread. State Security Minister Khaburdzania went so far as to allege that Interior Ministry officials were involved, while Minister of State Avtandil Jorbenadze said the evidence pointed to "collusion between the criminal underworld and representatives of official structures" (Stier 2002). One Georgian criminologist was led to observe, "Shevardnadze has enough control of the police to stay in power, but not enough to really fight against crime" (Stier 2002).

It is difficult to know which type of corrupt officer does the greatest harm. Although smaller in individual impact and more easily deterred, grass-eaters come into direct contact with a larger number of citizens. Minor yet routine shakedowns contribute to the sense that corruption is pervasive and entrenched. The sophisticated and professional crimes of meat-eaters may be more disturbing, however. Citizens may come to expect the worst and believe that established social structures do little to protect them.

3. Corruption by Individuals

On a small scale, individual Georgians become entangled in corrupt practices, most often when they make small payments to receive expedited or preferential treatment—or any treatment at all. One example of this practice and its consequences occurred in early 2002, when students at the Tbilisi State University demanded changes in the school's procedures. The resulting scandal revealed that university admission routinely required bribes; exams and even dissertations were easily purchased. In fact, some observers now contend that as many as 80 percent of students have paid bribes. They believe that corruption in the nation's education system may have crippled standards. One student near graduation noted, "[G]raduates from Tbilisi State University, which is basically the most important university in this country, cannot compete even on the regional market" (Peuch 2002). The societal impact of educational corruption is extreme. According to Davit Usupashvilli, a legal expert at the Tbilisi branch of the US Center for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector (IRIS),[6] corruption

> …directly impacts on the mentality or the ethic[al] values of those students who every single day witness the situation that prevails in the education system. If the situation [in universities] does not change, I am convinced we will never be able to combat corruption elsewhere, because corruption will become part of our culture (Peuch 2002).

B. Costs of Corruption

As Usupashvilli suggests, the costs to society from corrupt practices are considerable. Aside from the erosion of confidence and degradation of support for all forms of law and civic involvement, the financial costs can be enormous. In Georgia, for example, the World Bank has estimated that three-fourths of the national budget—US$1.5 billion in tax revenue—was lost in 2001 alone due to nonpayment of taxes. The price of avoiding these taxes, Bank researchers contend, involved direct payments of between US$75 and US$105 million to state officials.

According to economists' estimates, the "informal economy" (unreported income) in Georgia has risen to around 67 percent of the official gross national product—by far the highest among European and post-Soviet countries (Schneider 2002).[7] The informal

economy does not appear to be directly caused by poverty. When World Bank researchers attempted to pinpoint this large and growing problem through household surveys, they found that the wealthiest and best-connected families—not the smaller businesses operating in cash—had the largest gaps between what they spent and what they officially earned. More disturbing,

> The sectors with a larger gap [between reported household expenditures and income, both in absolute terms and as a percentage of income] are largely dominated by government employees—education, health and administration—or are related to real estate and finance, suggesting large out-of-pocket informal payments and corruption (World Bank 2003).

Lost revenues and the economic uncertainties they produce cripple Georgia's business environment and inhibit the provision of basic services. Power outages are common, government salaries go unpaid for months, and private entrepreneurs face "barriers to entry" if they cannot afford start-up bribes (World Bank 2000). This helps feed a vicious cycle, as lower-ranked employees such as police officers (earning $30 per month) and teachers (earning less than $40 per month) come to believe that corruption is the only viable way of life.

In June 2002, Georgian Opinion Research and Business International released the results of a nationwide survey showing that 70 percent of the public was ready to "give up basic moral values" and give or take bribes to solve their problems (Anjaparidze 2002). Such widespread deterioration in public attitudes is worrisome. IRIS's Usupashvili noted that as these attitudes become increasingly commonplace and educators fail to help students "understand such notions as 'state,' 'citizens,' or 'civic obligations,'" society as a whole is harmed. Revaz Bakhtadze from the United Nations Association of Georgia made the dire observation that the main problem for those fighting corruption in Georgia is that only a few Georgians are willing to change the rules of the game (Peuch 2002). Although the casual observer easily detects a considerable sense of fatalism, many Georgians are seriously concerned that corruption is threatening to overwhelm their state and paralyze its political system.

III. Cultural Trends and Contradictions

No single answer suffices to explain the pervasive presence of corruption in Georgia today. Gotsiridze and Kandelaki (2001) single out a few political figures and blame them for perverting the system. More frequently cited reasons, however, are institutional. For example, the low salaries of public servants can create favorable grounds for corruption: government ministers earn around US$150 per month, deputies in parliament little more than US$200 per month, and schoolteachers less than US$40 on average.[8] In addition, Georgia's highly centralized state apparatus places considerable regulatory power in the same hands of these poorly paid officials (Esadze 2000). Thus, it is tempting and easy for officials to commit and conceal corrupt acts.[9]

In contrast, some observers argue that while institutional factors may facilitate corruption, they do not cause it (Kiknadze 2001; Corruption Research Center of Georgia 2002). Rather, corrupt attitudes and practices arise from, and flourish in, a *culture* in which corruption is normalized and honesty is marginalized. This set of beliefs and practices—rooted in pre-Soviet habits, entrenched during 70 years of Soviet rule, and reinforced during the post-Soviet collapse and power struggle—has undermined Georgians' efforts to build a vibrant democracy, a strong economy, and a free society.

This section of the report identifies three areas in which Georgian cultural practices have had a profound influence on contemporary attitudes toward crime, corruption, and the rule of law: criminals as resistance heroes, an irrelevant education system, and religious authorities for whom hypocrisy was for many years a means of survival.[10]

A. Criminals as Role Models

In Georgian culture, criminal figures have often been characterized as servants of the public good, embodying popular notions of honor, justice, or even democracy. For example, in mid-2003 a Georgian government official boasted to news organizations that a known organized crime leader had intervened to free kidnapped UN observers.[11] In 2002, several teachers in a Tbilisi high school reported that their students had held an

election to choose their representative to the local criminal organization. This indicates that students largely accept organized crime and see it as compatible with democracy.[12]

The myth of criminal figures as disinterested "Robin Hoods" derives in part from the institution of the "thief-in-law" (in Russian, *vor v zakone*), a Soviet phrase that expresses the paradox of an underworld leader on the government payroll (Finckenauer 1998 and Tevzadze 2003). Thieves-in-law were typically high-ranking organized crime figures recruited by the Soviet Committee for State Security (KGB). They were used to help control (or even eliminate) dissidents and regime opponents. Meanwhile, government-approved propaganda disseminated the myth that thieves-in-law were tough fighters, sharp shooters, and protectors of the poor from the rich. This myth idealized lawlessness even as it increased government penetration of criminal groups and dissident networks.[13]

In the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, such mythmaking found fertile ground. The *Adats*, or traditional customary laws of the Caucasus, include a category of fighters known as *abreks.* These were men who escaped the blood feud after committing a crime by taking to the mountains and swearing a lifetime oath to shun civilized life and agriculture.[14] As historian John F. Baddeley (1908) wrote after traveling in the Caucasus in the 1890s,

> Cattle lifting, highway robbery and murder were, in this strange code, counted deeds of honour; …these, together with fighting against any foe, but especially the hated Russian, were the only pursuits deemed worthy of a grown man.

The Soviet construction of thieves-in-law may have exploited some of the *abrek* mystique. Thieves-in-law were known for refusing to marry, own property, or pocket gains of their illegal activity. They were perceived as honorable. Underground parlance even introduced the term "thieves *from* the law" to describe second-rate gangsters who "bought the title" of thief-in-law rather than coming by it "honestly" (Tevzadze 2003).

Promoting state-paid criminals to the status of heroes allowed the Soviet authorities one inroad into a population long suspicious of state power (Suny 1994). Some anthropologists have portrayed this suspicion as an underlying fact of Georgian culture:

> In this kind of "honor and shame" society where peer approval is so important, hierarchical official relations are resented and resisted and are the source of perpetual conflict. The individual Georgian sees honor accruing to families and sees families linked by a common honor. In such a context there is little role for the state or for any centrally-organized hierarchy (Mars and Altman 1983, quoted in Suny 1994).

Soviet-era economics suggest another explanation, however, for the high esteem in which Georgians have held criminals. Besides playing on notions of kinship, informal networks (including criminal groups) offered tangible benefits. In difficult times, Soviet citizens relied on an underground economy of bartered goods and favors, underreported production, and under-the-table commerce (Simis 1982). Thanks in part to the resourcefulness of its criminal networks, Georgia's informal "second economy" is considered to have been among the most developed in the Soviet Union (Kim 2003). Its leaders were seen as heroes resisting Soviet economic domination (Suny 1994).

As a result, Georgian culture has never had great respect for the state and its institutions because citizens did not believe their government had anything to offer them. Instead, they turned to an underground economy shaped by informal networks and dominated by criminal groups. Today, however, law-breaking by leaders of organized crime networks may no longer be seen as honorable, in part because the leaders have amassed great personal wealth—violating the perceived thief-in-law code.[15] They have also begun to co-opt the Georgian state, diverting resources and services away from citizens and undermining public security (see Section II). For the first time, a critical mass of Georgian citizens may be ready to believe that the rule of law offers the best chance of improving their quality of life.

B. Public Education: Lessons in Cynicism

The Georgian education system, another source of culture and cultural patterns, has changed only slightly since Soviet times. Now, as then, the system reinforces corrupt practices and normalizes corrupt attitudes. An unrealistic and abstract curriculum, a harsh examination process, and a two-tiered school system combine to make corruption a prerequisite to success at every level. Meanwhile, these same factors deprive students of

analytical tools they need to make sense of their society and change their lives. From kindergarten through university, students are socialized to see few alternatives to corruption and little incentive to obey the law (Perkins 1998). Only recently has the government decided to change this state of affairs, introducing (in consultation with NSIC) a civic education course and supporting pro-lawfulness efforts.

In Soviet Georgia, the public education system was the state's most direct interface with individual citizens. The standard Soviet curriculum emphasized university preparation over practical skills, arcane knowledge of natural science over social science know-how, and myths of ethnic and national greatness over economic or sociological analysis. Thinking and problem-solving skills took a back seat to memorization. The social sciences held a semi-legal position, not prohibited outright but ideologically suspect. Since all social scientists were officially considered commentators on the classical works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the curriculum devoted little time to social studies or civic education. Independent thinking was strongly discouraged.

In Georgia, the textbooks in social science and history contained myths that fed ethnic and religious nationalism. They depicted Georgians as good fighters, conquered only by Muslim zealots who wanted to convert them. History books dwelled on the stories of Georgian kings and wars, never making the connection to daily life or political systems. They fostered an exaggerated respect for power, not a critical approach to ideology and social conditions (Duthilleul 1998).

All this combined to produce a sense of cynicism about the school system. The information was seen as incoherent and irrelevant, and the demands for promotion impossible. While some students with extraordinary memories could fulfill the requirements, most felt they had to resort to bribery if they wanted to get ahead. Outright bribes and informal in-kind gifts became a common way to pass both the ordinary year-end and high school graduation exams. Parents paid local superintendents to place their children in specific schools or to obtain particular teachers for their children, and students paid teachers for grades or for extra time on exams. University applicants could pay a member of their own examination board to "tutor" them for the entrance exam.

Corruption was not just tolerated but was almost a required part of every student's education (Shahriari 1999).

Attempts to change this arrangement produced a two-tiered school system still rooted in corruption. In the early 1980s, a group of university professors and schoolteachers were given permission to establish so-called "author schools." These schools, which enjoyed good contacts in the government, were authorized to teach a broader range of material. Mostly focused on skills education, author schools became islands of resistance to the Soviet regime. It was widely known, however, that these schools could survive only because they had strong protectors who allowed them to bend the rules; getting a child into them also required some connections. Again, this reinforced the idea that the only way to survive was to find ways to use one's personal contacts to beat the system. This antisocial "me-first" attitude continues to corrode post-Soviet citizens and institutions.

Recent studies of the Georgian education system show that not a great deal has changed, either structurally or culturally, since Soviet times. As one World Bank (1998) study found, Georgian education "follows the old system: total regulation and control by the state, and the belief that the state must and is able to determine all norms and mechanisms" (Shahriari 1999). Students receive six or seven teaching hours per day in a lecture-based format, and advancement depends on memorization and passing exams—not critical thinking skills (Perkins 1998; Lorentzen 2000; Sealy 2000). Most children stay in school through ninth grade before dropping out.[16] (Most of Georgia's ethnically Azerbaijani, Armenian, and Russian Orthodox students are educated in separate Russian or Azeri-language schools that use different textbooks.)

Yet the school system today shows signs of promising change. A comprehensive curriculum overhaul is underway, scheduled to be completed by 2005 at the elementary level and by 2012 at the secondary and high-school level. Top education officials have committed significant resources to making anticorruption materials a priority in the schooling of the next generation (see Section IV).

C. Religious Authorities: Adapting to Changing Times

The positions of religious leaders on social issues play a central role in shaping public discourse. In fact, it is impossible to overestimate the role of religion in the history of the Georgian nation and its continuing influence on people's self-image. Georgians of all faiths tend to seek moral direction from their religious leaders (CIPPD 1999).

Georgia is the second-oldest Christian country in the world (after Armenia), having adopted Christianity in the fourth century. Thereafter, through 1,500 years of repeated invasion and periodic occupation, Georgia preserved its heritage as a predominantly Orthodox Christian nation.[17] But despite the Georgian Orthodox Church's enduring strength and the preponderance of Orthodox citizens—70 percent of the population—Georgia has a diverse religious community. Eleven percent of Georgians are Muslim, mainly Shiites of Azerbaijani origin or Turkic Sunnis from the southwest (CIA World Factbook 2003). The remaining non-Orthodox population is divided among several groups: small yet active Russian Orthodox and Armenian Apostolic churches and significant numbers of Baptists and Catholics, as well as some Lutherans. In recent years these minority religions have grown in size and influence.[18]

Like all Georgian public institutions, the Orthodox Church has not been immune to the culture of corruption and, in fact, has tolerated criminal and illegal activities of all kinds. Church leaders publicly lament that some priests have regularly accepted large donations of money from dubious sources, used Church funds to buy cars or other personal luxury goods, and manipulated the tax system to set up moneymaking businesses that have not always supported charitable enterprises (see Appendix 12 for *24 Hours* newspaper interview).

The Church survived the Soviet era under the shrewd leadership of Patriarch Ilia II, who has led the Georgian Church since 1977. During this volatile time, outspoken Church leaders faced periodic crackdowns as perceived magnets of anti-Communist dissent. As a result, they had to walk a tightrope between losing public credibility and inviting state repression (von Lilienfeld 1993). It was no wonder, then, that many priests—just like

the public—turned a blind eye to the gains and activities of the criminal or underground economy.

During the struggle to survive Russification and Communism, Patriarch Ilia II mastered "the art of the possible," the pragmatic business of survival and compromise (Peters 1988). His leadership has consisted largely of compromise between opposing factions in the Church, maintaining unity whenever possible and avoiding a strong stance when it could alienate certain constituents. For instance, at least two sitting Orthodox bishops recently faced corruption charges from the Georgian state prosecutor's office. In 2003, Father Basil Kobakhidze, a prominent clergyman with a Ph.D. in Church law from Strasbourg, circulated documents about these and other alleged church corruption cases. While the Patriarch refused to bow to pressure from conservative elements and exile Kobakhidze, he also did not investigate the allegations or nor did he assign Kobakhidze a church in which to officiate.[19]

Several cases of interreligious violence have also tested the Church's commitment to lawfulness and tolerance. Instances of beating, book-burning, and church vandalism against Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and others have been blamed on Orthodox fringe groups as well as extremists within the Church (Liberty Institute Editions 2002; Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor 2003). The Patriarch excommunicated the most prominent leader of these attacks, former priest Basil Mkalavishvili.

Despite these problems, the Georgian Orthodox Church has been gaining in stature, due in part to a post-Soviet quest for roots and values across the region (Batalden 1993; Wanner 1998). In Georgia, the number of self-described believers is rising (Chitashvili 1998; CIPPD 1999). A 2003 Gallup poll found that the Georgian Orthodox Church was the only institution besides the independent media in which a majority of respondents said they had confidence; a large majority also said they trusted the Church as a source of *political* information.[20] Politicians seeking legitimacy at all levels have sought favor with the Church. On his return to power following independence, President Shevardnadze asked to be baptized by the Patriarch (Suny 1994).

The religious mood led to a Church-State concordat, ratified almost unanimously in October 2002. It virtually established the Orthodox Church as the state religion (Liberty Institute Editions 2002; Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor 2003). The Church had already enjoyed a tax-exempt status not available to other religious groups. But the concordat gave it ownership of churches and treasures expropriated during the Soviet period and held by the state; awarded it government compensation for moral and material damage inflicted by the Soviets; and promised government assistance in establishing after-school Orthodox religious courses in educational institutions and Orthodox chaplaincies in the military and in prisons. It gave the Church control over elective religion classes in public schools.[21]

This enormous influence reflects not only political astuteness, but also the Church's genuine moral pull. It still remains for the Church to root out corrupt behavior among clergy and take a leadership role in the fight against public fatalism toward crime and corruption. Minority religious denominations are already using their lack of ties with corruption networks as a selling point for new converts. These minority groups have been reluctant, nonetheless, to speak out publicly against lawlessness in view of their less secure status in society.

In recent months, however, courageous clergymen from several main religious denominations have begun to loudly denounce corruption and intolerance (see Section V). Their movement is relatively new, and these clergymen are not yet sure their denunciations will have an effect. As one Georgian Orthodox insider laments, "When you are going to do something, you must be sure you will meet with at least five percent success. We are not sure of getting even this."[22] But when Orthodox and other religious leaders take the initiative and show a concerted interest in fighting corruption, the impact on Georgian society may be significant.

IV. The Two-Wheeled Cart of Reform

Most efforts to combat crime and corruption focus on increasing the number and severity of legal penalties or expanding the powers of law enforcement agencies. But regulatory and enforcement measures, while critical, are unsatisfactory in the long term. To complement and reinforce institutional reforms, governments need a culture sympathetic to the rule of law: a "culture of lawfulness."[23]

This report argues that Georgia's formal institutions and culture, like the two wheels of a cart, need to work in concert in support of increased lawfulness. Of course, the nation's regulatory and enforcement systems need to demonstrate a sustained commitment to democratic reforms aimed at preventing and punishing the proliferation of corrupt practices. The cultural approach to preventing corruption—fostering a culture of lawfulness—does not replace the traditional response of regulatory reform, institution-building, and improved law enforcement. Rather, the existence of one makes it possible for the other to succeed. As reformers elsewhere have discovered, only when these two elements turn in unison can society move toward the rule of law (Orlando 2001; Godson 2000).

It is possible to halt the normalization of corrupt practices and reverse societal attitudes toward law-breaking, even in a country like Georgia. As section A explains, the regulatory wheel has already begun to spin. The Georgian government has taken several important, if preliminary, steps to reform its judiciary, law enforcement, and security agencies. Nonetheless, given the complicated political environment, these reforms are insufficient on their own. The cultural approach (described in section B) is designed to complement, reinforce, and encourage those reforms. Armed with greater awareness of the cost of the problem as well as skills to foster the rule of law, citizens can increase the effectiveness of governmental initiatives.

A. Regulatory Efforts to Combat Corruption

With the support of the Council of Europe, the US Departments of State and Justice, and the local NGO sectors, the Georgian government has taken steps to address its

institutional shortcomings. It has adopted three main strategies toward fighting corruption, with varying degrees of success: public denunciations by the president, recommendations by respected anticorruption councils, and criminal justice reforms.

Since 1995, President Shevardnadze has launched frequent assaults on corruption and corrupt officials. His 2000 campaign assembled a panel of independent analysts and external experts who drafted a wide-ranging program focused on six priority areas: liberalization of the economy, budget management, law enforcement reform, management of state institutions, educational reform, and the needs of a pluralistic society.

The underlying philosophy, according to Ghia Nodia, Chairman of the Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development and a key analyst behind the plan, was "that corruption is not merely a violation of the law, [it] is not an anomaly." He added, "Corruption is the foundation on which public management and economic relations are built." Nodia and the panel concluded that the fight "should be based on a whole set of measures and not, say, on show trials against this or that corrupt civil servant" (Peuch 2003).

To monitor the effort, Shevardnadze established two anticorruption authorities: a State Anticorruption Bureau and a 12-member Anticorruption Policy Coordination Council, headed by Mirian Gogiashvili, a former World Bank official.[24] Both had the power to issue recommendations as needed. According to Gogiashvili, his council and its staff were to file daily progress reports. "Our idea," he declared, is that

> we need to achieve a degree of transparency, to reduce the influence of state organs in the economy and to raise citizens' awareness. These are the principles that we will follow in order to reduce corruption. In addition, we envisage a kind of chain reaction that will provide for a reduction in the number of civil servants, ministries, controlling bodies, and, of course, a raise in salaries and a greater sense of responsibility on the part of state structures (Peuch 2003).

Eventually, the bureau submitted several draft laws and amendments to the president and the Georgian government.

Nonetheless, doubts about the government's commitment to the effort emerged. Some observers noted that the targets of the anticorruption program were mostly politicians from the opposition camp and "high-ranking officials whom the CUG [Shevardnadze's Citizens' Union of Georgia] found politically or economically undesirable" (Anjaparidze 2002). Political infighting quickly became the effort's main product. Mikheil Saakashvili, then Minister of Justice, presented the first accusations of corruption. He showed photos of luxurious properties belonging to the ministers of state security and economics, Tbilisi's police chief, and a host of other officials—all from a rival political camp. Saakashvili lacked hard evidence to back his claims that the officials were corrupt, and no official charges were produced.

In September 2001, Saakashvili resigned from the ruling party, proclaiming that Shevardnadze and his government were not only unwilling to fight corruption but were themselves corrupt. "It is impossible to work in a government full of corrupt ministers, who instead of leading the country out of a deep social-economic crisis, just defend their personal interests," he declared. (Bit-Suleiman 2001). In no time, however, the Journalists' Anticorruption Investigatory Group produced countercharges concerning members of the National Movement, Saakashvili's newly founded political party. They too, it was claimed, owned expensive properties and were unable to offer persuasive explanations about the legality of their incomes. In the subsequent months, more accusations and counter-accusations followed.

Despite the personalistic nature of some of the denunciations, Shevardnadze's government has, nonetheless, persevered. The most ambitious reform effort so far has concerned the judiciary, law enforcement, and security agencies, known collectively as the "power ministries." With support from the Council of Europe and under the watchful eyes of Georgia's NGO sector, in January 2002 President Shevardnadze appointed an interdepartmental commission, headed by Supreme Court Chairman Lado Chanturia and Deputy National Security Advisor Jamal Gakhokidze, to reform these agencies. The commission's September 2002 final report outlined far-reaching reforms in both Georgian law and the organization of the country's security services (Commission Report 2002).

The Georgian National Security Council was tasked with implementing the commission's recommendations. The suggested reforms amount to an overhaul of the law enforcement and security sectors.[25] A new criminal code is now being written, and structural changes are taking place in the prosecutor's office and the police system. New competency testing of officials in the judiciary has resulted in significant staff turnover. Similar testing is being adopted at the Tax Department, the Office of the Procurator General, and the Chamber of Control, which oversees government revenues and expenditures.

Another encouraging sign is that Georgia's legal institutions appear to enjoy a certain reservoir of public respect. This is particularly true for the legal system, with rising caseloads and active public outreach programs. For instance, the Supreme Court of Georgia held a national high school Olympiad in March 2003. The Olympiad, funded by USAID and the American Bar Association (ABA CEELI) and organized in collaboration with the Georgian Law Students' Association, drew 22 teams of students. They competed by answering questions about civil and criminal law.

While still mixed, some positive indicators of public perception can be seen:

- In 2003, Georgians brought 1,500 more cases linked to administrative law to Georgian civil courts than in 2002. This likely indicates a greater confidence in the courts. Overall, the courts adjudicated more than 35,000 administrative law cases in the year-long period ending December 2003.

- In a 2002 nationwide opinion poll, 12 percent of respondents said they would consider consulting a lawyer in the future. This is a significant increase from less than four percent in 2000. A majority of respondents, however, also stated that the legal system protects the interests of the rich and powerful (92 percent, up from 85 percent in 2000) while only six percent (down from 15 percent in 2000) said the legal system worked for them (GORBI 2002).

- A 2001 Tbilisi poll found that respondents rated the Ministry of Justice as the most honest of all governmental agencies (and the Ministry of Interior, which controls security affairs, as the least honest). At the same time, however, respondents listed "corrupt judges" as their top deterrent from filing a lawsuit. The expected injustice of the verdict was also cited. Further, a majority of citizens said they were likely to settle everyday cases (assault, death threats, traffic accidents, minor fraud) with the help

> of their friends, seeking help from courts or the police only for cases worth 50,000 to 100,000 Lari (US$23,250 to $46,500) (Institute of Polling and Marketing 2001).

In addition, with active encouragement from the NGO sector and a free press, citizens have begun to protest peacefully when they feel their social or political rights are threatened. Voting patterns, too, evidence a desire to bring about change through established political mechanisms. It would appear that despite their skepticism, many Georgians are reluctant to give up completely on the political process.

B. A Cultural Approach to Preventing Corruption

With allegations of corruption serving as a rallying point for political opposition—which has begun to seriously threaten the government's stability—government leaders have increased their stated support for the second, cultural, wheel of the anticorruption cart. Recognizing that public attitudes may be at least as important in combating corruption as enforcement crackdowns and regulatory reforms, several civil society leaders and officials in Georgia's Ministry of Education have taken a complementary approach. These officials drew heavily on successes reported by reformers from Hong Kong and Palermo, Sicily; as well as on programs currently underway in Baja California, Mexico. In those efforts, educators began with the premise that knowledge of the law, attitudes towards the law, and law-abiding behavior are linked. The links between cognitive, affective, and behavioral progress can be summarized as follows:

- People who know the law and the reasons for laws will be less likely to break them out of ignorance;
- Knowledge leads to greater awareness of the consequences for both law-breaking and law-abiding behavior; and
- Greater knowledge about crime, corruption and their consequences increases moral support for the law (Finckenauer 1998).

1. Examples from Hong Kong and Palermo

Since the 1970s, the Hong Kong government has produced "moral education" packages to help students develop "proper attitudes towards money and fair play, and to acquire

appropriate knowledge and values that contribute to the development of good citizenship." According to Wing Lo (1998), the program intended to create a "counterculture" and challenge what were perceived as declining moral standards. Annual evaluations have shown that students' intolerance for corruption has steadily increased, going from 37 percent in 1993 to 80 percent in the late 1990s and up to 84 percent in 2000 (Lai 2000). The program could have been even more effective, however. Competing priorities in the school curricula and a tense examination pressure restrained the implementation of what was called "moral education."

In Palermo, meanwhile, the focus on rule of law education arose in response to a particularly violent struggle among Mafia families. Events culminated in 1992 with the murder of a popular magistrate who had become a symbol of the fight against organized crime:

> Palermitans left their windows and poured out into the streets. For days and nights on end, floods of people marched in the streets, formed human chains, organized night wakes and sit-ins, hung bed sheets out on their balconies with anti-mafia slogans, plastered the walls with posters. People shouted and cried not only out of incredulous grief and impotent anger at the killing of the man who, for them, symbolized the best part of the city, but also out of a vague feeling of guilt that somehow, through their own inaction they had allowed his murder to occur (CIVITAS 1999).

As the anti-mafia movement grew, reformers turned to legislation already in force to fund anti-mafia projects in elementary, middle, and high schools. This financial support of the public's initiatives soon led to a wealth of lawfulness materials for the classroom. The materials focused on promoting principles of citizenship, opposing old systems of clientelism, and resisting tendencies to harbor grudges and vindicate wrongs on one's own. Teachers helped students prepare poster art and photo exhibits protesting violence, perform concerts and plays with pro-democracy content, and participate in school marches as part of the anti-mafia movement. In 1996, schoolchildren from 80 Palermo schools honored Sicily's anti-mafia heroes by adopting and helping restore historic buildings and monuments in their honor. The students then gave tours to their parents

and community members, recounting information about the buildings and the heroes to whom they were dedicated (Schneider 1998).

Although the ex-Mayor of Palermo, Leoluca Orlando, notes law enforcement and civic education still have work to do, he points out that "the mafia doesn't control the minds of the populace like it once did." He adds, "Ten years ago, there were 240 murders a year in Palermo alone. Last year, we had only seven—and none was mafia related" (Eaton 1999; Orlando 2001). World leaders from politics, education, literature, and academia—including UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, Senators Hillary Rodham Clinton and Orrin Hatch, and Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka—have all hailed the "Palermo Renaissance" and the important lessons it holds (Sicilian Renaissance Institute 2000). Further evidence of the change in Palermo is the Aa3 rating that Moody's Investor Service gave the city in late 2000. This rating is higher than New York City's, and equal to the ratings of San Francisco and Stockholm. Moody's noted that, "The city of Palermo has undergone major political, cultural, and economic changes (Moody's 2000).

2. School-Based Programs in Mexico and Along the US-Mexican Border

Hoping to build on these experiences and produce similar results, the school systems of Tijuana, Mexico and San Diego County in the United States began a similar effort in September 1999. Using a curriculum derived from three years of testing and revision, educators in Tijuana and San Diego initiated a school-based program to improve students' knowledge of the dangerous consequences of crime and strengthen their support for the rule of law. Initially comprised of 36 lessons, the curriculum was organized into three separate, but related, components:

- Values, Self-Esteem, and a Culture of Lawfulness
- Organized Crime and Corruption
- Furthering the Rule of Law, Resistance Techniques, and What Students Can Do

An evaluation of the curriculum showed positive, though mixed, results (Godson and Kenney 2002). Following their participation, students' ability appeared to increase

significantly in two areas: they were able (1) to define accurately the concepts of crime, corruption, human nature, and free will; and (2) to explain the elements of victimization, the negative effects of crime and corruption on individuals and society, and the avenues leading to organized crime and corruption. Students also became more aware of their life choices and the importance of planning for the future to improve their quality of life.

Despite these positive findings, no measurable impact was found on the students' self-reported behavior; their peer associations may have actually worsened during the school year. In addition, evaluators were not convinced that students had mastered the complex process of problem solving. Discussions with the students suggested that while the lessons had been learned, they were not sufficiently internalized to ensure that their effects would last. These findings informed a revised curriculum, expanded in both content and delivery. The result was a 60-lesson program, "School-Based Education to Counter Crime and Corruption," which the Baja California Education Ministry has since implemented statewide.

The revised program was introduced to nearly 11,000 students in 209 classrooms between September 2001 and June 2002. As part of the second evaluation, an in-class survey measured changes in student knowledge, attitudes, and behavior. Researchers also held a series of student and teacher focus groups in each participating municipality as the programs' classes came to a close (Kenney and Godson 2003). The results of that evaluation were quite positive, concluding that the course had largely achieved its objectives and increased students' substantive knowledge. The course strengthened students' sense of personal control over events and their environment, and enhanced their feelings of social responsibility. In addition, it increased their recognition of problem solving as an important life skill while improving their ability and willingness to rely upon it to address personal and community problems. The success of this effort was recognized by the national ministries of education in Colombia, Peru, and El Salvador, which eventually adopted similar education programs.

V. Opportunities to Foster a Culture of Lawfulness in Georgia

While there is ample room for pessimism, the repeating cycles of institutional reform and the significant efforts of many within Georgian government and society have produced reason for optimism as well. As was illustrated in the fall of 2003, visible indications of increased interest in voting can be seen, while a willingness to rely on civil procedures to resolve disputes appears to be growing. Major currents of society appear to be interested in real change. The government, as mentioned, has already taken steps to reform the criminal justice system (see Section IV).

Georgia's fragile citizen-state relationship presents an opportunity—though not a guarantee—for enhanced rule of law. For real, positive changes to occur and become self-sustaining, three key sectors of society—educators, moral authorities, and media outlets—need to intervene in Georgia's cultural life to reinforce and encourage governmental reform. Fortunately, these sectors offer several important opportunities for cultural interventions in support of the rule of law.

A. The Role of Educators

Education plays a key role in cultural change. It can be a source of new knowledge, sharpened skills, and transformed attitudes. It is the central medium for reaching children and adolescents. Moreover, the formal education system has a set of fixed resources already in place. It is national in scope, reaching most of the nation's youth.

Structurally, Georgia's school system replicates the Soviet design. In the past, education was one of the main systems promoting a culture of corruption (see Section III). On the level of curricular content, however, the Ministry of Education is taking some steps toward reform. Over the skepticism of many observers who questioned the usefulness of working with government agencies, the ministry has committed significant resources to a rule of law education program and worked with its coordinators to overcome various obstacles. These efforts are winning early support from some international donors,

particularly the World Bank, as well as from Georgian NGOs, including a new teachers' union.[26]

1. Culture of Lawfulness Curriculum

A Georgia-specific Culture of Lawfulness (COL) curriculum was developed during the summer months of 2001 by a team appointed by the national Ministry of Education.[27] The finished product was pilot tested by 22 eighth-grade teachers in 19 schools located all around the country (see below) during school years 2001-2002 and 2002-2003. Eighth grade was selected because it is the penultimate year of secondary school and provides perhaps the best and last opportunity to influence the broadest number of students, many of whom will drop out of school at the upper secondary level.

The COL curriculum is the first civic education program accepted as official national policy in Georgia. As part of this project's funding, NSIC and its consultants provided technical assistance on both course content and the design of a theoretically driven program of evaluation of the process and its outcomes. The Ministry of Education demonstrated its commitment in the first year by paying pilot teachers 6.5 Lari per class, up to 16 times more than they would normally earn. In a country where many schools lack chalkboards, the ministry also gave some of the pilot schools VCRs to screen course materials.

Modeled after the Baja California, Mexico project, the 60-hour course addresses the problems of crime and corruption in the context of an overall focus on the rule of law. The Georgian program includes units on personal values, culture and lawfulness, crime and corruption, and fostering a culture of lawfulness. In addition, the classroom-based program devotes considerable attention to moral and legal reasoning and the development of problem-solving skills. It also provides factual information about Georgia's constitution, legal system, and corruption problems (see Appendix 6). As part of the course, students read a Georgian translation of William Golding's *The Lord of the Flies* (provided by the Soros-affiliated Open Society-Georgia Foundation) and watch the movie *Goodfellas*. Because not all of the selected schools have access to audiovisual

equipment, the film is scheduled to air on Georgian television in 2003-2004 by special arrangement with Rustavi-2, the main independent channel.

Of the pilot schools participating in 2002-2003, 13 were located in Tbilisi, the capital (three of these schools have two COL teachers apiece), and two in Batumi, the capital of the wealthy and semi-autonomous Ajaria region on the Black Sea. To demonstrate that the program's effectiveness is not limited to larger and relatively wealthier cities, one school in each of the smaller provincial cities of Tianeti, Telavi, Gori, and Senaki was also involved. The teachers, most of them instructors of Georgian literature, are participating with the support of their school directors. Anecdotally, they report that students participate actively in class, respond enthusiastically to the material, and feel they are contributing to a special effort to improve their country's future. The teachers themselves have also expressed considerable enthusiasm for the project.

In the second year of the pilot program, the curriculum team and the 22 participating teachers (with support from NSIC staff and consultants) revised the curriculum, incorporating lessons learned. The new curriculum was used as the basis for teacher training in September and October 2003 and will be taught in all 168 Georgian-language schools in Tbilisi (155 plus the original 13) during the 2003-2004 school year.

The Ministry of Education has agreed in writing with NSIC to institutionalize the Culture of Lawfulness program and cover future costs. This entails incorporating the revised COL course as an official part of the national curriculum. The ministry will also include the program in its official "indicative plan" starting in 2004-2005, notifying the Ministry of Finance that the Culture of Lawfulness course will now form part of its regular budget request. Ministry officials intend to continue revising the curriculum based on teachers' experiences while expanding the program to other cities and school districts.

The course should reach at least one class in all 1,771 Georgian-language secondary schools by September 2008, and all eighth-grade students, or nearly 46,000 adolescents, by the time the curriculum overhaul is completed in 2012.[28]

2. Reforms in Education Politics

In addition to classroom programs, local education officials have begun to address structural problems associated with corruption.

- In 2003 the Tbilisi City Council declared Tbilisi schools independent of the national Ministry of Education. City Council Chairman Mikheil Saakashvili has argued that Tbilisi schools, since they are funded at the local rather than the national level, are actually municipal schools. He has encouraged schools to institute self-governance through school boards consisting of elected parents and teachers who would then elect school principals, determine school budgets, adopt the school curriculum, and appoint teachers.[29]

- Activists have established groups to monitor the spending of public institutions, including the education ministry; some watchdog organizations are even emerging outside the capital (Young Lawyers Association 2002).

- In 2000, students from several state universities began a movement to fight corruption in the higher education system. This group created the Association for Student Self-Government, which brings legal cases against corruption-promoting practices, such as unfair entrance examinations, in state universities. Last year, this group founded a new political opposition group, "Kmara." They helped mobilize some 5,000 opposition activists, many of whom were students, who demonstrated peacefully on June 3, 2003, in Tbilisi. They demanded the replacement of the Central Election Commission and a new election law before the November 2 parliamentary elections. [30]

- A new independent teachers' trade union, Solidarity, shows that teachers, too, are pushing to change the system. The new union, based in the western city of Kutaisi, has grown to 5,000 members since it was founded in 2000. Solidarity has been aggressive in bringing legal challenges to the courts when students' or teachers' rights are violated. The union also advocates for greater transparency in national and regional education spending. Under president Manana Gurchumelidze, Solidarity has been active in public outreach work. Union staff have set up mailboxes in some Kutaisi streets to collect letters from students and teachers about various problems, including corruption. These letters are then published in the union's monthly newspaper, *The Window*.[31]

B. Initiatives by Centers of Moral Authority

In the past few years, movements by Georgia's religious groups and nongovernmental organizations have created unprecedented opportunities to effect cultural change in support of lawfulness.

1. Religious Groups Cooperate Against Lawlessness

This widespread quest for values in the post-Soviet period has created a unique chance for Georgia's religious leaders to confront lawlessness. The Georgian Orthodox Church accumulated trust and respect among citizens during the post-Soviet period, and now has greater political clout. At the same time, minority religious denominations have used their lack of ties with corruption networks as a selling point for new converts. These minority groups have been reluctant, in view of their less secure status in society, to speak out publicly against lawlessness. But some courageous clergymen have already seized this opportunity.

In 2000, leaders of all the major Georgian religious denominations came together to condemn corruption, intolerance, and religious violence. They created the Inter-Religious Council of Georgia to Prevent Crime and Corruption and Promote Social Harmony (IRC). Against a background of longtime distrust and sectarian recrimination, the council unites leaders of the Georgian Orthodox, Catholic, Armenian Apostolic, Baptist, and German Lutheran churches, as well as leaders of the Georgian Muslim Council and Georgia's Salvation Army.[32] Within as well as outside their own communities, council members are using moral suasion to try to reverse the normalization of corrupt and criminal values and the moral degradation of society. They have begun speaking out in the media against instances of unpunished corruption and interfaith violence. This has included publishing candid joint newspaper interviews about corruption and holding religious services (attended by President Shevardnadze) at a Baptist church destroyed by a splinter group of Orthodox extremists. The idea is catching; some regions of Georgia are considering setting up interfaith councils of their own.

In 2001, the Orthodox Patriarch's representative to the IRC, Archpriest Giorgi Chachava, invited the former Roman Catholic Archbishop of Palermo, Sicily, to speak to Georgian religious leaders. The purpose was to discuss how civil society brought about cultural change in western Sicily over the past 20 years and how the Sicilian experience could be applicable to Georgia. The Archbishop recounted the Church's dramatic role in fighting the Sicilian Mafia and renewing Sicilian culture. The Sicilian example—in which Church leaders spoke out powerfully after tolerating organized crime and corruption for years—has resonated with certain Georgian religious leaders. The Patriarch proclaimed at the time, "It is too late for the Church to rely on the police in dealing with corruption…[The Church] itself needs to act" (NSIC Press Release 2001).

In a subtle and far-reaching development, IRC members have also begun leafing through each other's holy books—in some cases for the first time—in search of teachings that support civic responsibility and human rights. Their monthly meetings, conducted in a mixture of Georgian and Russian or English, have developed into an ongoing discussion of religious grounds for the rule of law. This discussion is intended to result in a religious education program for young believers of all faiths. The program may take the form of a single joint curriculum or a separate course for schools of each faith. In either case, leaders plan to use Biblical and Quranic examples to show Georgia's believers the connections between religious texts, religious values, and the civic values of tolerance and transparency.

Finally, the IRC has moved to involve representatives of the NGO community in its media appearances. This is a small step toward narrowing the distance between religious organizations and other Georgian civil society organizations. It is hoped that eventually NGO and IRC leaders can plan joint activities around issues in which they have common interests, such as children's welfare and rights or neighborhood security.

2. NGOs Against Corruption

The NGO sector developed in Georgia much as in other post-Soviet republics. The boom started with the founding of environmental groups; these have evolved into scientific, farming, or political organizations. Although human rights and conflict resolution

organizations developed more slowly, the majority of civil society organizations more recently declared their aims to be the defense of human rights, conflict resolution, and civic education (Berdzenishvili 1998). In the past five years, community development in Georgia has emerged as a donor priority.

Learning to overcome public mistrust on one hand and stiff competition for funds on the other, Georgian NGOs are struggling to outgrow their self-image as elite professional organizations with little connection to the educational system, religious groups, or the public. They have actively joined the campaign to reduce corruption. Besides working with the media to spread the discourses of democratization and human rights, the NGO community has played a watchdog role in monitoring government anticorruption initiatives. The Open Society-Georgia Foundation, along with the US government, funds the Anticorruption Bureau. A special group of local NGO representatives monitors the implementation of the bureau's recommendations.

Citizens seem to support this effort, even when they are reluctant to join. For instance, a 2003 survey by the Center for Strategic Research and Development of Georgia (CSRDG) found:

- Of 1,200 respondents from all nine provinces, 49 percent said NGOs should increase their activity against corruption. Fighting corruption ranked well ahead of other priorities such as "protection of children's rights" (34 percent), "environmental problems" (29 percent), and "charity/humanitarian aid" (22 percent). Corruption topped the agenda for both urban and rural respondents.

- Related priorities included "holding government accountable" (22 percent), "Protection of voters' rights during elections" (16 percent), and "Institution of democratic/civil values" (nine percent).

- However, only 14 percent of those surveyed said they personally would cooperate with NGOs in fighting corruption, and only nine percent said the NGO sector could "solve the problem of corruption" by acting alone (CSRDG 2003).

Although mixed, these numbers point to an opportunity for the NGO sector to have a positive impact on Georgia's anticorruption efforts.

C. A Role for the Media

Dating from the early 1990s, independent mass media in Georgia are relatively new. They have only recently shown signs of transformation into business organizations with some interest in making a profit. Newspapers still operate largely for influence through the key national dailies, drawing a combined circulation of only 25,000 to 30,000 readers. Local papers seldom sell more than 500 copies per day (Bokeria et al. 1997). Television is the most popular medium, with most residents able to access local and regional stations as well as one major state and six private channels that broadcast throughout the country. Frequent shortages of electricity, particularly during winter months, however, interrupt programming.[33]

In both print and broadcast media, investigative journalism has become a recognized source of prestige and, in some cases, international funds. When it comes to corruption and crime, however, the mass media are better at exposing wrongdoing than at reporting triumphs for the rule of law. The resulting picture, full of allegations and unpunished crimes, leaves readers and viewers to conclude that corruption is as inevitable and mysterious as the weather. Realizing this, media leaders have begun to show an interest in providing more coverage of positive initiatives, including anticorruption education in the school system and interfaith pro-lawfulness efforts. Given audience fatigue with dead-end scandals and exposés, these positive "human interest" stories may sell. Some investigative journalists are also shifting their focus to scandals lower in the government hierarchy, where it may be easier for their coverage to have an effect.[34]

Working closely with the NGO sector, the mass media have begun to teach citizens about legality and to disseminate the idea of protecting individual rights.

- A World Bank grant enabled the Association for Legal Public Education to help media managers produce a TV courtroom drama (with professional actors), a Rustavi-2 feature story about court practice, a court chronicle supplement in the *Kviris Palitra* newspaper, and a series of public service announcements about the need for a strong legal system.

- The International Center for Civic Development has organized a "school for democracy" (already attended by 60 students), and will broadcast a series of "debates for democracy" among university students on television's Channel 9.

- Since May 2003, the national daily newspaper *24 Hours* has been publishing a biweekly special supplement called "Letters to the Government". Tbilisi eighth-graders, students in the Culture of Lawfulness program, write letters to government officials about problems in their communities. The supplement's editor then solicits and prints the response from government officials.[35]

D. Capitalizing on the Opportunities

With international support, the process of legislative and institutional reform has begun. Now it is necessary to foster the cultural side. This section has identified some promising signs of readiness for cultural change in support of the rule of law. It has focused on opportunities in three important and widely influential sectors of society: education, centers of moral authority, and the mass media.

The next section presents a series of steps developed in consultation with Georgian and international researchers, government officials, educators, and citizens to capitalize on those opportunities. Implemented together over a three-to-five-year period, these steps can help develop a core cadre of Georgian leaders with the skills and commitment to building the principles of rule of law.

VI. Plan and Timeline of Proposed Cultural Interventions

Since early 2000, staff and consultants from the National Strategy Information Center (NSIC) have helped Georgian officials develop a number of cultural interventions to prevent corruption and promote the rule of law. This collaboration began with a series of individual meetings, interviews, and focus groups with educators, religious leaders, and media representatives. The early discussions helped identify the types of activities that might be important, establish the commitment of different organizations, and set priorities. Among those who supported and participated in this development process were top officials from Georgia's Ministry of Education, Supreme Court, and National Security Council. Leaders from each of the major religions and several reform-minded NGOs, as well as the directors of Rustavi-2 (the primary independent television network) and the country's leading newspapers, also joined in the discussions. In many cases this was the participants' first time working together.

As enthusiasm grew, a delegation of Georgians exchanged visits in 2001 with then-Mayor Leoluca Orlando of Palermo to hear about the successes of the cultural approach in western Sicily, a former stronghold of the Mafia. With the support of the US Embassy in Georgia, the delegation traveled to Sicily and later hosted a visit from Cardinal Salvatore Pappalardo and newspaper editor Piero Cascio Ingurgio (*Giornale di Sicilia*), influential leaders of the "Sicilian Renaissance." Curricula and other support materials from the Baja California programs were translated from Spanish into Georgian so that participants understood the educational model. At each stage, great care was taken to ensure that Georgian participants and NSIC consultants agreed on the theoretical foundations of the proposed actions.

The proposed cultural interventions target three key sectors of Georgian society: public schools, religious and civil society organizations, and the mass media. They are intended to lay the basis for long-term, sustainable cultural change. With three to five years of minimal outside assistance, the activities detailed in this section could produce a core group of more than two thousand agents of change: teachers, school directors, education officials, religious leaders, journalists, and civil society leaders. These citizens would

acquire valuable skills, knowledge, and beliefs that would allow them to create self-sustaining programs that foster societal support for the rule of law. Tens of thousands of schoolchildren, parents, parishioners, and others would also receive education about the social cost of corruption, the need for a culture of lawfulness, and their own potential to create such a culture.

Once a critical mass of Georgian leaders knows how to foster a culture of lawfulness, they are expected to become the next generation of teachers and trainers. They will be able to mobilize existing local resources and information channels from their own sectors. In some cases, these groups have already committed significant resources of their own to the program. For example, public schools have classrooms led by committed and dedicated teachers, whose opinions on crime and corruption matter a great deal to students and parents; religious and community organizations have clergy and activists, churches, training schools or recreational facilities, summer camps, and sports programs; and the mass media have journalists, printing presses, cameras, and editorial space or airtime.

What follows is an outline and discussion of the proposal that resulted from NSIC's consultations with key figures from Georgian society. Each section contains a description of the proposal, as well as a timeline and a set of indicators to assess progress.

A. School-Based Interventions

Schools are the primary institutions through which a society transmits skills, values, and self-concepts to its youth. A positive school experience is a major factor in helping young people develop into productive, law-abiding members of society. Therefore, school-based civic education should be at the center of any cultural approach to foster support for lawfulness. This section describes proposed efforts to expand the eighth-grade culture of lawfulness program to all students and assess its impact. Two complementary efforts are also described: pre-service lawfulness training for future teachers at the Pedagogical University, and a coordination effort between the Culture of Lawfulness course and the ninth-grade Iowa civic education curriculum.

1. Expanding the School-Based Culture of Lawfulness Program

The ministry has invested significant resources into the Culture of Lawfulness program. In an early demonstration of its commitment, the ministry paid the salaries of the curriculum team (500 Lari or US$235 per person) and is also paying pilot teachers at a much higher rate for their work than teachers of other subjects.[36] In the 2003-2004 school year, the ministry will contribute at least 6,000 Lari (US$2,900) to pay teacher-trainers, 33,000 Lari (US$15,350) for the salaries of the teachers who will implement the program, as well as administrative support and training space.

At this time the primary challenge will be to expand the program by more than one-hundredfold while maintaining the quality of teacher training and curriculum delivery. To maintain quality, Ministry of Education officials agreed to use the same small group of specially selected and trained teacher-trainers to train future Culture of Lawfulness teachers. This approach was preferable to a pyramid training system in which each year's new teachers become trainers for the next round. This alternative could result in a drop in quality at each step.

Twelve trainers were selected from among the pilot teachers on the basis of four criteria:

- Grasp of the Culture of Lawfulness curriculum (as measured by coordinators' observation at teacher meetings and also teacher performance on a subject matter test);
- Effectiveness in communicating the Culture of Lawfulness curriculum to students (as measured by coordinators' observations during class visits);
- Commitment to the Culture of Lawfulness program and stated willingness to serve as a teacher trainer for at least three years;
- Pedagogical style and skill in interacting with colleagues (as observed during teacher meetings and classroom visits).

After their selection, the trainers completed a three-day "train-the-trainer" seminar led by an NSIC consultant in late August 2003. The new Georgian trainers then offered two-day intensive workshops to 155 teachers during four weekends in September (and one make-up weekend in October). Two-day refresher workshops are anticipated during four

weekends in February 2004. In total, each new teacher will receive four full days of instruction in Culture of Lawfulness material and pedagogy, including presentations of key concepts, interactive group exercises, and practice teaching sessions.

Two teachers from Batumi (the capital of Ajaria region) and one from Telavi (the capital of Kakheti region) attended the August training session and are now qualified teacher-trainers. These teachers expressed a strong interest in expanding the program in their regions ahead of the national schedule, and they are working with their local and regional education authorities to arrange and fund teacher training sessions and class time. They will likely become responsible for leading the program's 2004-2005 expansion in 236 schools in Ajaria and 195 schools in Kakheti.

The Ministry of Education has included the Culture of Lawfulness classes in its official annual budget request and plans to cover teacher and trainer salaries, the cost of training, and materials. With minimal outside assistance, it expects to continue expanding the program and to have the course implemented in all 1,771 Georgian-language secondary schools in the country by the beginning of academic year 2008-2009. The table on the next page displays the planned timeline for program expansion.

TIMELINE FOR PROGRAM EXPANSION		
Date	**Number of Teachers Trained**	**Developments**
Summer 2003		▪ Curriculum refinement completed. ▪ Student evaluation instrument developed and validated. ▪ Process evaluation procedure developed. ▪ Trainers chosen and trained.
2003-2004	155 Tbilisi	▪ Follow-up training for trainers . ▪ Process evaluation procedure implemented.
2004-2005	431 Ajaria and Kakheti	▪ Process evaluation procedure continued. ▪ Quasi-experimental student evaluation. ▪ Teacher refresher courses as needed.
2005-2006	360 rest of East Georgia	
2006-2007	563 remainder of West Georgia except Samegrelo	
2007-2008	249 Samegrelo	
TOTAL	**1,771**	

a. Evaluating the Process

NSIC consultants helped Georgian officials design a formal evaluation to examine the program's implementation and impact. To assess implementation, NSIC developed a process evaluation to monitor 1) the training of Culture of Lawfulness trainers and teachers; 2) the material resources and moral support provided by various parties involved in the program; and 3) the integrity of the curriculum as delivered to students. This part of the evaluation entails collecting weekly reports about class content from teachers, monthly reports about class visits and teacher meetings from trainers, and monthly reports about trainer meetings. Intervening events that may affect students' learning about the rule of law, such as major political events and local instances of crime, are recorded as well. It also entails gathering statistics from the Ministry of Education and collecting attendance sheets from meetings and training sessions.

This multi-part procedure comprises a great deal of information and requires a large investment of time. It is necessary, however, to ensure fidelity to the program model and to assist in tracking and solving problems that arise. The program's full-time Georgian coordinators, who collaborated with NSIC staff members and consultants to design this evaluation procedure, have received training in collecting and analyzing the data.

b. Evaluating the Outcomes

The impact evaluation will serve two purposes: 1) to determine whether students are internalizing the lessons of the course and changing their attitudes and behavior; and 2) to help the Georgian Ministry of Education continue refining the curriculum as necessary. NSIC consultants designed a quasi-experimental approach that relies on a 101-item multiple-choice survey for students (see Appendix 8). Since Georgian eighth graders have had only limited experience with surveys, NSIC and Georgian project staff conducted a test administration with 577 students in January 2002. The results from that test led to revisions in the instrument, which was then retested with another 508 students in May 2002. Those experiences helped ensure that the students understand both the instrument and the instructions. In addition, analyses of invalidity questions included in the instrument suggest that, in general, participating students take the process seriously.

In each test administration, students were given full class periods (50 minutes) and complete anonymity. In-class discussions with students followed to explore any difficulties they might have experienced or changes they might recommend.

The instrument itself comprises individual items and previously published, standardized scales to reliably assess student attitudes, behaviors, and knowledge. The 101-item questionnaire for students includes 11 substantive knowledge questions and 12 theoretically derived scales to examine:

- attitudes toward school,
- feelings of personal safety,
- attitudes toward gangs,
- sense of fatalism,
- acceptance of social responsibility,
- locus of control,
- self-esteem,
- obligation to obey the law,
- impressions of the police,
- levels of legal reasoning,
- self-reported delinquency, and
- nature of peer associations.

Each scale was selected because of is appropriateness, availability, parsimoniousness, and prior validation, although in no case had the instruments been validated on Georgian youths similar to those participating in this project. The personal safety and self-esteem scales, for example, were tested on representative target groups of middle school students in the United States (LH Research 1993, Rosenberg 1965). Three scales—attitudes towards school, fatalism, and social responsibility—used adolescent African-American males from US schools (Institute for Behavioral Science 1990, Cummings 1977, Flewelling, et. al. 1993); the locus of control, obligation, and support for the police scales were tested on large representative populations, also from the United States. Since the

internal reliability of each scale may vary in different cultural contexts, a reassessment of the entire instrument's validity and reliability will occur once the initial pre- and post-test periods have elapsed. That reassessment will result in revisions to the instrument.

b1. Theoretical Rationale for the Instrument

The instrument can be divided into four components: demographics and contextual conditions; substantive questions (cognitive); attitudes and reasoning (affective); and self-reported delinquency and peer associations (behavioral).

Substantive Knowledge (Cognitive Changes): Participation in the Culture of Lawfulness course should develop students' understanding of the value of the rule of law and a culture of lawfulness, as well as the process by which crime and corruption threaten these conditions. Students should also be able to identify the role in society that they, as individuals and members of groups, can personally play to promote the rule of law. Building this foundation is important, since some studies have shown that attitudes toward the law tend to become increasingly negative as children become adolescents (Markwood 1975).

The student survey includes 11 substantive questions to measure the cognitive results of key elements of the course. Questions ask students to demonstrate their understanding of:

- The rule of law and how society benefits from a culture of lawfulness.
- The potential impacts of crime and corruption on a culture of lawfulness, as well as the process of becoming a criminal.
- Their own readiness to contribute to the rule of law through a recognition of the consequences of present behavior, the importance of problem-solving, and their own responsibilities for fighting crime and corruption.
- Key curriculum concepts such as free will, human nature, self-esteem, and crime.

Attitudes (Affective Changes): Sharing some aspects with the Law-Related Education programs tested in the 1980s, the Culture of Lawfulness curriculum assumes that

increased knowledge of the law, the components of a culture of lawfulness, and the negative influences of crime and corruption will lead participants to more negative attitudes toward crime and corruption and more positive attitudes toward the rule of law. Testing this are the following six scales:

- Fairness of the police
- Perceived obligation to obey the law
- Locus of control
- Fatalism
- Social responsibility
- Legal reasoning

Other Intervening Measures: Lack of attachment to school in early adolescence has been consistently linked to rule-breaking and violent behavior (Catalano and Hawkins 1996; Hirschi 1969). Though the Culture of Lawfulness curriculum is not directly trying to change attitudes toward school, it does attempt to foster recognition that current actions (such as school success) influence future opportunities. Therefore, measures of students' attitudes towards school were included (Institute of Behavioral Science 1990).

Similarly, changes in students' internal locus of control orientations are linked to the curriculum's focus on problem solving and goal attainment, values that may indirectly influence students' self-esteem. As with attitudes towards school, high self-esteem has empirically been linked to resiliency in children (Werner 1984).

Behavior (Behavioral Changes): The result of the above combination of shifts in students' attitudes should lead to actual changes in delinquent behavior, as well as a decreased willingness to associate with delinquent peers. The Friend's Delinquent Behavior—Adolescent Attitude Survey (Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research 1995) measures the number of positive and negative associations that students report. A six-item scale to measure self-reported delinquency was included as well.

Although the Culture of Lawfulness curriculum ultimately seeks to change delinquent behaviors and associations, significant changes in this area may be difficult to document. The post-testing may take place too soon after students complete the program. While an attitudinal shift may in fact occur, significant changes in peer associations may take longer to emerge. Similarly, although many students may be vulnerable to the effects of crime and corruption at the baseline due to negative attitudes towards law enforcement or the law, they may not yet have engaged in significant delinquent acts or begun to associate with such peers. Exposure to the curriculum may have an inoculation effect that would be less apparent in subsequent evaluations. Recent findings in the G.R.E.A.T. (Gang Resistance Education and Training Program) evaluation panel study support such a possibility.

b2. Performance Indicators

The Georgian Ministry of Education will have institutionalized an eighth-grade Culture of Lawfulness curriculum by 2008. *Lord of the Flies* will be on the national list of textbooks that parents are required to purchase. Principals will be required to allocate at least two elective course hours per week of one teacher's time to program activities. Specific progress markers should include:

1. By 2008, at least 20 selected Georgian teacher-trainers will have several years' experience delivering high-quality training to their colleagues and providing yearlong monitoring and support to Culture of Lawfulness teachers. Without outside assistance, they will be able to run training sessions encompassing key concepts, linkages between various sections of the curriculum, the integration of support materials such as *Goodfellas* and *Lord of the Flies,* the methods and pedagogy of problem solving, and the interactive methods most suited to teaching the course. The trainers will be able to fulfill their part in a yearlong process evaluation by holding regular meetings with teachers, collecting teacher log forms, and reporting to program coordinators.

2. At least 1,771 Georgian teachers will be trained in the subject matter and pedagogical methods of the curriculum. They will have a working knowledge of such

concepts as traditional values, personal values, laws versus norms and customs, the rule of law, the culture of lawfulness, the social cost of corruption, and problem solving. They will understand how to incorporate into their teaching such elements as simulation, moral dilemmas, classroom debate, formulation of classroom rules, guest speakers, and supporting books and films.

3. A process evaluation mechanism will be in place to provide ongoing monitoring of trainer and teacher training, resource allocation and moral support, and curriculum delivery. Teachers will keep a weekly log of lessons taught and methods used. Trainers will keep notes on classroom visits. Coordinators will collect attendance sheets and participant feedback forms from all training seminars.

4. Quantitative student and teacher evaluation instruments will be in use to periodically measure changes in knowledge and attitudes about the law and related concepts. Members of the Ministry of Education's evaluation staff will be trained to conduct their own follow-up evaluations to ensure continued quality of teaching and effectiveness of the curriculum.

5. A revised Culture of Lawfulness teacher's manual will be in use, incorporating examples from Georgian history and culture, suggestions from two years of pilot teaching, and findings from the 2004-2005 student evaluation. The teacher's manual should cover a 60-hour curriculum organized around four main themes: values and lawfulness, culture and lawfulness, crime and corruption, and concrete ways to foster a culture of lawfulness.

To achieve these outcomes, the following timeline of activities is proposed (see next page):

PROPOSED TIMELINE OF ACTIVITIES	
January 2003 to August 2003 **(completed)**	• Evaluation of results of the pilot teaching process. • Selection and intensive three-day training by an NSIC consultant of 15 high-performing teachers (12 from Tbilisi, three from Batumi/Telavi) to be teacher-trainers. • Finalization of implementation schedule with Ministry of Education. • Finalization of curriculum, incorporating teacher suggestions. • Development and validation of student test instrument.
September 2003 to August 2004 **(currently underway)**	• Teachers in 155 additional schools in Tbilisi receive training in teaching the COL curriculum (trainers, working in groups of three, conduct two-day courses in September and two-day courses in February for 10 to 15 teachers each.) • NSIC project coordinator visits Georgia to observe first training sessions. • Teaching of COL curriculum in at least one eighth-grade class of every Tbilisi school. • Evaluation of process: trainer and teacher training, resource allocation, and curriculum delivery. • Production and distribution of additional teachers' materials as needed (for instance, teachers have requested guidelines for incorporating a guest speaker on crime and corruption). • Training of additional trainers as needed.
September 2004 to August 2005 **(planned)**	• Training, assessment, publication of materials, and spot refresher courses continue, expanding the program to 431 more schools outside the capital.
September 2005 to August 2008 **(planned)**	• Program expands to 360 more schools in 2005-2006; 563 more schools in 2006-2007; and 249 more schools in 2007-2008**.**

2. Instituting COL Training at the Pedagogical University

Through Dr. Tsitsino Gakhokidze, a Culture of Lawfulness project staff member and a professor at the Pedagogical University, plans have begun for a special pre-service training course for students of education. The course has the support of Pedagogical University Rector Vakhtang Sartania, who has argued that it is important to reach teachers while they are still young and in training.

Project staff and Pedagogical University officials have reached a preliminary agreement to include Culture of Lawfulness training in the pre-service education of teachers specializing in law and history. The program is to be piloted as a 30-hour mini-course and later expanded into a full-year certification program (i.e., a fifth year for graduates of a four-year undergraduate program in law and history or literature education). Professor Gakhokidze and experienced teacher-trainers will develop the mini-course, based on the COL curriculum now taught in eighth-grade classes. It will focus on the concepts and pedagogy of Culture of Lawfulness education. The 32-week expanded program will primarily target education students who have completed undergraduate training in the instruction of literature or law and history. It will be open, however, to teachers from all subjects.

a. Performance Indicators

The project is slated to begin in November 2003. Over the fall and winter of 2003-2004, a team from the Culture of Lawfulness program and the Pedagogical University will prepare the pre-service teacher training course. In the spring, Pedagogical University professors who have expressed an interest will be trained in the program's material and pedagogy. Piloting can begin in the fall of 2004. Since the course will require only 30 hours, it can be offered several times during the 2004-2005 school year and fine-tuned each time. Meanwhile, curriculum development for the yearlong certification program can begin. To achieve these outcomes, the following timeline of activities is proposed (see next page):

PROPOSED TIMELINE OF ACTIVITIES	
Winter 2004	• Design of a 30-hour mini-course is completed and a teacher-training manual is developed, based on the curriculum taught in secondary schools.
April-May 2004	• Pedagogical University professors are trained to deliver the curriculum to their students.
September 2004-August 2005	• Pre-service courses in the curriculum are offered to Pedagogical University students. • COL project staff and Pedagogical University educators begin to develop a yearlong certification program in COL open to teachers trained in any subject area.

3. Coordinating COL with Other Civic Education Programs

While the eighth-grade Culture of Lawfulness course is the only civic education program adopted as national policy, the ministry has begun development and testing of two other civic education courses. One, prepared with help from educators at the University of Iowa, covers the Georgian constitution and legal system. This course is now being tested in several ninth-grade classes. Another course, Street Law, is being piloted among sixth and seventh-grade students to teach them about their rights under Georgian law.

The existence of these courses provides an opportunity to create a coherent and integrated civic education program throughout the three grades of secondary (middle) school. As these efforts are expanded and made official, the curricula for the Culture of Lawfulness, Iowa, and Street Law courses should provide continuity of tone and content and reinforce each other's lessons about lawfulness over several years. Since at least one curriculum writer working on the Culture of Lawfulness curriculum is also a co-author of the Iowa and Street Law courses, accomplishing continuity of course material should present few difficulties.

B. Interventions by Centers of Moral Authority

In 2000, leaders of Georgia's many religious denominations collectively founded the IRC, the Inter-Religious Council of Georgia to Prevent Crime and Corruption and Promote Social Harmony. Meeting on a monthly basis, they have agreed to speak out, either singly or in unison, when a particularly egregious case of corruption or religious violence becomes public. They already have given three roundtable interviews to the Tbilisi newspaper *24 Hours* (see Appendix 12).

During 2003 the council grew, adding members from the Roman Catholic Church of Georgia, the German Lutheran Church, and the Georgian branch of the Salvation Army. It now includes representatives of seven religious groups.

In a historic initiative, the council has agreed to make lawfulness an integral part of religious education nationwide. In one of the projects outlined below, members have already begun work on a joint lawfulness curriculum to be taught in Georgian Orthodox, Catholic, Armenian Apostolic, Baptist, and Muslim Sunday schools. This unprecedented venture, with incredible potential to reach diverse audiences, will not only fight corruption but will also show students that Georgia's many confessions share the same core values.

1. Creating Religious Education in Support of Lawfulness

To contribute to the process of legitimizing the rule of law as a value intrinsic to Georgian society, IRC members have decided to institute a religious education program for church and mosque schools. Whether it takes the form of a single interfaith curriculum or separate curricula for each faith, the program will be based on ideas of law and justice derived from the Old and New Testaments as well as the Qur'an. Besides building support for lawfulness, the program will aim to teach believers that the ideal of respect for human rights and freedoms is ultimately shared by different religions and confessions. Each religious group represented in the IRC has agreed to devote one-third of its religious education time to education in support of lawfulness.

Secondary school teacher Paata Shotashvili has been chosen to oversee the development of the curriculum. Shotashvili piloted the Culture of Lawfulness curriculum in Tbilisi School #171 in 2001-2002 and 2002-2003; he served as the lead trainer in the September 2003 teacher training workshops. He has regularly attended IRC meetings and curriculum adaptation meetings. The Mkurnali (Healers) Foundation, a children's welfare NGO run by Father George Chachava, has agreed to pay Shotashvili US$300 to develop the curriculum and train 13 pilot Sunday school teachers in 2004.

IRC members have agreed that the introduction of the curriculum will proceed on a strictly voluntary basis at the discretion of the leadership of each individual school. To allow time for persuasion, the program is planned to grow slowly and gradually. IRC members have also decided not to attempt to intervene in the elective religion classes taught in Georgia's public schools. These precautions are reasonable since certain clergymen in each denomination are expected to oppose the curriculum and resist its introduction into their schools.

The creation and implementation of the religious education program is to take place in three stages:

- Stage One: An outline of the curriculum will be written, adapted for the different denominations, and translated into the Armenian and Azeri languages.[37] During 2004, this curriculum will be piloted in 13 church and mosque schools: two schools

from each confession represented in the IRC (except the Lutheran Church, which has only one school).[38]

- Stage Two: A group of 28 trainees will be formed, including all teachers from the Muslim schools (eight schools in Georgia) along with some of the Baptist teachers (eight of 60 schools), Catholic teachers (two of 20 schools), and Georgian Orthodox teachers (representing 10 of 28 eparchies).

- Stage Three: The remaining Sunday school teachers in each confession will receive training in the content and pedagogy of the curriculum according to schedules designed by their own denominational leaders. The pilot teachers from the larger denominations will train their colleagues in the remaining schools (or, in the case of the Georgian Orthodox community, the remaining eparchies). In several cases, the confessions have undertaken to cover some or all of the cost of this training. Training participants will be awarded certificates of participation. The joint curriculum will be taught in the religious schools of all participating confessions.

The training schemes are described below. Suggested by the representatives of the different confessions, the schemes allow clergy of different religions to receive training together—but from trainers of their own faiths.

Georgian Orthodox Church: The Orthodox Church is divided in 28 eparchies (or bishoprics). There are 10 to 30 churches per eparchy. Most churches have their own Sunday schools.

Two priests will be trained at the pilot stage. In the second stage, 10 priests from the eparchies will be recipients of the initial training. Then, after several months' practice in the Sunday schools, two of the 10 participants of the initial training will be chosen as trainers. Those two people will train teacher trainers from the other 18 eparchies in a training session organized outside the capital. Then, each of these 28 people will train the other priests in their eparchies.

The Culture of Lawfulness project will need to cover the expenses of the first and second stages of the training, but the Church will cover training expenses thereafter.

Baptist Church: There are 60 Baptist churches in Georgia, grouped in four eparchies. Each church has its own Sunday school.

The training will be implemented in two stages. In the first stage, two Baptist Sunday school teachers will pilot the curriculum in their schools. In the second stage, they will train two teacher trainers from each eparchy (eight people total), who will train teachers from the remaining Baptist Sunday schools.

The budget of the Culture of Lawfulness project will need to cover the expenses of the first stage of the training, but the Baptist Church will cover the costs of the second stage.

Armenian Apostolic Church: The Armenian Apostolic Church has two Sunday schools in Georgia. Teachers from both schools will participate in the piloting process. The Culture of Lawfulness project will cover their training expenses.

Roman Catholic Church: There are 20 Catholic Sunday schools in Georgia. Representatives of the Catholic Church propose to train two teachers at the second stage. At the third stage of the project, this pair of trainers would train another 18 Sunday school teachers. Participants of the third-stage training will be gathered in one place outside Tbilisi.

The Culture of Lawfulness project will support the training of the first two Catholic instructors. For the remaining 18 Catholic Sunday schools, the project budget will need to cover transportation only; the Catholic Church will provide the space for seminar and cover accommodation costs.

Muslim Council: There are eight Muslim Council schools in Georgia. Teachers from two schools will be trained through the piloting process; the other six teachers will be trained during the second stage. The Culture of Lawfulness project will need to cover the training costs.

Lutheran Church: There is one Lutheran Sunday School in Tbilisi, Georgia. The teacher will be trained during the first stage. The Culture of Lawfulness project will need to cover the expenses.

Salvation Army: The Salvation Army has two Sunday Schools in Georgia. Both of the teachers will be trained during the first stage. The Culture of Lawfulness Project will need to cover the expenses.

a. Performance Indicators

- Curriculum materials exist for an ecumenical religious education program emphasizing resistance to corrupt practices and attitudes and respect for the rule of law. Materials have been translated into Armenian and Azeri.

- A cadre of religious personnel has been trained to teach their religious school students about lawfulness. Within each denomination, several trainers are prepared to train their colleagues in delivering this curriculum.

- The Sunday school curriculum is in use in the Georgian Orthodox, Catholic, Armenian Apostolic, Baptist, Muslim, Lutheran, and Salvation Army Sunday schools.

To achieve these outcomes, the following timeline of activities is proposed (see next page):

PROPOSED TIMELINE OF ACTIVITIES	
January 2004 – August 2004	▪ IRC members develop a religious education program in support of justice and the rule of law. ▪ Once approved by IRC members, the curriculum is translated into the Armenian and Azeri languages.
August 2004 – September 2004	▪ Pilot teachers from pre-selected Sunday schools are trained in the Culture of Lawfulness curriculum.
September 2004 – December 2004	▪ Piloting of the curriculum in 13 religious schools.
January 2005 – July 2005	▪ Curriculum is fine-tuned to reflect suggestions from pilot teachers. ▪ An additional 28 representatives of religious schools receive training from pilot teachers and begin teaching the curriculum.
August 2005 – September 2006	▪ Trainers selected from the 28 second-stage teachers train all religious teachers in the curriculum. ▪ Throughout the training, each denomination proceeds according to its own strategy in consultation with IRC leaders and NSIC consultants. Individual churches and mosques are invited to adopt the program on a voluntary basis. ▪ By September 2006, the program is taught in all interested religious schools of the Georgian Orthodox, Catholic, Armenian Apostolic, Baptist, Muslim, Lutheran, and Salvation Army denominations.

C. Mass Media Interventions

Georgia's media can play a valuable role in fostering support for lawful behavior, through their own initiatives or by publicizing the anticorruption activities of other sectors of society. Small victories against corruption need careful coverage; informing citizens of their rights, responsibilities, and options should be a priority. Regular contacts and press releases will go a long way toward encouraging media involvement and keeping journalists apprised of the anticorruption efforts of religious leaders, classroom teachers, NGOs, and ordinary citizens.

There is also much good work to be done at the intersection between the media and the public schools, and between the media and centers of moral authority. For instance, the work of religious leaders seeking to publicize their condemnation of corrupt practices depends on garnering enough media attention to spread their message beyond their own congregations. This can be accomplished by organizing feature stories and media appearances as well as through increased spot news coverage of anticorruption events and speeches. One part of the Inter-Religious Council's work, discussed above, is to make members available to the press for "reaction stories" when flagrant cases of unpunished corruption become public.

In meetings with Culture of Lawfulness project staff, media leaders identified several ways in which they could contribute. This section proposes three specific media-related activities to raise the profile of pro-lawfulness efforts and to involve an ever-growing base of Georgian parents, students, teachers, lawyers, politicians, journalists, readers, and TV viewers.

The first two projects below (the first of them already underway) focus on the intersection between Georgia's two biggest mechanisms of socialization, the mass media and the public schools. They turn student activities, questions, and ideas into media materials that offer a new representation of crime and corruption to the reading and viewing public. Besides the inherent benefit of having one sector reinforce another, this approach offers two important advantages: it gives young people a chance to practice being active resisters of lawlessness, and it shows the public uncompromised fresh faces

fighting against corruption. Some broadcasters already involved in such efforts have found it productive to offer adolescents an opportunity to question both their society and their government. This harnesses both young people's natural intolerance for hypocrisy and their desire to speak out about issues that concern them.[39] Meanwhile, the news coverage gains in relevance: tailoring the topics of investigation to teenagers' concerns about their society and visions for its future guarantees that the coverage directly addresses daily life.

The final project discussed below, a series of roundtable interviews by the *24 Hours* newspaper of the members of the Inter-Religious Council, is also underway (see Appendix 12). This ongoing activity illustrates the positive media coverage that this unprecedented interfaith effort can attract. IRC members hope to participate in many such media events and increase the council's name recognition significantly over the next several years.

1. Answering Children's Questions About Corruption

Since May 2003, the Tbilisi daily newspaper *24 Hours* has run a regular supplement called "Letters to the Government." Modeled on a similar effort in Palermo, Sicily, from the 1990s, the supplement lets schoolchildren raise questions about corruption and its impact on the quality of life in their communities, and gives public officials a forum to respond (Orlando 2001).

24 Hours is the largest newspaper in Georgia, with a circulation of 6,000. Its management has agreed to donate space in the paper and printing costs to continue the supplement as a running feature. Education and society journalist Dali Kuprava, hired with a grant from the Open Society-Georgia Foundation, is working as a part-time coordinator with eighth-graders to produce the letters. The first four issues of the one-page supplement, including about 500 student questions with responses from officials, have already been published (see Appendix 13). Due to the active participation of students and public officials, the leadership of *24 Hours* increased the supplement's frequency from monthly to bi-weekly starting October 2003.

The project brings together the school-based education and media components of Georgia's lawfulness effort and also involves the public. The students who write letters are drawn from the pilot schools now studying the Culture of Lawfulness curriculum. The criterion for the letters is that they address specific problems in the students' daily lives (local polluted sites, influential neighborhood "thieves-in-law," teachers who take money for grades), not vague or general social or political problems endemic to Georgian society (corruption, criminality in general). Thus, the project educates local officials about the school-based education component of the lawfulness initiative, and also shows students that the lessons have applications to their daily lives. The newspaper's readers, meanwhile, get to see that children are involved in the fight against corruption and that ordinary citizens' complaints can sometimes be heard.

Already the new dialogue between children and officials has brought some results. For example, in a letter in Supplement #1, a student from School #123 wrote about a garbage problem in Vedzisi Park, saying it was in danger of becoming a public dump. A few days later, the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources instructed staff to remove the garbage. In the next supplement, Minister of the Environment and Natural Resources Nino Chkhobadze underscored that it was citizens' responsibility to remove the garbage from their own public spaces. But the ministry also ran an announcement promising to lend Tbilisi residents any vehicles or equipment they needed for such cleanup efforts.

The business community has also started to take action. The Gurdjaani Ice Cream Co., one of Georgia's leading ice cream companies, held a press conference in July 2003 to announce a new citywide clean-up effort sparked by the child's letter and the minister's response. The company promised to print anti-littering slogans on its ice-cream wrappers, to put up citywide billboards reading "Enjoy Ice Cream in a Clean Environment," and to donate trash bins outside every Tbilisi subway station and ice-cream kiosk. Culture of Lawfulness coordinator Dali Kuprava and teacher Nino Gvilava were invited to speak at the press conference.

The supplement is also a valuable example. While the *24 Hours* newspaper hardly reaches outside the capital, teachers in other regions (notably in Batumi and Kutaisi) have

begun working with their local media on similar projects. Ms. Kuprava and core project staff are working to formulate a set of supplement guidelines to ensure the consistency and replicability of the project.

Since the newspaper often sells out very quickly, pilot teachers of the pro-lawfulness curriculum have asked that *24 Hours* print extra copies of the supplement for them to use in their classes.

The schedule below covers 18 months. Beyond this initial funding from the Soros Foundation, there is hope that the supplement can be continued if it becomes so popular that the newspaper decides to cover its costs, if some high-school-student volunteers are trained to edit it, or if another funding source is found.

a. Performance Indicators

- A biweekly, one-page newspaper supplement—in Tbilisi as well as in other participating cities and regions—that connects government institutions, schoolchildren, and the media by publishing public officials' answers to children's questions about crime, law and order, and public works.

- A short set of formal guidelines on 1) how to give students the parameters for their letters to *24 Hours*; 2) how to make teachers and principals feel included in the project rather than exposed or threatened by it; 3) which letters to select for printing and whose follow-up/response letters to solicit.

- Printing of extra copies of the supplement, which will be distributed to every eighth-grade class studying the COL curriculum.

- Contacts with school directors and public officials to ensure that letters find a prompt and appropriate response and that any positive activities they inspire are publicized in future issues of the supplement.

To achieve these outcomes, the following timeline of activities is proposed:

PROPOSED TIMELINE OF ACTIVITIES	
March 2003	• Education and society journalist Dali Kuprava hired to coordinate, edit, and lay out the supplement.
April 2003	• Ms. Kuprava contacts teachers at Tbilisi schools teaching the Culture of Lawfulness curriculum and visits classes to explain the initiative and solicit students' letters.
May 2003-June 2004	• Production and publication of a monthly Monday supplement. With newspaper support, it becomes biweekly. • Production and distribution to teachers of guidelines for supplement letter-writers.
June 2004	• A public opinion survey measures the newspaper supplement's impact. (Other measures include the volume of response letters received by the newspaper and the organizing of follow-up events.)
July 2004	• Regional newspapers identified and committed to covering pro-lawfulness activities and publishing a supplement.

2. Training Schoolchildren as Journalists

Media leaders have expressed a desire to involve adolescents in investigative journalism, perhaps through research for a TV show to be broadcast on private television stations. Adding a call-in talk show dedicated to the outcome of the students' investigations would involve the general public, further broadening the anticorruption conversation.

Once instituted with outside funds, it is expected that this project, like the newspaper supplement, will bring enough profit and/or prestige that media organizations will find it worthwhile to continue producing it on their own. Even if it does not become self-supporting by the time the seed money ends, the project will have analyzed some

wrongdoing, publicized some good work, and involved youngsters in the public conversation about lawfulness and the forces that threaten it. It will also have trained a cadre of young adults in the skills and strategies of investigative journalism, a practice vital to a democratic society.

One important measure of this product's success, therefore, will be its quality.[40] Good journalism will show that students are engaged and learning; poorly conceived or unconvincing work will show that there are gaps in understanding of key concepts related to lawfulness (including the importance of critical thinking and the difference between libel and responsible journalism). A shoddy product may also discredit the idea of involving schoolchildren in a public anticorruption campaign. It is crucial that the level of reporting, writing, editing, and production be kept impressively high; the media organization chosen must be the one most willing and able to maintain this standard.

a. Performance Indicators

- 15-20 students will have received a yearlong training in journalism and TV production.
- Production and airing of 12 to 20 television feature segments on topics including social issues, the rule of law, and quality of life in Georgia.
- Production and airing of a television call-in talk show based on the students' findings.

To achieve these outcomes, the following timeline of activities is proposed:

PROPOSED TIMELINE OF ACTIVITIES	
Months 1-3	• Hiring of a part-time editor and producer to coordinate students' work. • Recruitment of a group of interested students from among alumni of the lawfulness program to suggest, research, write, direct, and produce segments. • Camera training for students.
Months 4-12	• Preparation and broadcasting of up to three stories per month.
Month 8	• Students participate in a call-in talk show, opening up public discussion of their efforts to document both corruption and anticorruption initiatives.
Month 12	• Public opinion survey measures program's impact.

3. Roundtable Interviews with IRC Members

24 Hours has so far run three full-page interviews with members of the Inter-Religious Council (the first one on page 1, with a photo). The editors have said they intend to make this roundtable interview a monthly event. In their first two interviews, council members discussed religious education in schools and corruption in the church (see Appendix 12). These joint appearances made news—and history. With more such media appearances, the council can become a truly influential voice in Georgian society and a counterweight to some figures in society who would hold back lawfulness in the name of "tradition."

Council members have agreed to make themselves available for the media and to actively offer their comments as occasions warrant. While requiring some energy, such action through the media is potentially very rapid, effective, and free of charge.

a. Performance Indicators

- A series of high-profile press appearances in which members of the Inter-Religious Council discuss issues vital to the security, stability, and religious harmony of Georgia.

Three *24 Hours* interviews have been completed so far, and they are planned to continue on a monthly basis.

VII. Conclusion

Since 2001, NSIC staff and consultants have been working in partnership with Georgian education and justice officials and civil society leaders to help develop a cultural approach to preventing corruption and fostering the rule of law. Much of this assistance has been conceptual. Initially, NSIC provided supporting materials and access to like-minded reformers from Sicily and Mexico, whose idea of "the two-wheeled cart" proved significant in persuading Georgian leaders that cultural interventions could complement enhanced law enforcement and regulatory reform. Later, NSIC input helped Georgian leaders outline the conceptual foundations of their plan. Throughout this effort, NSIC helped bring diverse government officials, leading NGOs, religious and other moral authorities, educators, and the media together to work toward a common goal: preventing corruption. This may be the first time these diverse players have collaborated to address a single societal problem.

NSIC staff and consultants also provided technical assistance at key points of program development, piloting, and expansion. NSIC worked with Georgian curriculum writers to create a school-based crime and corruption curriculum that was appropriate for this particular context. NSIC-led training seminars prepared teachers and trainers for the difficult tasks of project implementation. As pilot efforts progressed, NSIC helped the program's Georgian coordinators develop a formalized process of evaluation to measure the implementation's fidelity to the program model as well as its effectiveness. With the early results from the evaluation, curriculum revisions were completed, and theoretically driven evaluation instruments were developed and tested on Georgian students. A quasi-experimental model of program testing was designed to assist with future improvements.

All these efforts have helped promote and enhance civic involvement in addressing Georgia's well-known and established problems with corruption. The enthusiasm of Georgian leaders shows they recognize the importance of civic involvement. Recently, US observers have begun to acknowledge it as well. The US Department of State's International Narcotics Control Strategy Report for 2002 states, "Corruption has been the most significant problem within Georgia's law enforcement agencies. Georgia's

anticorruption efforts continue to be hampered by the widespread tolerance of corruption within Georgian society."[41] Or, in the words of the most recent USAID country strategy for Georgia, endorsed by Ambassador Richard Miles in Tbilisi:

> Greater emphasis, even reliance, on grassroots action also seems necessary to combat a defeatist mindset amongst many Georgian citizens. … It is USAID/Caucasus' sense that this commitment at the grassroots must be formed from a new set of values and attitudes that replaces a culture of entitlement with a culture of responsibility, and a culture of "rent-seeking" with a culture of "lawfulness."[42] [emphasis added]

The activities detailed in this report represent the short but intense first stage—the "pump priming"—of the cultural approach. With three to five years of minimal outside assistance, the program could result in more than two thousand agents of change in key sectors of Georgian society: public schools, religious and civil society organizations, and the mass media. Teachers, school directors, education officials, religious leaders in all the major confessions, journalists, and civil society leaders could learn how to promote the values of honesty, integrity, and lawfulness in their communities. In addition, tens of thousands of schoolchildren, parents, parishioners, and others would receive education about the social cost of corruption, the need for a culture of lawfulness, and their own potential to create such a culture.

Once this first phase is complete, this core group of Georgian leaders is expected to seek out and use existing resources already at their disposal, whether public or private, toward the promotion of a culture of lawfulness. In some cases, these sectors have already committed significant resources of their own to the program. Public schools have classrooms filled with attentive students, dedicated teachers whose opinions matter a great deal to parents and their children, as well as books and other learning materials. Religious organizations have clergy, seminaries, churches and congregations, Sunday schools, and charitable activities. Civil society organizations have activists, informal educational and recreational programs, and media outlets. The mass media have journalists, printing presses, cameras, and editorial space and airtime.

This is the sustainability inherent in the cultural approach. Once the leaders of key sectors know how they can foster a culture of lawfulness among their respective constituencies, they are expected to use the tools at their disposal to achieve this goal. Together, these key sectors of Georgian society can establish the framework to develop and sustain community efforts to effect a culture of lawfulness.

[1] A "culture of lawfulness" is defined as follows:

> A culture of lawfulness means that the dominant or mainstream culture, ethos, and thought in a society are sympathetic to the rule of law. In a society governed by the rule of law, people have the ability to participate in the making and implementation of laws that bind all the people and institutions in society, including the government itself…. Under the rule of law, everyone, irrespective of race, creed, color, gender, family background, or economic, social, and political circumstances, is to be treated uniformly.

Roy Godson, "Guide to Developing a Culture of Lawfulness," *Trends in Organized Crime* 5, no. 3 (2000). See also Section IV and Appendix 2.

[2] Foreign direct investment (FDI) rose through the mid-1990s and peaked in 1998 at US$288 million, although a significant portion of this is attributable to one project, the Baku-Supsa Early Oil Pipeline and Supsa Terminal. FDI has declined in recent years. According to the Georgian State Department of Statistics, FDI in 2001 was US$61.8 million, compared to US$83.65 million in 1999. See "Georgia: Investment Climate Statement 2002," US Embassy in Tbilisi, September 2002. Available online at www.bisnis.doc.gov/bisnis/country/021001GGICS.htm.

[3] The US State Department's "Trafficking in Persons Report 2003" included Georgia in the list of "tier 3" countries not complying with international counter-trafficking standards and not yet making significant efforts to combat the problem. Available online at http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2003/21275.htm. See also the International Organization for Migration report on rising trafficking in Georgians: "Hardship Abroad or Hunger at Home," IOM-Georgia, September 2001. Available online at http://www.iom.int/documents/publication/ en/georgia_report_sep_01.pdf

[4]The State Anticorruption Bureau notes that in the past ten years more than $700 million has been spent to repair the energy sector, without major improvements in the electricity situation. Tbilisi still has power outages, and areas outside the capital lose power for parts of the year. This has been blamed on non-coordination between the state and private sectors, a poorly organized privatization process, and outright embezzlement.

[5] Ioseliani, a convicted armed robber and leader of the paramilitary Mkhedrioni (Horsemen), served as vice head of the National Military Council and later as a member of Parliament between 1991 and 1995. For details of his complex dealings with Shevardnadze, see Ekedahl and Goodman 2001:262-5.

[6] IRIS is supported by USAID.

[7] An estimate reached by different methods five years earlier is only slightly lower, and still the highest of the post-Communist countries, at 63 percent (Johnson, Kaufmann, and Shleifer 1997).

[8]The Anticorruption Working Group adopted a more nuanced version of this view. The group's recommendations include the following: "Raise salaries of State employees by increasing budget revenues and reducing the number of State employees. The reduction of employees must not be mechanical, but through a process of revising the general concept of State management and providing explicit definitions for various State agencies' functions. Initially, it may be acceptable to identify a limited number of high-level positions for higher remuneration, since the success of

reforms and anticorruption policies depends largely on those officials with significant authority." Available online at http://www.corruption.ge/index-en.html.

[9] In Georgia, many of the main businesses (manufacturing, hotels, etc.) remain in the hands of the state. Education, law enforcement, and health care are highly centralized, with all decisions and appointments occurring by the national ministry.

[10] Of course, it is difficult to pinpoint the emergence of particular trends in Georgian culture. Speculations hinge on an assessment of the Soviet legacy, an issue disputed among Georgian intellectuals, scholars, and political leaders. Some argue that the Soviet Union brought infrastructure and public order, which has deteriorated since Georgia gained independence in 1991. Others insist that the parasitic Soviet state, exploiting some features of Georgian or Caucasian culture, corrupted social institutions and fostered contempt for the rule of law (CIPDD 2000).

[11] Tariel Oniani, now residing in Europe, has been identified as among the most influential criminal leaders of Georgia. On June 13, Emzar Kvitsiani, the president's plenipotentiary representative in the Kodori Gorge, gave a television interview in which he praised Oniani for his help in resolving a kidnapping. See *PrimeNews*, "Emzar Kvitsiani: Tariel Oniani Got Involved in Release of UN Observers," July 15, 2003. The kidnap victims were four UN observers abducted on June 5, 2003, while monitoring a truce between Georgia and Abkhazia in the Kodori Gorge. They were released without ransom five days later.

[12] Interviews conducted by Gigi Tevzadze with teachers participating in the Culture of Lawfulness program.

[13] The 1970s novel *White Flags* by Nodar Dumbadze, which chronicles the life of a just, pious, and moral thief named Limona in a Soviet prison, is a typical example.

[14] The *abrek* figures prominently in Leo Tolstoy's Caucasian writings, *The Caucasian Prisoner* and *Hadji Murat.* The concept continues to have meaning for Georgians, mediated both through Caucasian oral culture and through Russian high culture (including the Caucasian writings of Pushkin, Lermontov, and Tolstoy) promulgated under the Soviets. Thus, Tbilisi secondary school teachers during a training exercise last summer adduced the *Adats*, and particularly the vendetta, as examples of "values our society holds with which we might not agree." Personal observation by Gigi Tevazdze, Tbilisi, September 2003.

[15] These days, according to Elene Tevdoradze, a member of parliament from the United Democrats Party, thieves-in-law pay about US$2,000 per month to neighborhood police for the right to operate freely in their territory. Quoted by reporter Inga Alavidze in *24 Hours*, March 19, 2003.

[16] There are 3,324 general education schools in Georgia, only 123 of them private. There are 704,700 students in state schools, and only about 12,000 in private schools. According to 2000-2001 statistics, there are 277,321 students in elementary schools (grades 1-4); 351,187 students in secondary schools (grades 5-9); and only 86,417 in high schools (grades 10-11). In fact, there are only 43,209 students per grade in the last two grades, compared with 70,237 students per grade in secondary schools, suggesting a considerable dropout rate before high school (see State Department for Statistics of Georgia 2002).

[17] As Nasmyth (2001) writes, "Georgia's Orthodox Church… has been the single rock to which this small nation [has] clung throughout its terrible history of subjugation."

[18] According to personal observations of members of the Inter-Religious Council (see Section V).

[19] See Appendix 12 for comments by Archpriest Basil Kobakhidze and others on corruption in the Georgian Orthodox Church. The comments appeared in a May 2003 newspaper interview.

[20] "Georgian National Voter Study," May 2003. In the poll, 80 percent of respondents said they were "confident" in the Church, compared with 73 percent "confident" in the Georgian media. All other surveyed institutions received a negative rating. Young and middle-aged voters rated the Church slightly higher than elderly voters. Remarkably, 86.3 percent of respondents said they trusted the Church as a source of political information, behind family/friends (97.2 percent) but well ahead of the independent media (65.3 percent).

[21] "Teaching the subject of the Orthodox faith is an elective part of the curriculum in educational institutions. Approval of and changes to the teaching curriculum and appointment and dismissal of teachers takes place upon submission by the Church." Church-State Concordat, Article 5.

[22] Personal communication with Gigi Tevazadze.

[23] See op.cit 2 and Appendix 2 for definitions of "rule of law" and "culture of lawfulness".

[24] For a list of the Council's members, see Appendix 4.

[25] See also "The Role of State Prosecution in the Criminal Justice System." Commission Report, Tbilisi, October 6, 2002 (in Georgian). The report covered five directions: 1) Reform of the investigative and operative service; 2) Reform of the criminal code; 3) Police reform; 4) Reform of the special training at the law-enforcement agencies; 5) Reform of the institutional arrangement and internal management of the law-enforcement and security agencies.

[26] The program financed by the World Bank allocates more than US$2,000,000 for school curriculum reform for the years 2000-2005. The Ministry of Education is still in the process of revising its curriculum.

[27] The Ministry's curriculum team includes Tamuna Khaldani (a member of the Georgian Young Lawyers Association member and one of the authors of both the Iowa and Street Law civic education courses); Vaja Imnaishvili, historian; and David Japaridze, historian.

[28] As mentioned above, many of Georgia's ethnically Azerbaijani and Armenian students attend special Azeri- or Russian-language schools that follow a separate curriculum. The Ministry of Education does not currently plan for those 586 schools to participate in the Culture of Lawfulness program.

[29] The power struggle has now moved to the courts. In any case, the argument appears to be more about governance and spending oversight than about the content of the curriculum; most Tbilisi schools are likely to keep the national curriculum for the foreseeable future.

[30]KMARA ("Enough") is a decentralized student-led organization dedicated to voting out the existing Georgian government by democratic means. It is modeled on successful student movements in Serbia and Slovenia. So far, KMARA's active membership does not exceed 30, and its activities have been limited to chalking "KMARA" graffiti and disseminating flags and flyers with the same slogan in Tbilisi and regional capitals. For more on KMARA, see, e.g., "Georgia's Student Protest Movement." *(Un)Civil Societies*, Vol. 4, Number 15 (June 18, 2003), available at http://www.rferl.org/ucs/2003/06/15-180603.html.

[31] Most remarkable, however, has been Solidarity's effect on the more official State Trade Union of Teachers, whose members include most of Georgia's 60,000 teachers. After two years of mutual suspicion and recrimination, the two unions slowly began to cooperate on some issues including teacher salaries, professional development, and school independence from the national

education ministry. In June 2003, the two trade unions designed a joint project proposal for the Open Society-Georgian Foundation. The consequence of this process is that Solidarity plans to establish an office in Tbilisi this year.

[32] Most council members are leaders of their denominations. The council's Georgian Orthodox member is a designated representative of the Patriarch.

[33] Unlike the national government channel, the private Rustavi-2 channel broadcasts via satellite, making it somewhat more resistant to Tbilisi power outages but less accessible to those without a satellite dish.

[34] A dramatic recent example was the firing of a judge in the Gardabani district of southern Georgia. In the spring of 2003, the investigative Rustavi-2 television program "60 Minutes" had reported that the judge had been briefly fired but then rehired after caught soliciting a bribe on hidden camera. At first, no action was taken against the judge in response to the broadcast. Instead, the state newspaper *Sakartvelos Respublica* quoted a spokesman for the Supreme Court as saying that Rustavi-2 and specifically its "60 Minutes" show were undermining the existence of a free and fair court in Georgia. The Supreme Court even called for a criminal investigation against the TV station. After a scandal erupted, however, the judge was removed. "The General Prosecutor's Office informed us [the Supreme Court] that a criminal case was initiated against this judge, so he is dismissed," Supreme Court Chairman Lado Chanturia announced. See "60 Minutes" broadcast of February 16, 2003. See also "With the Help of '60 Minutes,' Criminals Begin Fighting Against the Court System in Georgia," *Sakartvelos Respublica*, March 10, 2003. These events prompted the Vienna-based International Press Institute to send a letter of protest to President Shevardnadze; it is available online at http://www.freemedia.at/Protests%202003/Georgia27.03.03.htm.

[35] The supplement is financed by the newspaper and the Open Society-Georgia Foundation. For more details, see Section VI (Part C), "Plan and Timeline of Proposed Cultural Interventions."

[36] COL teachers earn 6.5 Lari per class meeting, or 300 Lari per year, compared with a normal teacher salary of 0.20 to 3.38 Lari per class. The current exchange rate is 2.15 Lari (GEL) to US$1.

[37] Under the Georgian education system, certain ethnic/religious minority groups receive primary and secondary education in their own languages (e.g., Georgian Muslims in Azeri, Georgian Armenians in Russian). Not all children are fluent in Georgian.

[38] The 13 schools will be as follows: 2 Georgian Orthodox Church, 2 Armenian Apostolic Church, 2 Muslim Council, 2 Catholic Church, 2 Baptist Church, 1 Lutheran Church, and 2 Salvation Army.

[39] This is the view of educators at the Association For Legal Public Education (ALPE), which has experience working with adolescents, and of staffers at the Rustavi-2 program "P.S.," a Saturday evening news analysis program.

[40] Another way to evaluate the impact of these activities is through sociological surveys to measure their influence on public opinion.

[41] US Department of State, International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, Washington, 2003, page IX-43. Available online at http://www.state.gov/g/inl/rls/nrcrpt/2002/html/17949.htm.

[42] USAID/Caucasus Georgia Country Strategy, 2004-2008, abridged version released October 27, 2003. Available online at http://www.usaid.org.ge/pdf/FinalDocAbr.pdf. Page 8 and see footnote 4.

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IX. Appendixes

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Appendix 13: “Letters from Students” (*24 Hours* supplement)

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A professor of criminal justice at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York, Dr. Kenney specializes in curriculum development and the evaluation of crime prevention programs worldwide. He has authored numerous articles and books, including *Crime in the Schools* (1998) and *Organized Crime in America* (1995). He is the editor of *Police Quarterly*.

Dr. Kenney can be reached at dkenney@speakeasy.net.

Margaret Litvin

Program Coordinator, National Strategy Information Center

Ms. Litvin is the program coordinator for NSIC's efforts in the Caucasus and the Middle East. A doctoral candidate at the University of Chicago, she also teaches a course on the rule of law at Georgetown University. She is fluent in Russian and proficient in Arabic and French.

Ms. Litvin can be reached at col@ix.netcom.com.

Gigi Tevzadze

Consultant, Culture of Lawfulness Project

Dr. Tevzadze currently holds the chair in sociology at Tbilisi Chavchavadze State University. He is also a member of the Georgian Anticorruption Policy Coordination Council. From 2000 to 2001 he was the leader of a group responsible for designing and implementing a World Bank program, "Realignment of Georgia's Educational System". Previously he worked as a consultant for UNDP and the ECPRD (European Center for Parliamentary Research and Documentation), and was head of the research department of the Georgian parliament. His most recent book is *instituciuri cvlilebebis sociologia,'* "Sociology of Institutional Changes," Publishing House "Mecniereba," 2002 (Georgian).

Dr. Tevzadze can be reached at gigi_tevzadze@hotmail.com

A. Project Background

This project attempted to determine: 1) the viability of a cultural approach to fostering support for the rule of law in Georgia; and 2) the entry points and methods that would be most effective in fostering a positive change in social attitudes toward the rule of law. It was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Justice's Office of International Programs and with the assistance of the Open Society-Georgia Foundation (OSGF).

Over the past two years, NSIC's staff and consultants conducted hundreds of interviews with Georgian governmental and non-governmental leaders, Culture of Lawfulness program participants, and others, in Tbilisi, Batumi, and the regions. NSIC investigators spoke with senior officials from the ministries of education, justice, and interior, the National Security Council, the Supreme Court, and the Procurator General's office; Patriarch Ilia II and leaders of all of the other major religious denominations in the country; owners, managers, editors, and producers of Georgia's leading newspapers and television stations; teachers, professors, principals, regional education officials, university administrators, and a teachers' union president; senior US Embassy officials; NGO leaders; and diverse members of parliament who supported and opposed the government. This report also draws on research by Dr. Gigi Tevzadze, a political sociologist and member of the Georgian Anticorruption Policy Coordination Council (and one of the principal investigators for this report).

Many types of quantitative data about Georgia are not available. Georgian police and court systems do not keep reliable statistics on crime, where it occurs, and the demographics of victims and perpetrators. The Ministry of Education does not have a centralized computer system to track students' academic progress, the types of disciplinary referrals received, student absences, etc. In the absence of statistics about the extent of corruption, we have relied on qualitative research, analysis from knowledgeable individuals on the ground, reports from international organizations working in Georgia, and media accounts.

The interpretive social science work done on Georgia is limited as well. Much of what is available in European languages is dated, unmethodical, polemical, or bound by a "societies in transition" paradigm that pays insufficient attention to the particularities of Georgian culture or the texture of Georgians' daily lives.

In April 2002, more than 50 leaders from the education, justice, religious, and media sectors reviewed the preliminary findings of this report with NSIC and OSGF specialists during a three-day seminar in Tbilisi. All concurred with the analysis and agreed it was necessary to take a cultural approach to fostering lawfulness in Georgia. Their comments and suggestions have been incorporated into this report.

B. Terminology

Two key concepts that inform this report are "rule of law" and "culture of lawfulness."

1. Rule of law

"Rule of law" is understood to mean:

> A social arrangement in which a society as a whole and all its members are obligated to obey society's laws, which in return protect their rights against arbitrary violation by individuals, groups, or governing bodies.

The rule of law is recognizable by three important characteristics:

1. Society's laws apply equally to everyone, regardless of social or political status.

2. Members of society have the opportunity to participate in establishing the laws that govern them.

3. The laws protect both individual members of society and the society itself (see Godson 2000).

2. Culture of lawfulness

A "culture of lawfulness" is understood to mean a culture whose mainstream is supportive of the rule of law. In other words, it is

> a political culture in which the dominant belief is that legal norms provide the most promising path to attain justice, safety, and a better individual and collective quality of life (ibid, 6).

In such a culture, the average citizen holds the values of lawfulness and seeks to correct observed violations of the rule of law. In the absence of such a culture, even well-designed institutions will function poorly. As one author has noted, institution-centered "rule of law development" aid programs that do not address cultural conditions have not been as successful as donors have hoped (Carothers 2003).

Participants in the April 2002 Seminar in Tbilisi

This seminar was conducted by NSIC and the Open Society-Georgia Foundation.

1. Mass Media Panel

Nika Tabatadze, general manager, Rustavi-2 Broadcasting Company

George Gakheladze, *24 Hours* newspaper

Mariam Toidze, journalist and member of the Georgian Anticorruption Policy Coordination Council (the Anticorruption Council)

Khatuna Charkviani, Supreme Court of Georgia

Ia Antadze, Radio Liberty

Rusudan Lortkipanidze, journalist and member of the Anticorruption Council

Tsitsino Gakhokidze, Tbilisi Pedagogical University and Culture of Lawfulness Program

Lasha Tugushi, editor, *Rezonansi* Newspaper

Tamuna Bregvadze, Culture of Lawfulness Program

2. Panel from Centers of Moral Authority

Gigi Tevzadze, professor of Sociology and Culture of Lawfulness Program

Paata Shotashvili, Tbilisi Secondary School #171 and Mkurnali (Healers) Association

Mullah Vagif Akperov, Jumaat Mosque of Tbilisi and Union of Muslims in Georgia

Yason Aliev, Imam Khatib Tbilisi Mosque

Nika Tsereteli, Ministry of Justice

Tea Todadze, Patriarchate of Georgian Orthodox Church

Tsistino Gakhokidze, Culture of Lawfulness Program

Levan Ramishvili, Liberty Institute

Kakha Lomaia, Democracy Coalition

Nata Tsnoriashvili, US Embassy

George Tskhomelidze, secretary to the Archbishop, Roman Catholic Church of the Caucasus

Vili Grigorian, Armenian Apostolic Diocese of Georgia

Taiko Kokochashvili Academy for Educational Development (AED) Georgia Program

Diane Pohl Minott, AED Georgia Program

Bishop Malkhaz Songulashvili, Union of Evangelical Christian Baptist Churches in Georgia

3. Panel of NGO Leaders and Education Officials

Zurab Adeishvili, Parliament of Georgia

Paata Shotashvili, Tbilisi Secondary School #171 and Mkurnali Association

George Gakheladze, *24 Hours* newspaper

Merab Sanikidze, Ministry of Education

Vladimer Sanadze, Deputy Minister of Education

Manana Gorgaslidze, Ministry of Education

Davit Japaridze, Ministry of Education

Levan Ramishvili, Liberty Institute

Gigi Ugulava, Association for Legal Public Education

Mikheil Mindadze, Education Association/education advisor to Tbilisi municipality

Tamuna Khaldani, Young Lawyers Association and Street Law program

Ana Zhvania, Eurasia Foundation

Kote Vardzelashvili, British Council

George Papuashvili, Open Society-Georgia Foundation

Gia Gotua, Street Law

Manana Gurchumelidze, Solidarity Teachers' Union, Kutaisi

4. Panel of Teachers

Oliko Didebeli, School #18

Manana Andriadze, Demirelli College

Khatuna Burchuladze, Third Gymnasium

Marina Mosiashvili, School # 68

Daredjan Tskhomaria, School # 71

Irma Qardava, School #57

Tsitsino Gakhokidze, Tbilisi Pedagogical University and Culture of Lawfulness Program

Nino Zurabashvili, School # 51

Kasania Skhirtladze, School #51

Manana Gorgaslidze, Ministry of Education

Davit Japaridze, Ministry of Education

5. Concluding Panel

Gigi Tevzadze, professor of Political Sociology and Culture of Lawfulness Program

George Papuashvili, Open Society-Georgia Foundation

Sozar Subeliani, Radio Liberty

Davit Japaridze, Ministry of Education

Michael Chachkhunashvili, executive director, Open Society-Georgia Foundation

George Gakheladze, *24 Hours* newspaper

George Tskhomelidze, secretary to the Archbishop, Roman Catholic Church of the Caucasus

Avtandil Guruli, Bible Society

Niko Oniani, director, Corruption Research Center

Mariam Toidze, journalist and member of the Anticorruption Council

Rostom Samkharadze, Solidarity Teachers' Union

Manana Gurchumelidze, Solidarity Teachers' Union

Tsitsino Gakhokidze, Tbilisi Pedagogical University and Culture of Lawfulness Program

Rusudan Lortkipanidze, *Sakartvelos Respublika* newspaper and member of the Anticorruption Council

Maia Khasia, Penitentiary Department

Diane Pohl Minott, AED Georgia Program

Barbara Swann, US Department of Justice

Malkhaz Songulashvili, Union of Evangelical Christian Baptist Churches in Georgia

Vili Grigorian, Armenian Apostolic Diocese of Georgia

The Georgian Anticorruption Policy Coordination Council

Kakha Ugulava – Secretary

Tamar Bichikashvili – Deputy Head of the Chamber of Control

Gia Getzadze – Lawyer

Manana Gigineishvili – MP from the Citizens' Union of Georgia party

Giorgi Isakadze – Deputy State Minister

Gucha Kvaratskhelia – Doctor of Linguistics, Director of the Institute of Linguistics of the Georgian Academy of Sciences

Rusiko Lortkipanidze – Deputy Editor of the *Sakartvelos Respublika* (Republic of Georgia) newspaper

Nikoloz Oniani – Director of the Corruption Research Center (an NGO)

Givi Targamadze – Journalist, Liberty Institute

Gigi Tevzadze – Professor of Sociology, Chavchavadze State University, and Culture of Lawfulness program

Mariam Toidze – Journalist

Lasha Zhvania – Deputy Minister of Finance

The School-Based Culture of Lawfulness Course

Translated by Tamuna Bregvadze.

This is the table of contents of the course piloted by 22 teachers in 2001-2002 and 2002-2003. A revised version is being taught in more than 150 schools in 2003-2004.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Translated by Tamuna Bregvadze.

Decree # 174 of the Minister of Education of Georgia
On teaching the Culture of Lawfulness course in secondary schools
Tbilisi, September 5, 2003

In order to bring up students in the spirit of lawfulness and struggle against corruption and criminality:

1. Starting in 2003, Tbilisi secondary schools # 18, 23, 51, 57, 43, 60, 68, 71, 163, 171, 123, as well as the Tetvadze school, Tbilisi 5th gymnasium, the Batumi classical and academic gymnasiums, Senaki secondary school # 1, Gori secondary school #13 and Tianeti secondary school # 9 shall continue teaching the Culture of Lawfulness course. This course shall be introduced in the eighth grades of all the rest of Georgian secondary schools of Tbilisi, and two hours shall be allotted to it out of elective teaching hours.

2. The principals of the above-mentioned schools shall select teachers for the Culture of Lawfulness course and ensure that they attend the training according to the attached schedule.

3. The department of economics, information and forecasting (K. Khaindrava, director) and the department of accounting and analysis (Z. Iantbelidze, director) shall provide financial support to teach the "anti-criminal and anti-corruption course" in Tbilisi secondary schools # 18, 23, 51, 57, 43, 60, 68, 71, 163, 171, 123, Tetvadze school, Tbilisi 5th gymnasium, Batumi classical and academic gymnasiums, Senaki secondary school # 1, Gori secondary school #13 and Tianeti secondary school # 9 from the funds approved for the subprogram "introducing and piloting the anti-corruption and anti-criminality course" and envisaged by the central budget of 2003 (Calculations attached as annex 1). In other schools of Tbilisi, remuneration shall be made as for elective hours.

4. The department of primary and secondary education and children's rights (M. Sanikidze, director) shall be responsible for monitoring of implementation of the decree.

Alexandre Kartozia

Minister

Prepared by:

M. Sanikidze, Department of primary and secondary education and children's rights

Agreed with:

R. Gorgiladze, Deputy minister

T. Tatishvili, Deputy minister

K.Sudjashvili, Secondary education department

K.Khaindrava, Department of economics, information and forecasting

Z. Iantbelidze, Department of accounting and analysis

L.Chipashvili, Chief legal adviser

Training of Trainers (TOT) Seminar Schedule

Gigi Tevzadze and Heath Grant, Seminar Coordinators
Tbilisi, Georgia
August 23-25, 2003

Saturday, August 23

9:00-10:00	Introduction • Objectives of the COL education program • Objectives of the TOT seminar
10:00-10:30	Discussion: How to Teach to Colleagues
10:30-10:45	Break
10:45-12:00	Trainers' Responsibilities as Coaches, Mentors, and Process Evaluators
12:00-1:00	Discussion of the rationale and structure of the four 2-hour presentations. Then trainers split into their groups and begin outlining their presentations.
1:00-2:00	Lunch
2:00-3:00	Groups plan their presentations. By 3pm, each group has produced an outline.
3:00-4:20	Continue work on presentations. One at a time, groups discuss their outlines with co-coordinators (20 minutes per group).
4:20-4:40	Break
4:40-6:00	Groups make needed revisions and finalize their presentations. Co-coordinators circulate (about 20 minutes per group, as needed) to offer suggestions. By 6pm, each of the four presentations is completely planned.

Sunday, August 24

9:00-11:00	Presentation #1: Key Concepts of COL (2 hours)
11:00-11:30	Break
11:30-12:30	Discussion of Presentation #1
12:30-1:30	Lunch
1:30-3:30	Presentation #2: Bridging the Four Sections of the COL Curriculum
3:30-3:45	Break
3:45-4:45	Discussion of Presentation #2
4:45-5:00	Break
5:00-6:00	Discussion and Exercise on How to Teach Pedagogy:

- Review of cognitive and affective goals of COL course.
- Discussion of barriers to these goals and techniques that work to overcome them.
- Mini-exercise: How to present these pedagogical techniques to teachers.

Monday, August 25

9:00-11:00	Presentation #3: Problem Solving Methods (2 hours)
11:00-11:30	Break
11:30-12:30	Discussion of Presentation #3
12:30-1:30	Lunch
1:30-3:30	Presentation #4: Difficult Questions
3:30-4:30	Discussion of Presentation #4
4:30-4:45	Break
4:45-6:00	Concluding Discussion and Seminar Evaluation

- To what extent did this seminar accomplish the trainers' goals?
- Which methods or exercises used in the seminar were the most helpful? The least?
- Review of trainers' year-round mentoring role.
- Do trainers feel prepared to carry out their training and mentoring roles?
- What support do they expect from program coordinators and the MOE in order to be effective trainers and mentors?

The Inter-Religious Council of Georgia to Prevent Crime and Corruption and Promote Social Harmony (IRC)

Father Giorgi Chachava – Archpriest and Father Superior, St. Panteleimon of the Healer Georgian Orthodox Church of Tbilisi

Bishop Malkhaz Songulashvili – President of Baptist Churches in Georgia

Vili Grigorian – Adviser to the Armenian Apostolic Diocese of Georgia

Mullah Vagif Akperov – Jumaat Mosque of Tbilisi and Union of Muslims in Georgia

Monsignor Giuseppe Pasotto – Bishop of Roman Catholic Church in Georgia

Gerhard Hummel – Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Georgia.

IRC Mission Statement

Translated by Tamuna Bregvadze.

We, religious leaders, have founded the Inter-Religious Council with an aim to contribute to establishment of a moral, lawful, and harmonious relationship between the citizens of Georgia and all the people living on the territory of Georgia. We, as religious leaders, have no doubt in denouncing the widespread sins of crime and corruption as incompatible with the Gospel and with the principles of a harmonious, moral and lawful society.

We, religious leaders, commit ourselves to striving for the good of all nations living in Georgia by raising awareness about pernicious consequences of crime and corruption through spiritual, moral and cultural education.

This principle is equally shared between all religious organizations belonging to the council. Through actions and words and preaching, we will combine our efforts toward reducing the scale of crime and corruption. We'll try our best to persuade and convert people as well as to protect them from choosing the wrong path. There is a possibility of redemption for all.

Religious leaders and organizations will study the destructive implications of crime and corruption on the economic, social and spiritual development of Georgian citizens. Religious organizations will share this knowledge systematically with local leaders, as well as among clergy, congregations and population through seminars, Sunday schools, the media and preaching in our congregations.

Translated by Tamuna Bregvadze.

"CONGREGATIONS SHOULD HAVE MORE RIGHTS"

Excerpts from a roundtable interview with IRC members
published in *24 Hours,* May 10, 2003

Gigi Tevzadze, Culture of Lawfulness Program

An interview was published recently in one of the newspapers, where a priest gives interesting answers to the questions of a journalist. For example, the journalist asks: "Is it sinful to think that building churches using [donations of] stolen money is inadmissible?" The [priest's] answer is: "Yes, it is sinful. Judas said to Lazarus: 'Why do you use expensive incense? You had better sell it for 300 drachmas and give it out to the poor.' But Judas did not care about the poor, he did not want this money to reach God. That's why one should not talk this way."

Georgian Orthodox Archpriest George Chachava

Sin and repentance are complex concepts. I think there should exist a permanent commission in the church—a representative body, which would make decisions either to accept or reject an offering.

Bishop Malkhaz Songulashvili, Evangelical Christian Baptist Churches in Georgia

"Do the ends always justify the means?" We can view the problem from this angle. As for corruption in churches: religion does not support corruption, but it deals with human beings. If there are humans, there is also a temptation of corruption. Among the twelve Apostles of Christ, one was corrupt. All religions face this danger. The bigger a religion grows, the greater the danger. Corruption flourishes when we close our eyes to it.

Georgian Orthodox Archpriest Basil Kobakhidze

The scale of corruption in churches is wide. Clergymen respect rich people and thieves; the profanation of values is evident at all levels of the hierarchy. That's why it is possible

to “buy” a Georgian priest for 500 dollars. The interview mentioned earlier is an outcome of this. It is our Georgian “Christian casuistry” to say, “That money was stolen from that man, but his money will reach God.”

There are no qualifications or criteria defined for clergymen. A priest can be a former driver, a nephew, or a neighbor of one of the bishops. A 20-year-old, uneducated young man becomes a priest . . . he gets a new car in a week, and accepts donations from rich people. His education doesn’t matter at all. That’s why some clergymen have an extremely negative impact on our society.

Let me quote the answer of a priest, which was published in a newspaper under the heading, “What can you tell us, Father?”

Question: “What can you tell us, Father, about the fact that our priests have expensive cars?”

Answer: “Those who ask this question have never sought God. Is it not better that your priest have a good car? If he did not have one, he would spend time repairing it.” In the same article the same priest says that dinosaurs never existed.

Once the Church was given some tax concessions, lots of organizations were established for making money. This is because of a lack of culture, since the lack of culture and education makes a favorable ground for both fanaticism and moral deviance.

Gigi Tevzadze

Your words lead us to the conclusion that nothing has changed in the Church for centuries. Ordinary people do not see a difference between the sacrament of the Church and its organizational side.

Malkhaz Songulashvili

The issue of social responsibility of the church should be raised. There are two important obligations included in the New Testament: the verbal proclamation of the will of God, and social responsibility. The Gospel preaches for the Kingdom of Heaven. The

Kingdom of Heaven is peace, justice and joy. The Church should not diverge from social responsibility.

Basil Kobakhidze

From the legal point of view, the Church is a hierarchal structure; it is not democratic. It is ruled by Bishops, the head of whom is the Patriarch. It is their prerogative to prevent or punish those who violate church norms and rules by using the levers of Canon law. Another issue is when hostile forces manipulate this huge mechanism of ideological power, as happened during the Soviet times. The Patriarch cannot deal with Bishops whom he blessed under the pressure of such forces. There is a candle business and a church plate business. Church plate comes from Russia for free to be sold later here in Georgia, but only certain organizations get these privileges. Has anyone ever paid attention to "the message" the Georgian Church currently spreads? There are about 40 kinds of Church transactions, and terrible things are published there.

George Chachava

There was a time when congregations decided who should become a priest. Congregations are an integral part of the Church. Transparency is important. A congregation should be present at the process of opening moneyboxes. We should decide together how to spend this money. Spending Church money this way is not corruption. The congregation should play a more active role in Church life. The Church is nothing without its congregation.