The Effects of NATO Integration Process on the Military Professionalism of the Georgian Defence Forces

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Abstract

The present dissertation deals with the military professionalism of the Georgian Defence Forces. By drawing the insights from the theory, the research builds on the analysis of the key components shaping the profession of arms, namely responsibility, expertise and corporateness. Existing literature on military professionalism is dominated by studying the issue of subordination between military and civilian leadership. However, this dissertation takes relatively less explored perspective. First, it engages with the intrinsic case study of Georgia which has been neglected in the wider civil-military research regardless of the increased focus on the post-socialist space and the democratisation process in the 1990s. Due to its hybrid military system co-shaped by the existence of the external threat and the country's willingness to contribute to international security, analysing the transformation of the Georgian Defence Forces professional capabilities prove to be valuable for comprehending how contemporary complexity of the security environment challenges the traditional understanding of the military professionalism. Second, the research devotes the central attention to the determinants and sources of the professionalism itself. Third, where possible, it assesses the role of NATO integration which is useful to enrich the theory of military professionalism by reflection on how the norm transplantation and standards diffusion happen through multinational cooperation. The dissertation analyses how the state-centric perception of military responsibility and primary focus on national defence have shifted through changing demands of international security. It also looks at the interoperability of Georgian Defence Forces with NATO standards that are achieved through military training and education programmes, serving as the primary source of

military expertise. Last but not least, the widened scope of corporateness is addressed in the context of multinational comradeship and the importance of common understanding of the rules of war. Combining various methods of qualitative analyses such as face-to-face interviews with key Georgian and foreign practitioners and experts of defence sector in Georgia, content analysis of the major strategic documents published by the Ministry of Defence of Georgia and NATO, as well as the syllabi of the academic programmes at National Defence Academy enabled diverse complementary data which also helps to decrease the research bias in case study method.

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Acronyms

CMR	Civil-Military Relations
CTC	Combat Training Centre
DIBS	Defence Institutional Building School
EU	European Union
GAF	Georgian Armed Forces
GDF	Georgian Defence Forces
GTEP	Georgia Train and Equip Programme
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ISAB	International Security Assistance Board
JTEC	Joint Training and Evaluation Centre
KFOR	Kosovo Force
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoD	Ministry of Defence
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDA	National Defence Academy
NMS	National Military Strategy
NRF	NATO Response Force
NSC	National Security Concept
ODE	Officer Directing the Exercise
OSCE in Europe	Organization for Security and Co-operation
PDP	Professional Development Programme
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TAD	Threat Assessment Document

1. Introduction

1.1 The Problem Statement and Research Goals

The main focus of the present dissertation is the military professionalism of the Georgian Defence Forces (formerly known as Georgian Armed Forces). Military professionalism stands at the core of the civil-military relations (CMR) and encompasses the study of military expertise, responsibility, and corporateness (Huntington, 1957). The primary function of the profession of the arms is "the ordered application of the force in the resolution of a social or a political problem" (Swain & Pierce, 2017:15). The most basic task of the military is defending the society, territory and national interests of a country. However, as rightly argued by Peter Feaver (1999), overshadowing the conventional threats by non-traditional ones has resulted in the convergence between the civilian and military functions. Despite the diversified roles, the profession of arms is still unique in its nature and differs from other occupations by specific technical knowledge, doctrine, group coherence, complex institutional structures and formal educational path for developing peculiar expertise (Swain & Pierce, 2017:19).

In relation to the military professionalism, the civil-military relations research has traditionally been more concerned to study the interconnection between the professionalism and subordination (Huntington, 1957; Janowitz, 1960: Finer, 1962) rather than exploring the drivers of its individual indicators. Consequently, military professionalism remains insufficiently understood. In addition, historical developments have periodically altered the research focus to different geographic regions. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the newly independent states with young armies have provided a surge to study the effects

of democratisation (Cottey et al, 2002; Forster et al, 2005) and the role of the international actors, mostly North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). Most of the scholarly attention was diverted towards the Central European States (as a region), as well as Russia and Ukraine (as individual cases). The interest to study the issue in the Central European States, namely the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary derived from the transformational reforms driven by their accession into NATO and the EU. On the other hand, Russia and Ukraine inherited most of the Soviet defence capabilities making them interesting cases to explore (Betz, 2002). Respective literature neglects the events taking place in the South Caucasian countries in spite of the number of military coups and internal or external conflicts that still define the security and defence policies in the region. The following work aims to enrich the existing literature by studying the relatively less explored case of Georgian Defence Forces (GDF). Not only it represents the first attempt of identifying the key characteristics of the Georgian military professionalism, but the research also brings in the focus on the effects of the NATO cooperation in order to delineate the role of international actors in diffusing professional norms and standards globally.

Comprehensive understanding of the scale of transformation of the Georgian military professionalism requires the overview of the historical processes in order to make the comparative analyses of the initial and current characteristics. Building the security and defence system in Georgia took place in parallel with the internal ethnic conflicts, power rivalries and societal cleavages. The cooperation with international organizations has served as both an end and the means to overcome the Soviet military heritage in terms of

technology and human resources (Pataraia, 2010). In addition to the general democratisation process, NATO integration has been one of the most influential drivers of the Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Georgia. Such influence derives from Georgia's aspiration of NATO membership, therefore a willingness to be fully compatible and interoperable with the NATO Standard Operating Procedures (SOP). This goal represents the consensus between the Georgian society, political leadership and professional defence forces. Regardless of the limitations of a single case study method in terms of the generalisation of the data, connecting the major findings with the general theory can also be applicable for other NATO membership seeking countries.

1.2 The Research Question

The research tries to answer the question of how and by using which tools has NATO integration process contributed to transforming the military professionalism of the Georgian Defence Forces. Thus the components of the profession of arms, namely expertise, responsibility and corporateness represent the dependent variables, while the NATO integration comes in as an independent variable. Some aspects of the military professionalism are based on the abstract attitudes which challenge the operationalisation of the given variables, however theoretical framework attempts to identify the key determinants of each component in order to create the logical organization of the research findings.

1.3 Relevance and Contribution to the Academic Literature

The Georgian case is intrinsic due to its hybrid military system co-shaped by the existence of the external threat and the country's willingness to contribute to international security. Russian influence over the frozen conflicts in two

breakaway regions of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali (South Ossetia) regions, also resulting in the Russo-Georgian War of 2008, greatly defines the current security agenda with the emphasis on the territorial defence capabilities. On the other hand, Georgia has also acquired postmodern military characteristics through democratization processes and committed itself to be a contributor to world peace by active participation in the international peace-keeping missions. The decision to engage with the latter, however, has been a vigilant process in order not to alarm society about the state's ability to first ensure the security of its own citizens. Secondly, as a non-member state, Georgia is not abode by NATO Standard Operational Procedures, however, it is one of the most approximated partners, willing to be fully interoperable with NATO forces. Thus, studying the effects of NATO engagement with Georgia can further highlight the dynamics of international norms diffusion in the military sphere.

Presented dissertation studies the well-researched topic of military professionalism; however, its different approach and selection of the case promise the valuable findings that can be of interest to the defence sector practitioners in Georgia, as well as the NATO representatives in order to develop better practices and tools for advancing military professionalism. For the benefits of academia, the dissertation fills into the gap of civil-military studies in relation to military professionalism. First, it suggests analysing the military expertise in broader terms taking into account the needs of the current security environment; It also challenges the dominant state-centric understanding of the military's responsibility in terms of national defence. Last but not least, the extended area of responsibility also results in a wider circle of comradeship bringing in the challenges of

military cohesion. In terms of assessing the benefits of the study towards Georgia itself, it should be mentioned that existing literature only superficially engages with the reforms concerning the democratic oversight of the armed forces, with the emphasis on the institutional and legislative changes. Alternatively, the present research takes a different approach to enrich the study of military professionalism by directly referring to the expertise, purpose, values, and code of conduct characterizing the Georgian Defence Forces. Analysing the aspects of military professionalism rather than looking at the technical military readiness capabilities provides a better picture in terms of Georgia's long-term vision regarding the purpose of its military. While technical equipment and military infrastructure greatly define the strength, they are not sufficient to assess the effectiveness of the defence forces. The quality assurance of military training and education that leads to enhanced military professionalism ensures the sustainability of the military culture.

1.4 Brief History of NATO-Georgia Cooperation

NATO-Georgia cooperation starts shortly after gaining independence from the Soviet Union, however, the nature of the initial partnership was limited due to the weakness of Georgian state institutions, internal conflicts and relatively low priority of the South Caucasian countries on NATO political agenda (Darchiashvili & Magnum, 2019). Starting from 1999, Georgian political leadership has widened the military responsibilities to the area of international security by sending the small unit in NATO's mission in Kosovo-KFOR. The democratisation process in the post-Rose Revolution period provided greater incentives for NATO to pay more attention to Georgia's Euro-Atlantic aspirations (Darchiashvili & Magnum, 2019). Consequently, NATO intensified its engagement in terms of assisting to improve

the democratic oversight of the armed forces, enhance military education and training programs, and capacity building of the Ministry of Defence and General Staff. In order to coin its status not only as a recipient of the international partnership benefits but the contributor to global peace and security, Georgia has increased the representation in peacekeeping missions both quantitatively and qualitatively (Mayer, 2017).

Current cooperation surrounds the implementation of the NATO-Georgia Substantial Package (SNGP) given at Wales Summit in 2014. With an upgrade at 2016 Warsaw Summit, SNGP consists of 14 initiatives, namely: NATO-Georgia Joint Training and Evaluation Centre (JTEC), Defence Institutional Building School (DIBS), Logistic Capability Development, Intelligence Sharing and Secure Communications, Aviation, Air Defence, Special Operations Forces, Military Police, Acquisition, Maritime Security, Cyber Security, Strategic Communications, Crisis Management, and Counter Mobility. Strategic and operational planning initiative was successfully closed in October 2017 (Ministry of Defence of Georgia official website, www.mod.gove.ge).

The present dissertation argues that both the existence and practical aspects of NATO cooperation serves as the major driver of the transformation of the Georgian military professionalism. It is challenging to separate the direct effects of the NATO integration from the outcomes of the general democratization processes; however, presented dissertation attempts to trace the evolution of the Georgian strategic thinking towards its military and parallels it with the particular NATO programs. It also tries to make a distinction to what extent the outcomes were achieved through specific

programs, rather than Georgia's interest to modernize to NATO standards without much direction from the Alliance.

1.5 Research Methodology and Limitations

For decades, due to issues of transparency, access to the information related to Georgian security and defence institutions has only been a privilege which explains the lack of studies on Georgian military culture and traditions. Transparency and providing access to public information has become the priority through the most recent Strategic Communication Document published by the Ministry of Defence (2017-2020). Such an approach has provided an opportunity for researchers to study previously unexplored, however critical issues. The following research has been possible through the openness of the Ministry of Defence, NATO Liaison Office in Georgia and Georgian security experts to provide their knowledge and expertise through face-to-face interviews. Correspondingly, the research analysis is based on 16 semi-structured interviews with diverse research participants providing complementary information. For a better understanding of the military attitudes towards professional development, the content of 8 additional video interviews published by the NATO Liaison Office in Georgia and Sova media agency is further processed. Moreover, the research analyses the key strategic documents published by the Georgian Government and NATO that are more or less concerned with the development of military professionalism. For the comprehensive understanding of the expertise component, National Defence Academy of Georgia has provided the syllabi of the academic programmes through the formal request of a researcher.

However, as one of the novices in the study of Georgian military professionalism, the presented dissertation comes

with its limitations. The core characteristics of military professionalism can best be analysed through a study where a generalizable number of military personnel represent the direct research participants. Nonetheless, limited recourses for the presented dissertation could not support such a massive project. Instead, the findings are dominated by elite civilian and military perceptions. To address the issue, triangulation of all the other available resources has enabled the flow of diverse complementary data.

1.6 Structure of the Dissertation

In order to establish the key indicators in the study of Georgian military professionalism, the research first lays out the theoretical foundations of the profession of arms. The literature review also devotes the special attention to identify the most important sources of professionalism, thus addresses the internal and external factors, as well as the particular institutions, such as military academies that are concerned with professional development. After setting out a methodological framework, the research delves into analysing responsibility, expertise and corporateness in separate chapters. Each of these chapters expands on the additional indicators of professionalism and delineates the effects of specific NATO programmes on their evolution, leading to the analysis of how these findings correspond to the wider theory of the military professionalism. Conclusion further explains the interconnectedness of the expertise, responsibility and corporateness with a critical assessment of the role of NATO over the identified changes in the Georgian military professionalism.

2. Theory of Military Professionalism

The following chapter lays out the theoretical foundation of military professionalism. First, it overviews the major academic literature and contrasts the concepts of "old and new professionalism". Old professionalism is based on the absolutist understanding which claims that the core of the military profession remains unchanged over time and in different places (Huntington, 1957), while new professionalism calls for taking the constructivist approach according to which the professionalism is dynamic and evolves through changing political, economic and social contexts (Janowitz, 1961; Sarkesian, 1981). The second part then moves to suggest the working definitions of the core components of the military professionalism, namely responsibility, expertise, and corporateness. In order to find similar determinants in the context of Georgian Defence Forces, the chapter also identifies the major sources of military professionalism with a key focus on the academic institutions and international assistance. The last part further points out the existing gaps in the academic literature and suggests the ideas for further scholarly contributions.

2.1 Literature Review on Military Professionalism

Not only the core components of military professionalism have widely been argued, but the field has also been surrounded by a discussion about whether military affairs is a profession or simply a vocation. Theo Farrel (2005) noted that professionalization of the officer corps starting from the 17th century led to worldwide institutionalization of collective beliefs about appropriate military forms and practices. Recognition as a profession requires an understanding of the mission and the particular type of competences among servicemen who undertake it. Classical works on the military profession, including the ones by

Huntington, Janowitz, and Abrahamsson relied on the features such as the organization of the occupation, education of the members, benefits and service to society, shared professional ethics (in Snider & Watkins, 2000: 1). Nowadays the status of the military as a profession is widely accepted (Harris-Jenkins, 1990: 118). Professionalism builds on the acceptance of duty, responsibility and the service to the society. Professionalization plays a major role in how norms of conventional warfare are diffused around the world and reproduced by the militaries of developing states (Farrel, 2005: 465). The diffusion often involves an officer being sent for training in foreign military academies, and foreign military advisers, military literature, and equipment being received.

The concept of military professionalism captures both necessary and desirable modernisation of the armed forces (Evetts, 2003). According to Durkheim (1992), professionalism is an expression of the moral community that draws on occupational membership. Marshall (1950, cited in Evetts, 2003) points out the altruistic character and the role of professionals to bulwark against the threats to democracy. Even earlier, Tawney (1921, cited in Evetts, 2003) argues that professionalism turns the rampant individualism to the benefits of society needs.

Scholarly literature on the theory of military professionalism started with the dominance of the absolutist approach, according to which the purpose of the profession of arms remains unchanged in time and place. The most famous protagonist of this claim is Samuel Huntington. His 1957 book "Soldier and the State" takes the normative approach to military professionalism, arguing that the ultimate purpose of the military is to secure the main liberties of the individuals.

He differentiates between "subjective" and "objective" control and suggests that there is a gap between military and civilian imperatives (Huntington, 1981). The gap can be widened if the attitudes of the society towards military ("societal imperative") clash with the military's responsibility to secure the national security of the state ("functional imperative") (Kucera, 2012: 3). Huntington argues that military professionalism is the main precondition for the "objective control" and it requires internalizing the duty to serve the goals of the civilians. Huntington takes the absolutist approach by asserting that military professionalism is universal and does not change in time and place. Its primary function remains around managing violence by having the exclusive ownership of the right of using lethal force.

One of the first scholars to challenge the absolutist view of military professionalism is Morris Janowitz who takes a sociological perspective. Janowitz (1960) underlines the importance of studying military culture, the relationship between the nature of military service and society, as well as the effectiveness of the individual soldiers in combat units. Janowicz introduces the concept of "constabulary force", bringing forward a "citizen in uniform" idea in order to reflect the changing nature of the contemporary conflicts (in Shields, 2006: 564). He argues that professional soldiers should change how they view themselves as mercenaries and perceive themselves as citizen-soldiers instead (in Burk, 2002: 12). Janowitz considers that the citizen-soldier model should be preserved by voluntary national military service and by programs of political education that can link the professional training of soldiers to national and transnational purposes. (Burk, 2002: 14). In contrast to Huntington,

Janowitz argued that professionalism is dynamic and it adapts to new sociological conditions (in Owens, 2010).

Even though Huntington and Janowitz both set the foundations for understanding military professionalism, they primarily focus on analysing the interrelation between professionalism and military's subordination to the civilian leadership. Alternative perspective has been developed by Rebecca Schiff who dismissed the question of who should control and instead suggested that three partners, namely military, civilian elites and society should achieve a concordance regarding four major issues: social composition of the officers, political decision-making process, the recruitment methods and military-style (in Owens, 2010: 16). Her "concordance theory" studies cultural factors which include values, attitudes, and symbols that shape not only how the nation views the role of its military but also the military's self-image (Schiff, 1995). These factors are shaped by unique historical experiences.

Starting from the 1980s, the scholarly literature on military professionalism is characterised by call for conceptualising "new professionalism". Sam C Sarkesian (1981) is one of the most influential authors arguing in favour of redefining the military professionalism. According to him, absolutist understanding of the military professionalism is inapplicable in the modern era, as it neglects the dimensions addressing political-social determinants, as well as the recognition of the contingencies that are rooted in political-military and social considerations. Sarkesian suggests three prepositions. First, despite the variety of roles that military plays nowadays, the primary function of the military to win wars remains unchanged. However, ways and means to achieve this goal have changed. Second, military professionalism cannot fully

be studied without wider political context through which it evolves. Third, military professionalism and civil-military relations are greatly connected. The values and beliefs forming military professionalism determine the role of the military in society. These values establish the "boundaries of military behaviour and professional posture towards civilian leadership" (Sarkesian, 1981: 285).

Adam Stepan (1988:3) also supports the concept of "new professionalism", arguing that the scope of the military's actions is not limited to managing the violence. Dealing with external and internal conflicts results in different levels of the force application. While there is no need for limiting the violence against the external threat in the name of defence (however still abiding International Humanitarian Law), application of violence in domestic conflicts is limited to maintaining law and order. That is why military professionalism is a wider concept encompassing expertise in political, social and economic matters as well. In modern conflicts management of violence represents the small aspect of military tasks. Therefore Janowitz's idea of a constabulary force that is committed to minimum use of force comes as a more acceptable model (Herries-Jenkins, 1990: 120).

The "new professionalism" has become the popular approach taking into account the new security and political agenda derived from the end of Cold War, the emergence of terrorism issues, and an increased role of governmental alliances and non-governmental organizations (Shields, 1995). Nielson (2005: 65) has taken a similar approach and argued that the effectiveness of the armed forces varies by changing the environment and available resources. According to Carnes Lord (2015: 72-73), professional jurisdictions can also change over time and they are subject

to negotiations both horizontally with competing organizations and vertically with higher authority.

2.2. Operationalisation

As already noted, understanding of military professionalism often requires measuring the abstract attitudes which challenge the operationalization of the key terms. The following research is based on analysing three core components of military professionalism, namely responsibility, expertise, and corporateness. This trinity was first suggested by Samuel Huntington and the selection of the categorisation stems from its simplistic character. However, in contrast to Huntington's definition of the nature of these indicators, the dissertation follows the argumentation of the "new professionalism".

Working Definition of Military Responsibility: Military responsibility refers to officers' call for serving the public interest with honour, thus it encompasses the vertical relations within the military ranks and wider civil-military hierarchy, as well as developing strong horizontal relations with society it serves. Military responsibility also defines the areas of engagement to provide national, regional and international security.

Working Definition of Military Expertise: In addition to exclusive right of managing conflict through the use of violent force, military expertise also refers to understanding the general conditions for employing such force. Commitment to the minimal use of force in international peace-support missions diversified means of achieving the mission objectives. The professional knowledge is transmitted through military training and education programmes.

Working Definition of Military Corporateness: Military corporateness refers to common consciousness and a feeling of belonging to a distinct body that has its own formal professional standards and competence. It is a form of comradeship and mutual support based on trust and cohesion. Soldiers develop a sense of shared purpose, team membership, technical and practical proficiency that builds professional collegiality. Military corporateness is an outcome of discipline, existence of fair recruitment and personnel management system, as well as ability to communicate effectively.

Before delving into the research findings, each chapter first suggests more detailed elaboration of the observed indicators.

2.3. Sources of Professionalism

Most part of academic literature revolves around military academies as a source for acquiring components of professionalism. According to Tommy Ross (2018: 2), military professionalism can be accomplished through different tools, such as classroom education, tactical unit training, military-to-military exchanges, joint exercises, and institutional capacity building. Scholars stress the importance of military academies that educate future officers, transfer skills and knowledge needed for performing their missions (Toronto, 2016: 859). Military academies draw recruits into the military common culture and promote shared attitudes and memories. Since there is a clear link between professionalism and military education, many countries have established institutions of this purpose. They improve the structure and increase the effectiveness of the armed forces (Bohmelt et al, 2018, 1-2). Clare Vonwald (2017) has done the comparative analyses of the national styles of military

education on the examples of Canada, USA, China, Singapore, Georgia, and NATO. According to her, military academies ensure "ethical, social and intellectual development of Armed Forces personnel and the accumulation of a significant professional knowledge to deal with the broad range of leadership and staff responsibilities throughout the full spectrum of military activities that can be anticipated during an individual's career". Military academies provide expertise, cognitive and social capacity and professional ideology.

Among external factors, advice received from powerful international actors deserves a scholarly attention. While bilateral programs have been popular across the transatlantic area, empowered international organizations have promoted multilateral partnerships and cooperation in the defence sector. International organizations are thus the primary international reference points in terms of providing models, practical advice, and political pressure for the reform of civil-military relations (Cottey, 2005: 294). However, as Tommy Ross (2018:3) notes, "professionalization cannot be forced upon an unwilling partner. It should be regarded as a joint project guided by the military leadership of all involved stakeholders".

External advice has mostly been visible in the context of the democratization process in Central and Eastern Europe in the post-Cold War era where the transitional period has been influenced by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and European Union (EU). Professionalism is sometimes a function of external choices, for example, accession policy. States seeking the membership of these organizations achieved significant progress in improving military professionalism (Cottey et al, 2002:42-44). The principle of conditionality for the membership raised the

importance of defence and security and the need for improving civilian management of these sectors. Security sector reform (SSR) required dismissing the communist political education, a new constitution that formalized the control of democratically elected civilian authorities over the armed forces (Cottey et al, 2008: 287).

Various scholars have dedicated their research to individual cases or comparative analyses of Central and Eastern European States, such as Czech Republic, Slovakia (Korba, 2001), Poland (Simon, 2005), Hungary (Hitrov, 2004), Ukraine (Betz, 2002), Russia (Ulrich, 1996; Moran, 1999; Barany, 2008), South-Eastern European States (Sava, 2003). Thus gradual accession to the NATO and EU from 1999 to 2007 was a symbol of the completion of their post-communist transition (Cottey et al, 2008: 288).

Modern crisis management operations have expanded the roles of armed forces. As a result, the military serves as only one aspect of a comprehensive approach. Since they are not capable of performing civilian tasks, they require the assistance of other agencies to fill the humanitarian gaps. Due to this complexity, NATO and the EU have stressed the importance of maintaining civil-military cooperation in their strategic policies (Mazurkiewicz, 2014: 131-137).

NATO's commitment towards collective defence has set the standard for interoperability of equipment, operating procedures, command, and control. However, with an extended area of competences envisioning the international peace protector status, NATO has also been important in promoting the values and norms of the transatlantic security community beyond the member states. Assuming that these activities are not preluded to making a larger unified state, they pose novel problems about how militaries work to

protect and sustain democratic values in a transnational context (Burk, 2002: 20). The Alliance has developed mechanisms of policy transfer (Born et al, 2002: 15). Partnership for Peace (PfP) program has been an important instrument to support the reforms. The NATO undertakes missions with other states and shares the values, norms without promising the membership. NATO runs educational military programs that are implemented at both national and international levels. These programmes include the training for overseas personnel, language training courses and NCO training, exchange programs, exercise in crisis management, command post and field training exercises, conferences and high-level meetings (Born et al, 2002: 17).

In light of the absence of conflict in the borders of the Alliance, participation in NATO peacekeeping missions provides the major practical experience to the militaries of both member and non-member states. Military forces are often integrated at certain levels in NATO and take the attributes of internationals. Thus the military and other state institutions will sometimes thrive to move their state apparatus in a more cosmopolitan direction (Pugh, 2001: 6). NATO has a facilitation role to set the standards and highlight best Professional Military Education (PME) practice across the member states. Transferability is an important feature to maintain according to the Bologna process in Europe.

2.4 Research Gaps and Agenda for Further Research

This chapter has overviewed a wide range of literature regarding military professionalism, its implications for civil-military relations and its origins. Peter Feaver in his 1999 article argues that studying the linkage between professionalism and military subordination to civil control should be abandoned (p 235-236). However, this does not

mean that the issue of professionalism is less important than ever. Instead of seeking for the ideal type, prescribed model research should now go beyond the state-centric theory and involve transnational cooperation and their effects on the parameters of professionalism such as expertise, corporateness and responsibility.

To tackle the modern security challenges, troops are deployed to crisis management situations, fighting against terrorism and drug-trafficking. These missions go beyond the traditional understanding of the military's role. Post-modern militaries - a term coined by Moskos, Williams, and Segal (2000) are closer to Janowitz's idea of a constabulary force. Stepan's critical engagement with Huntington to widen the concept of expertise due to the military's changing tasks in internal conflicts is insufficient. Parameters of professionalism need to be redefined in the context of international troop deployments that are committed to a minimal use of force.

Comprehensive efforts to resolve contemporary conflicts have demonstrated a cooperative character of different international civilian and military actors working for a common purpose. Thus, the study of the interrelation between professionalism and civilian control gains more international dimension. Since the modern security environment requires different kind of culture, training, and skills (Shields, 1995: 566), it is important to study how the diffusion of military norms and standards takes place at international level.

Another gap in military professionalism studies is based on the geographic areas it focuses on. More than 60 years of CMR research has accumulated the knowledge on most of the countries worldwide, however, the studies have been

limited to specific periods and there has been a lack of follow-up research. The framework of ideas, principles, and norms that shape professional behaviour in liberal democracies has not been adequately explained or incorporated into the defence establishment of new democracies (Bland, 2001: 525). More relevant to this paper, the effects of democratization towards the armed forces have been studied on the example of Central and Eastern European States, however, research agenda has closed with the accession of Romania and Bulgaria in NATO and EU. Remaining Eastern European states, such as Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine have openly expressed their foreign policy aspirations and have joined multiple frameworks under both organizations. Since they go through conceptually similar integration process in Euro-Atlantic institutions they could benefit from studying how exactly the norms of professionalism has been diffused in pre-accession and post-accession periods (Bland, 2001: 526). While the integration of Visegrad countries, Baltic States, Romania, and Bulgaria served the strategic, yet symbolic purpose of integrating parts of the post-communist area, Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia are challenged by territorial disputes. Therefore the military professionalism in these countries is of particular interest as several external factors, such as the existence of foreign threat and approximation to the NATO and EU co-shape the discourse on standards of professionalism. This issue has not yet been given the amount of scholarly attention it deserves.

Biggest non-member contribution in terms of troop numbers in NATO mission in Afghanistan and deployment in EU's civilian missions in the Central African Republic and Mali make Georgia an interesting and relevant case to study how the professionalization of its armed forces is influenced in an international environment. Thus following analysis attempts

to identify the NATO-influenced parameters of professionalism, and widen the geographic area concerned research.

3. Research Methodology

This research comprises an exploratory (pilot) case study of the Georgian Defence Forces. According to Yin (1984:23), case study research method *"is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used."* Exploratory case studies provide the basis for larger-scale investigation by identifying the key questions and measurements through the initial study. Intrinsic case study method enables in-depth analyses, combining objective and subjective data for the comprehensive understanding of the issue. The case study allows a researcher to explore the topic more as the research evolves (Gerrig, 2004). Finding the intrinsic characteristics of a chosen case can shed light on the well-established theory and contribute to refining the key hypothesis.

3.1 Selection of the Case-Study and its Limitations

Selection of Georgian Defence Forces as the primary focus of the suggested research is well justified by the following reasons. First, Georgia is the largest non-member contributor to NATO peace-support missions that demonstrates the scale of commitment towards meeting the interoperability standards and provision of international peace and security. In addition, Georgia still faces the conventional security challenges with frozen conflicts. Hence, Georgia is a country where modern and post-modern army characteristics are coexistent. Based on this it can be argued that understanding of military professionalism, especially regarding the Army's

core missions and skills have undergone a transformation. Understanding of these dynamics is important to reassess the concepts of "old and new professionalism". On a more personal level, the interest towards the case study is driven by researcher's advantage to access the diverse sources about the topic deriving from linguistic capabilities and ability to utilise the knowledge of Georgian security system for the benefit of the comprehensive findings.

It is widely argued that case-studies are usually associated with some level of subjectivity and the researcher's bias. Because of the in-depth nature of the data, it is challenging to carry out large scale research which increases the concerns regarding validity and generalizability of the analyses (Yin, 1984). To avoid bias, the research uses triangulation, combining different types of research methods, as well as diverse data.

3.2 Face-to-Face Elite Interviews

Regardless of increased accountability and transparency of defence institutions in Georgia, existing academic literature lacks the diversity of both: authors and content. Limited publically available information about the Defence Forces mostly revolves around general discussion regarding the democratic oversight of the army. Therefore, in order to examine military professionalism, acquiring primary sources is essential. Since carrying out large-scale research involving a high number of respondents requires more institutional and financial support, this dissertation relies on the qualitative analyses of the face-to-face elite interviews. Conducting elite interviews enables a researcher to gather information from a sample of officials in order to make generalizable claims about all such officials' characteristics and decisions; discover a particular piece of information or getting hold of a particular document; inform or guide work that uses other

sources of data (Goldstein, 2004). The merits of doing elite interviews include the possibility of accessing high-quality information from individuals who either directly have been involved in policy-making or have studied the impacts of these policies over a long period of time. Semi-structural interviews provide an advantage to follow up with the questions and get a deeper understanding of the expressed ideas (Wengraf, 2001).

16 face-to-face interviews were conducted with the representatives of the Ministry of Defence, NATO Liaison Office and Georgian think-tanks (For full list of research participants, please refer to **Appendix 1: Research Participants**Appendix 1: Research Participants). The Department of Strategic Communications at MoD with the researcher's direct engagement in the process helped with the selection of the most appropriate research participants some of whom prefer not to be referred by name. The research participants include the high officials from General Staff of Georgian Defence Forces, Military Training and Education Command (J7), NATO-Georgia Joint Evaluation and Training Centre, the representatives of the National Defence Academy and Defence Institutional Building School. Based on their contribution, the study was enriched with an overview of the major defence reforms, challenges, as well as the used resources to support the implementation of the NATO programmes.

In addition to a government position, the representatives of the NATO Liaison Office have been interviewed. Their critical assessments of the effects of the NATO programmes and Georgian contribution to peacekeeping missions from an external perspective have been crucial to making the research more objective.

In addition, independent military experts and academicians were interviewed. Most of the civilian security and defence experts have previously held key government positions. Their contribution to the research can be enriching as it serves as a more critical source, covering the developments in a longer period of time.

The interview process was based on one-hour long semi-structured questions revolving around the personal opinion of the key achievements and challenges towards Georgian military professionalism over the past years, as well as the assessment of the deliverables of the NATO programmes. The questions have been tailored based on the nature of the institution the respondent represented (Please refer to **Appendix 2: The Draft of Interview Questions**Appendix 2: The Draft of Interview Questions for a draft of interview questions). While the interviews addressed a wide range of issues related to the Georgian Defence sector, the overall content still came with the limitation to get the most relevant data regarding the actual components of the professionalism itself. This is caused by the fact that most of the research participants represented elite whose opinions cannot be fully generalizable to the opinions, values, and attitudes of wider officer corps.

Regardless of the advantages elite interviews provide, the probability of a random error and non-random/systematic error has to be acknowledged. Random error is a sampling error and is the unavoidable to any research that tries to estimate a larger group's characteristics from a smaller number of units (Goldstein, 2002). The non-random error which is difficult to measure with precision is associated with elite interviews as well. Accessing to officials is more of an art than a science and in addition to professional timely approach, it requires the respondent's goodwill to agree on

the interview. The nonresponse rate is usually quite high when it comes to conducting elite interviews (Goldstein, 2002: 669). Government agencies are harder to access which may result in misbalance of the responses. However, in contrast to the stated assumptions, the non-response rate during the study trip to Georgia was very low. Active communication with the Department of Strategic Communications of the Ministry of Defence was a key to get timely access to the representatives of the subordinated institutions. As a result, the research has achieved a balance in terms of including diverse perspectives of the government, NATO and local think-tanks. Combining and analysing the information acquired from diverse sources has decreased the subjectivity of the data.

3.3 Discourse Analysis of the Video Interviews

As noted, the ideas and attitudes voiced by political and military elites cannot fully be generalised to the whole professional military establishment. Interviewing a large number of military officers went beyond the resource capabilities of the given dissertation. However, to partially resolve this issue, the video interviews published by the NATO Liaison Office in Georgia in cooperation with Sova media agency have been used as secondary sources. 8 interviews recorded with the officers of Georgian Defence Forces cover the personal motivations for military service, professional experiences and critical reflection on their importance, as well as the officers' kin relations with family, friends and colleagues. Since these videos are partially promotional in character, their validity can be questioned, however in light of the absence of other research data that expose the direct military attitudes makes their utilisation justifiable. Moreover, they can also be useful to find a link between political and military discourses.

3.4 Content Analysis

In addition to the elite interviews, the national strategic documents are analysed to track the evolution of the official strategic vision regarding the key components of military professionalism. Content analysis of the strategic documents allowed researching the nuances of the changing government's perceptions and societal trends. The analysis is based on the National Security Concepts of 2005 and 2011, National Military Strategy of 1997 and 2014, Threat Assessment Document of 2011, Strategic Defence Review 2017-2020, Minister's Vision and Directives 2017, 2018 and 2019, White Paper of 2017, The constitution of Georgia 1995, Millennium Vision 2000, BI-SC Collective Training and Exercise Directive (CT&ED) 075-003 and 075-007. Tracking the changes in these documents represents a useful tool to assess to what extent the actual military attitudes and practices are in line with the official state narrative. They prove to be especially useful to analyse the military responsibility and corporateness components of professionalism. Strategic documents are usually considered to be neutral in character as they are not legally binding, however, they still signal the key attitudes, priorities and goals regarding the defence sector development in domestic, regional and global contexts.

Furthermore, the syllabi of the academic programmes have been requested from the National Defence Academy of Georgia. In addition to the face-to-face interviews with the administrative personnel, an overview of the academic programmes proved to be valuable in terms of delineating the changing priorities, the influence of the multinational cooperation on the course content, as well as teaching and evaluation methods.

Overall, this case study cannot account for fully covering the development of military professionalism. Since it is one of the few papers of its kind on Georgia, understanding the elite opinion can serve as a good starting point that can later be followed by larger-scale research of the attitudes and values of the higher number of Officer Corps.

4. Military Responsibility of the Georgian Defence Forces

Responsibility component of the military professionalism affirms the military subordination to the civilian authority. It identifies the society as a client of the profession of arms which demands the officers' altruistic call for duty and honour (Moten, 2011:15). Historically the armed units have been used for both offensive and defensive purposes; however, with the emergence of more peaceful, the law-abiding international community, national defence has become the primary function of the militaries. Nevertheless, the responsibilities of the contemporary military expand to a wider area, namely to ensuring domestic stability, responding to violent internal conflicts against insurgencies and separatist movements (Geneva: DCAF, 2015). The military is also often called upon in the crisis management situations dealing with aftermaths of the natural or human-made catastrophes. The complexity of the contemporary security threats has also expanded military responsibilities to ensuring international peace, responding to transnational threats such as terrorism, illegal arms-trade and other types of organized crime. The primacy of the national defence is widely recognized, however, the inclusion of other areas of responsibility greatly depends on the national threat assessment, state vision regarding the utility of its armed forces and place in the international system.

Comprehensive understanding of the military responsibility requires answering the questions of "Responsibility to whom?" and "Responsibility for what?" Thus the following chapter first addresses the issue of subordination which is a central point in studying the military professionalism. It traces the historical evolution of the civil-military relations and tries to assess the effects of both internal and external drivers of defining the military responsibility of the Georgian Defence Forces. For this reason, the chapter provides a historical overview of the events with a key focus on domestic issues such as internal conflicts, and the effects of international cooperation in the context of NATO integration. In addition to the identification of the historical drivers, the official strategic documents are analysed to establish a link between general political context and evolution of the Georgian strategic thinking towards understanding military responsibility. Studying the state vision regarding the key areas of military responsibility helps to answer the question of "Responsibility for what?" For a clear understanding of the changes, the chapter groups the developments into three chronological time periods. In order to assess whether the actual military attitudes towards military responsibility and the military service recipient are in line with the official political vision, the last part of the chapter looks at the motivations of the Georgian officers for serving in the military.

4.1   Responsibility to whom and for what?

In order to understand military responsibility, Michael Walzer (1981: 42-43) suggests looking at officers' horizontal and hierarchical subordination. The officers are responsible and accountable towards the higher ranking military command and civilian leadership, however, at the same time,

their actions also affect the individuals below their ranking, which brings forward the importance of understanding responsibility both "upward and downward" directions. Additionally, as moral agents, the soldiers are also responsible "outwards" to the people they serve and whose lives can be affected by their decisions.

4.1.1 Phase 1: Historical Processes and Evolution of the Strategic Thinking

The history of the modern Georgian military system starts in the 1980s with the establishment of the anti-Soviet independent military units. Even though Georgians have served in the Soviet Army and have contributed to the World Wars, Georgian combatants' motivations were not driven by national interests (D Darchiashvili 2019, personal communication, 14 April). Moreover, according to the high official from the General Staff of Georgian Defence Forces, Sovietisation killed the existing Georgian military tradition (Anonymous from General Staff of Defence Forces 2019, personal communication, 17 April). Lack of military culture created a fertile ground for semi-autonomous armed groups to rally around nationalist, aggressive personalities. Beyond the centralised Soviet military command system, Tengiz Kitovani-a self-declared general with a criminal background and Jaba Ioseliani-an influential thief-in-law (mafia boss) in the Soviet Union have formed paramilitary groups challenging the national government's positions. On government's side, the oversight mechanisms were deeply flawed, as Vazha Adamia-the head of the Parliamentary Commission on Defence, Public Order, and Security led his own pro-governmental paramilitary formation (Darchiashvili, 2005:128). Emergence and mobilization of the autonomous military units coincide the period of increased ethnic tensions

in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Regions and precede the creation of formal state security institutions.

To deal with the ethnic divides causing the domestic turmoil, the establishment of the security institutions represented a major priority for a newly elected national government led by Zviad Gamsakhurdia in 1990. The formation of the National Guard under the auspices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was the first important step towards creating independent security institutions. The National Guard was a paramilitary establishment responsible for public order and territorial integrity. However, its functions were similar to the gendarmerie for practical reasons. First, the protection from external threat was still considered to be the responsibility of the Soviet military command. Second, using police-like forces was more applicable to deal with domestic separatist movements (Darchiashvili, Parliament of Georgia Public Library Archives).

The National Guard was intended to serve as a foundation for future independent national armed forces. This intention was soon formalized through recruitment and training procedures. All the existing paramilitary units were required to join the Guard or disassemble. However, regardless of the common declaration to serve the Georgian public, shared commitments did not result in the loyalty towards the state institutions from all groups (Darchiashvili, Parliament of Georgia Public Library Archives).

Taking into account the ongoing ethnic conflicts, patriotic sentiments made the enlistment in the National Guard a popular choice among young Georgians. It has to be noted that military service under the Soviet military structures was not a prestigious occupation in Georgia, however, the patriotic attitudes invoked around the ethnic conflicts

encouraged many youngsters to enthusiastically join the newly established National Guard. As a result, the Guard united about 12 000 servicemen by 1991 (Darchiashvili, Parliament of Georgia Public Library Archives).

Tightened coup-proofing measures in response to the failed coup attempt in Moscow provided incentives for the Georgian government to disassemble the autonomous armed units. President Gamsakhurdia used it as an opportunity to establish the Ministry of Defence in September of 1991 (Darchiashvili, Parliament of Georgia Public Library Archives). Building the defence sector of Georgia was the challenging process for the inexperienced government. Overall, failure to follow the consistent reform has led to a military coup against Gamsakhurdia himself.

In the initial period, the main responsibility of the fragmented, weekly institutionalized Georgian Armed Forces revolved around national defence and dealing with separatist movements. The relatively strong persona of second president Eduard Shevardnadze managed to overcome the power rivalries, survived an assassination attempt and suppressed two military coups (Darchiashvili, 2005). In light of the persistent domestic turmoil and weakness of the state institutions, the security forces were challenged by ambiguous roles, parallel command practices and lack of coordination (D Darchiashvili 2019, personal communication, 15 April). The Constitution of Georgia (1995) was the first historical document briefly addressing the role of defence forces with regard to national security. The Constitution asserted that "defensive war was Georgia's sovereign right. The protection of the homeland is the duty of every single citizen. For defending the independence, sovereignty and territorial unity, fulfilling international

commitments, Georgia has the defence forces" (Chapter 8, article 70).

According to Tsikhistavi-Khutishvili (International Centre on Conflict and Negotiation archives), first Georgian Military Doctrine 1997 referred to the general purpose of the military - defending the state sovereignty and territorial integrity. It also outlined the main domestic and foreign policy aspirations, however, failed to define strategic priorities and domestic or foreign tools to respond to the geopolitical challenges and threats. Because of the needs of the national security environment, the roles of the Georgian Armed forces did not go beyond the traditional area of responsibility until 1999.

Thus, the first phase of studying military professionalism in Georgia shows that existence of multiple, independent paramilitary units vying for power and weakness of newly established government institutions have resulted in inconsistent military subordination towards the civilian leadership, leading to the civil war and military coup attempts. Anti-governmental paramilitary groups provided political shelter for criminals and retired military personnel (D Darchiashvili 2019, personal communication, 15 April). There is no official study of their motivations for joining the units; however, the establishment of the National Guard created a legitimate organizational structure calling for individuals uniting towards the national interests of securing the territorial integrity and maintaining domestic stability. Starting from 1999, the evolution of the Georgian strategic thinking enters a new phase in terms of its vision regarding the key roles of the military.

4.1.2 Phase 2: Historical Processes and Evolution of the Strategic Thinking

After stabilizing the situation with breakaway regions of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Regions, the Georgian state apparatus strengthened. In the same period, Georgia gradually started to join a number of international organizations, including the United Nations, Council of Europe and International Security Advisory Board (ISAB). Furthermore, President Eduard Shevardnadze also expressed the interest to cooperate with NATO (Petriashvili, 2014). While Georgia had already joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in 1992, the building of the Georgian defence sector was rather an independent process without much assistance from international organizations. Newly created NATO Partnership for Peace Programme provided a new platform for Georgia to upgrade the relations with the west; however, initial NATO-Georgia cooperation lacked a substance and represented merely a week political tool (D Darchiashvili 2019, personal communication, 15 April).

Increased international cooperation has resulted in a changed understanding of military responsibilities. Starting from 1999 Georgia joined the NATO peace-keeping mission in Kosovo (KFOR). The first Georgian unit consisting of 34 soldiers was deployed in Mamusa under the Turkish Peacekeeping battalion, however starting from 2003, Georgian contingent increased and by the end of the mission in 2008, Georgia has deployed 2 225 military personnel: 578 under the Turkish and 1647 under German command (Ministry of Defence of Georgia official website, 2019, www.mod.gov.ge).

At the beginning of the new millennium, the Georgian government published its first strategic document, outlining the state's long-term vision regarding the social, economic and political agenda. Georgia and World: Future vision and

Strategy (Government of Georgia, 2000) also referred to the issues of national security. It reaffirmed the primary focus on national defence capabilities, however, also briefly touched upon the interest to increase international security cooperation. The document reassured the commitment to continue participation in the NATO mission in Kosovo (KFOR) that was initiated a year before. Given document underlines the key roles of the military to protect the public from military aggression, international terrorism, and organized crimes. Thus Vision 2000 can be regarded as one of the first attempts by the Georgian government to acknowledge the complexity of the international security environment.

Until 2002, the Georgian Armed Forces only consisted of conscripted individuals. Formation of the professional army starts with the improved military bilateral relations with the United States. As a partner in the Global War on Terror, the US Government implemented "Georgia Train and Equip Programme" (GTEP) and "Georgia Sustainment and Stability Operations Programme" (GSSOP) (Ministry of Defence official website, 2018, www.mod.gov.ge). Regardless of the fact that the Coalition was not NATO-led, the U.S. assistance greatly contributed to increased attention towards improving the defence capabilities of the Georgian Armed forces from other NATO member states. Starting from this period, the contacted professional military service becomes an attractive occupation for Georgians as it promised the new opportunities for military career growth.

Thus, the second historical phase is characterised by more consolidated government institutions and political leadership that coined the civilian supremacy over the military affairs. Frozen hostilities in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali regions and the foreign policy developments led to a widened understanding

of the military responsibilities with the increased emphasis on international security in addition to primary functions of securing national sovereignty.

4.1.3 Phase 3: Historical Processes and Evolution of the Strategic Thinking

Modernization of the defence and security sector intensified in the post-Rose Revolution period starting from 2004. The reform-oriented new government led by President Mikheil Saakashvili not only launched the massive, all-encompassing state rebuilding process but also coined the Euro-Atlantic integration at the centre of the political agenda (D Darchiashvili 2019, personal communication, 15 April). Development of the national strategic and policy documents represented a starting point for deeper NATO integration. The National Security Concept (NSC) published in 2005 is the first document of its kind providing a more sophisticated overview of the security challenges, emphasizing on the national defence, as well as the importance of contributing to international security and enhancing NATO cooperation.

The rapid modernization of the defence system, improved military capabilities and openly declared strong anti-Russian narrative alarmed Russian political and military elites of losing another influence zone. Shortly after the NATO Bucharest Summit where Georgia received a political message that it will eventually join the Alliance, skirmishes in Tskhinvali Region led to the Russo-Georgia War in August 2008. Even though the war represented the major test for the professionalism of the Georgian Armed Forces, an overview of this conflict goes beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, tensed relations with Russia and frozen conflicts in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Regions greatly define the scope and nature of cooperation between NATO and Georgia.

The Russo-Georgia War logically reassured the importance of national defence and territorial integrity. However, already from 2004, Georgia has significantly increased its participation in international missions by joining the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan as one of the largest contributing nations. From 2004 to 2014 in the ISAF and since 2015 in NATO-led Resolute Support Mission (RSM) in Afghanistan, Georgia has deployed 16 830 servicemen, becoming the number one non-member contributor (Ministry of Defence official website, 2019, www.mod.gov.ge).

Georgian Defence Forces' contribution to international security was closely tied with the provision of National Security. First, by joining the peacekeeping missions Georgia presented itself as a responsible international actor, strongly committed to the democratic values. In addition, serving with highly professional NATO forces promised the combat experience that can successfully be used in case of the National defence. By standing with the partners where they need it the most, Georgia aspires to become a household name, rather than an exotic country for NATO member-states that supports establishing a mutual professional trust (Anonymous 2019, personal communication, 17 April).

Latest National Security Concept (Government of Georgia, 2011) and National Military Strategy (Ministry of Defence of Georgia, 2014) correspondingly reflect the increased emphasis on international security context in addition to protecting the territorial integrity and national defence. Threat Assessment Document (TAD) based on the security concept outlines the issues of regional instability, transnational threats, cyber threats, natural and manmade disasters (Government of Georgia, 2010). With the aspirations to join the EU and NATO, National Military

Strategy defines the objectives of the Georgian Defence Forces as 1) deterrence and defence 2) contribution to strengthening regional and international security 3) support civilian authorities during natural and manmade disasters (Ministry of Defence of Georgia, 2014:6). In order to ensure these objectives, Georgian Defence Forces are committed to improving defence force readiness capabilities, meeting the interoperability standards with NATO and fostering interagency cooperation and coordination (National Security Concept, 2011:4).

The National Military Strategy (Ministry of Defence of Georgia, 2014) reassures the focus on national defence, however, further recognizes the complexity of the security environment. For the full consideration of the geopolitical circumstances, the document takes into account the security situation in a wider Black Sea region. It also underlines the relevance of the events taking place in Central Asia and the Middle East for Georgian national security (p 11). The Military Strategy reassures the commitment of Georgian Defence Forces towards ensuring global peace and stability. By active participation, it acknowledges the transnational nature of the threats and accepts the responsibility as the member of the international community.

Both the National Security Concept (NSC) and the National Military Strategy (NMS) are already outdated documents; however, they still show the evolution of strategic thinking. Their creation has been an important aspect of NATO-Georgia cooperation in terms of developing a compatible vision regarding military responsibilities. Participation in international missions has widened the scope of civil-military relations. Georgian government's political commitment towards supporting the NATO partner forces and interest to gain a full-scale experience is well-demonstrated through

refusal of employing national caveats (G Muchaidze 2019, personal communication, 14 April; Lt Col M Rozmara 2019, personal communication, 12 April; B Kutelia 2019, personal communication, 15 April). Caveats that enable the creation of parallel chains of command are deemed to hinder the effectiveness of NATO operations. By ensuring the compliance of the missions with national doctrines, the caveats establish political safety limitations. Such restrictions represent the tool for member states to keep control of how their troops are used and help manage the political implications of their deployment (Saidamen, 2009). Refusal of the right for the caveats highlights the willingness of Georgian civilian leadership to broaden the scope of subordination, bringing in the need for accountability to the multinational command structures.

Third and so far the last historical period has not experienced the cases of military insubordination. Solving the subordination issues has opened a way for more focus on military professionalism itself. Widened understanding of the geographic area of the military service has been strongly coined with Georgia's foreign policy aspirations of full NATO integration. Therefore, the official strategic narrative affirms both domestic public and international society as the recipients of the Georgian military service.

Horizontally, in terms of the military relations with wider society, it has to be noted that public trust in Defence Forces have 1997 public opinion polls indicated that only 15% of Georgian population trusted Armed Forces capabilities, while the rest assessed it as poor. According to Caucasus Barometer, trust indicator has marginally increased and varied between 75-85% in 2014-2018 (Caucasus Research Resource Centre, www.caucasusbarometer.org). Consequently, "functional imperative" that suggests that gap

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between society and military widens if the latter fails to protect public interests (Kucera, 2012), is significantly decreased.

4.2 The Motivation for Military Service and Understanding of Responsibility

Working for the benefit of the public interests thus represents the central point in the government official documents; however, official publications are still insufficient to provide a full understanding of real professional attitudes of the militaries towards their duties and recipients of the service.

In Georgia, an individual becomes a member of the profession of arms by swearing the Oath of Allegiance, promising to continue the military traditions of the ancestors, being disciplined, keeping a military secret, respecting the subordinates and in case of betrayal is accountable to the State and God (Ministry of Defence of Georgia official website, 2019, www.mod.gov.ge). Taking into account the sensitivity of the territorial integrity issues, the motivation for joining the Georgian military service is dominated by personal stories related to the conflicts and patriotic sentiments. However, Georgian officers have enthusiastically accepted the political decision to increase international efforts through peace-keeping missions.

Fabrizio Battistelli (1997) created a typology of the soldiers' motivation to serve abroad. He differentiates between paleo-modern, modern and post-modern motives. Paleo-modern motivation is based on altruistic motives to be useful to others or to strengthen the country's international image, while modern motives revolve around high salaries and other career benefits. The motivation of the Georgian Officers for participation in international peace-keeping missions proves to be a combination of both paleo-modern and modern

motives. Higher salaries and social benefits serve as initial triggers; however pre-deployment training and education programmes increase the general awareness regarding the mission objectives and implications for Georgia's international prestige. According to Lt Colonel Michael Lund (2019, personal communication, 12 April), if the foreign deployments were totally unacceptable for soldiers, they would not do it for any financial benefit.

Georgia's contribution to the international peacekeeping missions has accounted for thousands of Georgian military personnel deployed worldwide; as a result, most of the officers have had an opportunity to gain peacekeeping experience. Consequently, their reflection of the personal experiences comprises of both national and international responsibilities.

The analysis of the interviews created through the cooperation between the NATO Liaison Office in Georgia and Sova media agency reflects on the individual experiences of Georgian officers. Their motivations for joining a professional military service are greatly shaped by understanding the need for providing national defence and ensuring territorial integrity. While the most emotional memories are associated with the Russo-Georgian War in 2008, they also proudly reflect on their foreign experiences through NATO missions. According to Colonel Vepkhvia Chalabashvili (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019), wearing a military uniform is a great honour. He adds that success in foreign missions increases Georgia's international reputation, thus his service abroad is also a service to his own family, village and a whole nation. For Colonel Irakli Kolbaia (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) officers should always remember that they are Georgians and the name of the nation stands behind them. That is why every

soldier should do their best to fulfil the mission to the maximum of their ability. Chief Sergeant Koba Tsirekidze (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) also emphasized the honour and responsibility attached to his service, both domestically and internationally. Officers win the wars together with society, hence carrying a flag, wearing a national uniform and representing Georgia abroad is a source of utmost pride. Major Mary Shavrova (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) adds that participation in international peacekeeping missions is the professionally most enriching experience. It provides wider political benefits to Georgia and individual growth to officers themselves. The pride in service also comes at the expense of good professional performance. Lieutenant Colonel David Gagua (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) notes that being able to execute missions along with international partners and demonstrating the ability of Georgian officers to be equal contributors, makes each serving soldier proud of their professional development.

Thus, Georgian officers are generally aware of their responsibility for international security issues (I Mchedlishvili 2019, personal communication, 10 April). They express pride in their service and function through the call for duty and honour. The prestige associated with international deployments also derives from wider public support towards NATO integration. Georgian public support for NATO membership steadily stands at 74%. Georgians believe that membership in NATO will guarantee national security and strengthen defence capabilities (National Democratic Institute Polls, 2019). Since the participation in NATO-led missions is closely tied to gaining political benefits from the Alliance, there is a wide public consensus regarding the importance of Georgia's presence in

international missions (Col G Chelidze 2019, personal communication, 17 April).

4.3 Key findings and Their Implications for the Theory

The answer to the question of "Responsibility to whom?" proves to be inconsistent. During the first phase of 1990-1995, societal cleavages, domestic conflicts, existence of multiple paramilitary groups and the representatives of civilian leadership also commanding the paramilitary units led to military insubordination to the civilian authority, as well as the weak oversight mechanisms from government's side. Therefore, Samuel Huntington's argument that military professionalism is unattainable in times of the domestic conflict proves to be relevant in the Georgian case. While the incentives for domestic interference continued during the presidency of Eduard Shevardnadze, strengthened state apparatus and stronger civilian leadership managed to successfully suppress the attempted military coups. Starting from 1995, the military subordination towards the civilian leadership has been affirmed both de jure and de facto. Therefore, vertically Georgian Defence Forces are accountable and subordinate to the democratically elected civilian leadership. General high public support (Horizontal relations) for Georgia's foreign political course towards NATO integration establishes the consensus between the government, military officer corps and society regarding the military responsibility areas. Thus, as suggested by Carnes Lord, the professional jurisdictions change over time and they are subject to negotiations both horizontally and vertically (2015:65).

Resolving the issue of subordination and improved governance created the opportunity for the government to take a broader view of the security environment. As noted by Peter Feaver (1999: 222) understanding military professionalism requires studying various independent variables which include foreign and domestic factors. For foreign context, he suggests analysing the effects of external threat, as well as the advice stemming from influential big powers. Domestic factors include societal cleavages, the threat of civil war or unrest, nature of the political regime and economic system. In the Georgian context, the existence of societal cleavages and civil war affirmed the military responsibility of providing domestic stability, territorial integrity and national defence. In addition, the influence of NATO cooperation which lies under the foreign advice component proved to have a key role in widening the scope of military responsibility of Georgian Defence Forces.

The answer to the question of "responsibility for what?" varies depending on the period studied. Increased participation in international peace-keeping missions starting from 1999 has consequently widened the roles Georgian military units undertake. Furthermore, understanding the recipient audience has also transformed. Nowadays, in addition to national defence, Georgian Defence forces have acquired more police-like functions. For instance, the duties of Georgian personnel in Afghanistan have included protection of the military bases, patrolling, cordon, monitoring the check-points, training Afghan counterparts in artillery and assisting local hospitals (Ministry of Defence official website). Acquiring police-like functions, establishing friendly relations with the local population and remaining accountable to field command has become the key demands towards Georgian officers. Hence, as argued by

Burk, Civil-military relations should not be understood as the only national but more as a transnational phenomenon (Burk, 2002: 23).

Analysing the nature of Georgia's participation in NATO-led peacekeeping missions sheds a light to a relatively unexplored perspective of civil-military relations theory. As a non-member state of NATO Georgia does not have its own command in Afghanistan. Consequently, Georgian battalions have been posted under the American, German, French and Turkish Commands and military medical personnel under Lithuanian unit (Ministry of Defence, www.mod.gov.ge). Therefore, Georgia has made the political decision to transfer part of its authority to the foreign field commander. While requesting national caveats could establish the formal means to have an influence over the use of Georgian Defence Forces in foreign deployments, political decision to opt-out from using caveats shows Georgia's willingness to fully transfer the commanding legitimacy to multinational structures. As a result, Georgian Defence Forces become subordinate to the international command that further extends the area of vertical accountability. On the other hand, military units also become accountable to the host communities on the horizontal level. Thus, while the primacy of the national civilian leadership remains unchanged in times of national defence operations, the international deployments greatly change the state-centric approach of the civil-military relations.

Regardless of the broadened understanding of military professionalism, the national defence still represents the primary function of the military. International missions only represent the extension of protecting national security interests. Due to the complexity of global events, securing peace worldwide means securing peace at home. In the case

of Georgia, the political decision made by civilian leadership has been widely accepted by military officers who see their role to boost Georgia's international prestige through honourable service both at home and abroad.

5. Military Expertise

The expertise is a key feature of the military professionalism which is determined by the direction, operation and control of human organization whose primary function is the application of the military force (Huntington quoted in Novy, 2017) Expertise requires theoretical and practical knowledge, as well as the skills that make the profession of arms different from others. Military professionals are expected to master the domain of joint, combined and inter-agency operations and have a clear understanding of the national/international security issues (Chief of Defence Staff by the Canadian Defence Academy, 2003: 17).

Core knowledge in military expertise revolves around the tactics, military doctrine, operational art, strategy, combat leadership and application of technology. Given the impact of technology and the complexity of modern conflict, the capacity for creative thinking and sound judgment is increasingly required (Chief of Defence Staff by the Canadian Defence Academy, 2003: 19). Supporting knowledge which includes skills of communication, logistics, human resources, and legal system, also characterizes the collective nature of the military profession.

National Military Strategy of Georgia (Ministry of Defence of Georgia 2014:7) affirms that for the enhancement of the GDF capabilities, improvement of military education and training programmes is essential. It suggests paying special attention to National Defence Academy officers' professional

development which will support the creation of the tailored military doctrine for GDF and establish the lessons learned program based on experiences.

Since becoming a NATO member is Georgia's primary foreign and security policy aspiration, enhancing the NATO interoperability builds on the deep bilateral and multilateral cooperation, participation in joint exercises and international multinational operations. Continuous contribution to ensuring the global security through NATO-led international operations not only demonstrates Georgia's acknowledgement of the global character of the security threats but also acceptance of the responsibility as a member of the international community and acquisition of important experience and knowledge that contributes to strengthening national security.

To analyse the expertise component of Georgian Defence Forces, this chapter overviews the military education and training programmes. It sheds the light on the existing training practices on national and international levels that aim to increase Georgia's interoperability with the NATO standard operating procedures. Thus it explores the effects of the national training programmes, multinational joint military exercises and practice of international deployments. To analyse the military education aspect, the chapter focuses on the changes in the academic modules of the National Defence Academy and Defence Institutional Building Schools-two key institutions providing theoretical military expertise in Georgia.

5.1 Military Training

According to the Strategic Defence Review (Ministry of Defence of Georgia, 2017-2020: 72), the mission of the Training and Military Education Command is to "provide

training and re-training of Georgian military personnel, evaluation of Georgian and partner countries' units, pre-deployment training and re-training of units participating in international missions within the Partnership for Peace programme". The Command elaborates the operational and tactical level manuals, executes Basic Combat Training and supports the planned GDF training and exercises with technical and simulation facilities.

The most widely voiced concern throughout the interviews has been the lack of interagency communication and cooperation. While the Ministry of Defence represents the best example of a westernised state institution, other security institutions in Georgia still lag behind (T Nikolashvili 2019, personal communication, 18 April; Anonymous from NATO Liaison Office in Georgia 2019, personal communication, 11 April). To improve the interagency cooperation that serves the purpose of more effective execution of the "total defence policy", Didgori national exercise has been designed. According to the Strategic Defence Review (Ministry of Defence of Georgia, 2017: 48) "total defence" reiterates the importance of the holistic governmental approach and societal resilience to achieve the goals of total defence in times of the hybrid security threats. The exercise aims to improve the command and control mechanisms, as well as the intergovernmental coordination at the strategic and operational levels.

Due to the sensitivity of the NATO-Georgia cooperation to the Russian factor, the military training targeted at improved territorial defence capabilities is out of the scope of NATO-Georgia relations (Nichol, 2009:6). In respect to the national defence, the USA remains the primary partner. The Georgia Defence Readiness Program – Training (GDRP-T) represents the main area of contemporary bilateral relations that have

been launched in May 2018. Through the mentioned programme, U.S. Army Europe supports the military training of nine Georgian battalions by 2021 (Ministry of Defence of Georgia official website, www.mod.gov.ge). As outlined by Michael Rozmara (2019, personal communication, 12 April), U.S. Standard Operating procedures do not always fully match the NATO standards; however bilateral joint exercise still somewhat contributes to enhancing the NATO-Georgia interoperability capacity as well. Experts note that Georgian Defence Forces have shifted their priorities from national exercises to the international ones which cannot be assessed positively taking into account the national security threat assessment (B Kutelia 2019, personal communication, 15 April). In order to increase the NATO interoperability and standardization of the procedures, doctrines, and communication, participation in joint multinational exercises has become a key component of NATO-Georgia cooperation.

Throughout the past years, Georgia has become not only a participant but a host nation of the joint multinational exercises which demands both the infrastructure, as well as the enhanced institutional and human capabilities. Establishment of the NATO-Georgian Joint Training and Evaluation Centre (JTEC) is one of the key initiatives through NATO-Georgia Substantial Package (Minister Directives, 2017). The Centre has a key role in the execution, monitoring, and evaluation of the collective military training, as well as the joint exercises. According to the Strategic Defence Review (Ministry of Defence of Georgia, 2017:78) supports the enhancement of Georgia's defence capabilities, increasing interoperability and improving contribution to regional and international security through live, virtual and constructive training simulation technologies during training and exercises

As widely acknowledged during the interviews with both Georgian and foreign respondents, the already well established detailed NATO guidelines make the transformation of the military training practices easier for Georgian Defence Forces since they do not have to invent the new frameworks (Lt Col M Lund 2019, personal communication, 12 April). JTEC's functions are based on the Collective Training and Exercise Directive, also known as Bi-SC 75/5, as well as MC 458/2, NATO Education, Training, Exercise and Evaluation (ETEE) Policy and Directive for the Handover of Collective Training and Exercise Responsibility. These manuals demonstrate the shift from campaign footing to a contingency footing which is more applicable for balanced, prepared and ready to conduct a wide range of missions (NATO, Bi-SC 75/3, 2013:2). The manual ensures the integration of the interoperable partner forces for NATO-led Crisis Response Operational Deployable Forces missions (NATO, Bi-SC 75/3, 2013:1).

In order to understand the outcomes of the NATO cooperation, it is important to look at the evolution of the roles GDF have taken in execution of the multinational exercises, such as Noble Partner and Agile Spirit, precisely following the NATO guidelines. According to the Minister's Directives (Ministry of Defence of Georgia, 2019: 48), these multinational brigade-level exercises cover command and staff component, as well as the field exercises involving units on polygon and shooting ranges. The exercise scenario is based on responding to the threats on land, air, sea, and cyberspace. It also includes the mountain training element. In addition, humanitarian bodies such as International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) were also present to provide direct feedback and mentorship to the

exercise participants (NATO official website 2019, www.act.nato.int). For the first time in 2019, JTEC acted as the Officer Directing the Exercise (ODE) and the Georgian General Staff had Officer Conducting the Exercise status (NATO, 2019). Assessment of the NATO officials, as well as international observers, show that Georgian planning and organization of international exercises have successfully met the NATO quality standards and identified objectives (Lt G Dumbadze, 2019, personal communication, April 15; Lt Col M Rozmara, 2019, personal communication, April 12). Due to Georgia's well-known enthusiasm to integrate into the NATO programmes and exercises, international partners usually arrive with high expectations, however, steady noticeable development of Georgian military professionalism is highly appreciated and acknowledged both by militaries of the NATO member states and NATO political leadership (Lt Col M Lund 2019, personal communication, 12 April). Incorporation of the cybersecurity and strategic communications into exercises also indicate the awareness of the complexity and overarching nature of contemporary threats. The nature of this exercise is especially interesting to make conclusions about the widened scope of military expertise, as it also tests the readiness for adopting effective response mechanists to non-article 5 crisis situations which involve civil-military cooperation with international governmental and non-governmental organizations.

It can be argued that Defence Forces have maintained an exclusive right over the use of force; however rules of engagement have also changed and shifted its focus to the minimum use of violent force. Dealing with hybrid threats in 360° battlefield requires the vigilance and thorough knowledge of the conditions for using the force (Col G Chelidze 2019, personal communication, 17 April). The

society trusts the Defence Forces with the fair application of the military force that distinguishes the profession of arms from other professions. While militaries remain practically ready to respond to any type of crisis situation, the application of the lethal methods is greatly shaped by military education discussed in the following sub-chapter.

5.3 Military Education

Since the military expertise affirms the military's exclusive right over the use of force, military exercises have always been a key aspect of military professionalism. However, understanding the occurred changes with military education programmes is equally important to assess how the nature of the military force and the conditions for its use has changed.

In order to trace the developments of the Georgian military education system, the primary focus should be given to National Defence Academy of Georgia (NDA). As already argued in the theoretical framework, the defence academies generally represent the primary source of military professionalism. NDA is the key academic institution that identifies and manages the priority areas for officers' preliminary military education. The study programmes of the Academy are designed in accordance with GDF interoperability requirements. Throughout the years the NDA has widened its working area to providing the second cycle of higher education, as well as foreign language training and additional supporting research activities. As noted by the Academy administration, NDA aspires to constantly improve the educational curriculum and material-technical base by incorporating modern personnel management principles and leveraging international training opportunities (Col M Kavtaradze 2019, personal communication, 18 April).

It has to be noted that National Defence Academy has historically been a primary provider of military education in Georgia; however, NATO cooperation mechanisms have played a significant role to approximate with the quality of the NATO military education institutions (Minister's Directives, 2019). The influence of NATO cooperation with Academy is most visible in two areas. First, the Defence Education Enhancement Programme (DEEP) has been one of the major drivers of refining academic modules. The academy has benefited from the expert evaluation of the offered courses and implemented the suggested set of recommendations. Second, increased international cooperation has created a demand for better linguistic capabilities of the Georgian military personnel. For this reason, NATO has invested in the development of the English Language Programmes under the auspices of the NDA (Col M Kavtaradze 2019, personal communication, 18 April).

More specifically, DEEP experts have assisted with improving bachelor and master programme curriculums through training courses for academic personnel and enhanced student evaluation methods. According to Rati Tvalavadze, senior specialist at International Relations Department of NDA (2019, personal communication, 18 April), Academy students have traditionally experienced challenges with completing the bachelor and master thesis, indicating to the issues with academic writing and proper application of the research methodology. Developments of analytical and critical thinking skills, as well as increased opportunities for research methodology classes, have become the key deliverables of the DEEP.

Military education at NDA is based on the Officer Training Candidate Course and Command and Staff Course.

According to the syllabus provided by NDA (2019), Officer Training Candidate Course includes basic combat training (9 weeks) and an educational program (41 weeks). 10 weeks are allocated for practical field training. Though the course, officers learn army regulations, fire training, combined arms tactics, military topography, the military history of Georgia, fundamentals of military engineering, communications, logistics, artillery, intelligence, personnel management, the law of armed conflicts and combat training organization. Educational programmes at bachelor level (Management, Informatics, Defence and Security) are designed to transfer an understanding of the general theoretical and practical knowledge of political, economic, social and legal processes at national and global levels. All of them have increased the emphasis on the application of quantitative and qualitative research methods. The overview of the courses acknowledges the academy's role to provide a military education that is applicable to the needs of the contemporary security environment. While transferring combat skills represent the core of military training programmes, National Defence Academy enriches the military professionalism of the Defence forces to effectively respond to a wide scope of security challenges. Available courses include introduction to international relations, world history, economic security, international law, democracy and democratization, social psychology, democracy and citizenship, global processes and modern challenges, national and international security, research methods, geopolitics, history of political thought, international humanitarian law, Georgia in international system, information operations, Grand strategies, international negotiations and protocol.

Professional development of the senior officers takes place within Command and Staff College, which includes the

Sustainment Operations Course to enhance the technical skills of the officers and a Senior Officer Retention Course for Lieutenant Colonels. According to the syllabi of MA program in Defence Analysis (2019), programme provide even more in-depth knowledge of military operations, leadership and management, stability operations, international security analysis, communication, history of wars and military art, transformation of the warfare with the focuses on hybrid and asymmetric warfare, foreign and security policy of the EU, international conflicts and peace processes.

The master in Defence Analyses (2019) has increased its emphasis to improve the quality of the research products produced by students through DEEP. The course of "History of Wars and Military Art" has also gone under the revision, through which international experts contributed to improving the curriculum (R Tvalavadze 2019, personal communication, April 18). Both bachelor and master programmes aim to produce military professionals with good analytical and critical thinking skills and ability to apply various research methods to the study of complex security issues. Adding hybrid warfare, stability operations and information warfare as mandatory courses represent the lessons learned from the Russo-Georgia War and ongoing Russian hybrid warfare Ukraine (Col M Kavtaradze 2019, personal communication, 18 April).

In addition to the theoretical knowledge of security issues, the academy has acknowledged the importance of the language skills for professional defence forces, capable of working in international environments. Through NATO cooperation, the Academy has established a partnership with the Bureau of International Language Coordination (BILC) to improve English Language programmes. Through this cooperation, English language instructors have participated

in exchange programmes targeted at improving language skills, as well as the teaching and evaluation methodology (R Tvalavadze 2019, personal communication, 18 April). With MoD's plan to make English as a second official working language (Anonymous 2019, personal communication, 17 April; Col G Chelidze 2019, personal communication, 17 April), the academy's role is crucial to provide the space where officers can improve their language skills (Col M Kavtaradze 2019, personal communication, 18 April). It is widely acknowledged that the English language is critical towards establishing an understanding between Georgian Defence forces and partners in international peacekeeping missions. Before deployment officers take the STANAG test, assessing officers' English comprehension. Due to officers' high motivation for NATO-led deployments, Academy takes the responsibility for providing sufficient opportunities that will equip the soldiers with necessary professional skills (R Tvalavadze 2019, personal communication, 18 April)

National Defence Academy which is already a well-established formal education institution provides a long-term military professional education, however, for the maximum effectiveness, both civilian and military personnel require the periodical enrichment of the professional knowledge. The establishment of the Defence Institutional Building School (DIBS) is another acknowledgement of the broadened scope of professional development needs. The School was created on the basis of the NATO Professional Development Programme (PDP) and has opened a mutual learning environment for the representatives of the defence and security intuitions, as well as the civil society (T Nikolashvili 2019, personal communication, 18 April). Bringing military and civilian personnel (20% / 80%) into one learning space encourages inter-agency cooperation and creation of the

common understanding of the security issues. The teaching method at DIBS is based on the non-formal educational activities such as training, seminars, discussions, and lectures which are led by Georgian and foreign experts. Such cooperation encourages an exchange of the best practices among regional and international partners and enables the formation of the study modules that are innovative, sustainable and need-based. Through NATO programmes, the leadership of DIBS was provided financial resources and PDP access to top-notch knowledge of effective human resources management and development of the teaching modules (T Nikolashvili 2019, personal communication, 18 April). The DIBS objectives fully reflect the changing security environment and identify four areas of activities: good governance in the security sector, promoting understanding of defence and security policy, supporting inter-agency cooperation and enhancing international cooperation (DIBS official website 2019, www.dibs.mod.gov.ge). To assure the quality standards and legitimacy, the DIBS engage in the annual process of identifying the professional development needs based on three-level decision-making. First, it consults with deputy ministers who identify the major trends in the security field, followed by a discussion with the Department heads regarding the priority areas based on conceptual documents. Last, the Human Recourses Management teams distribute specially designed questionnaire assessing the individual professional development needs (T Nikolashvili 2019, personal communication, 18 April). The teaching modules thus reflect the outcomes of the three-round consultations in addition to staff evaluation and feedback reports.

The School offers short and long term programmes not limited to: National Security in the Context of Regional and

International Security Architecture, Legal Basis of the National Security Architecture, Effective Communication, Cyber Security, Building Integrity and Reducing Corruption, Gender in Security Sector, Managing Difficult, Conflict Situations and Developing Negotiation Skills, NATO Orientation Course, Hybrid Warfare and Information Environment (DIBS official website 2019, www.dibs.mod.gov.ge). Due to more flexibility and informal nature, DIBS fill into the gaps of more formal military education through its activities that contribute to the professional development cycle. The School has tailored NATO standards into Georgian context and the leadership plans to undertake a more extensive process to gain full NATO accreditation through following already existing NATO manuals in the upcoming years T Nikolashvili 2019, personal communication, 18 April).

5.3 Key Findings and Their Implications for the Theory

Hence, the military training and education practices of Georgian Defence Forces have greatly been influenced by the NATO integration process. Introduction of the NATO manuals for planning, conducting and monitoring the implementation of the joint multinational exercises has increased demand towards the professionalism of the Georgian Defence Forces. As widely acknowledged during the interviews, Georgians usually show the enthusiastic willingness to change and adapt, which decreases the barriers for the NATO norms and standards diffusion.

Overview of the nature of the joint international exercises underlines the widened scope of expertise that post-modern militaries adopt. First, the change is noticeable in terms of diversification of the institutions in defence planning and

execution. Changed security environment calls for improved interagency cooperation and whole-government approach to respond to the hybrid security threats. Moreover, the emphasis on civilian resilience is also increased. Second, allowing the international governmental and non-governmental organizations such as Red Cross and United Nations with the power to provide their own assessment of the military training also broadens the understanding of the civil-military relations. Third, in addition to the diversification of the participants, the understanding of the areas of expertise has also broadened. The training manuals stress the importance of developing effective measures to the non-article 5, thus non-collective defence crisis responses which bring in the need for acquiring non-military capabilities, such as improved communication, cybersecurity, understanding of economic and political processes and etc.

The overview of the transformation of military education programmes provides the added value to fully comprehend military expertise. The Effects of NATO cooperation over military education are two-fold. First, recommendations provided by the experts of NATO member states through DEEP prove that soldiers are not only expected to be the warriors but scholars as well. They have to be capable of critical and analytical thinking and applying the various research methods to the study of the everyday security issues. This represents the major shift from soviet-time military education which eliminated all the aspects of critical thinking and demanded almost blind subordination to the higher-ranking military authorities. Meeting the high education standards thus no longer corresponds to the military rank of the individual soldier but is expected at every level. Educating the officers beyond the war topics adapts to the demands of the international peace-keeping missions. This

reiterates the importance of knowing not only international law and rules of engagement but the local context as well. For this reason, pre-deployment training has incorporated the mock situations where MoD usually contracts with the actors from national theatres. As noted by Grigol Chelidze (2019, personal communication, 17 April), increased resources have also allowed the training and education command to bring the Afghan individuals to Georgia in order to create more likely scenarios close to the reality. Incorporation of the courses on hybrid and information warfare, cybersecurity and political-economic systems proves the lessons learned from both national and international experiences. Thus, the scope of military expertise goes beyond the study of traditional military thought and practice.

For the conclusion, it can be said that specialized knowledge evolves throughout time and various factor can influence it. Maintaining the relevance of the profession requires this new information to be integrated into the old one. Formal education of the professional military schools, as well as the individual and collective experiences during the training and practice, represent the best sources for such knowledge. International cooperation and sharing the best practices between the partner states, therefore, extend the source of information. In Georgian case, the expertise provided through bilateral and multilateral partnerships with the NATO Member States has enabled the teaching programmes that meet the needs of the contemporary military professional development. Similarly, internationalization of the military training decreases such information vacuums.

Thus the recent developments in the military training and education of the Georgian Defence Forces show the similarities with Janowitz's idea of a "constabulary force". As argued by Janowitz, soldiers should change to view

themselves as mercenaries and should instead perceive themselves as citizen-soldiers. Participation in international peace-keeping missions with the commitment to the minimal use of force proves that Georgian Defence Forces have acquired the post-modern military characteristics in international deployments. In counterargument of Samuel Huntington, that military professionalism is universal and does not change in time and place, it can be noted that increased emphasis on non-military functions changes the way we define the features of military expertise. As argued by Janowitz, professionalism is dynamic and military education and training programmes affirm this argument by adapting to the new socio-political conditions.

Regardless, Huntington is right to note that militaries share the universal skill of managing violent conflict. However, the management of the violence builds on the knowledge accumulated over the centuries through reflection on historical experiences. Lessons learned are then transmitted in professional military education so that it becomes accessible to military professionals to best judge how to apply the solution to the military problems. Adding new areas of expertise does not decrease the importance of traditional military training and education. The combat skills make the military profession stand out from other professions, however as argued by Evetts (2003:13), militaries usually do not have exclusive ownership of controlling the solutions. Military doctrines are at the hand of politicians in charge of making decisions regarding the targets and objectives of the missions. On the other hand, armed forces have exclusive expertise over the operational objectives.

6. Military Corporateness

Military corporateness, also known as Esprit de Corps, revolves around a shared identity, collective commitment, trust and cohesion amongst the officers. As an expression of the collective ethos of camaraderie, it is best manifested in military morale, sense of accomplishment, discipline and belonging to a greater cause than oneself. Within the units, command, and organization, military corporateness encourages the development of mutual trust, shared values and common understanding. Based on the analysed information, it can be concluded that military corporateness is a complex concept encompassing trust, cohesion, discipline, duty and loyalty. Being disciplined contributes to building cohesion that enables units to achieve the objectives that could not be attained through military expertise alone. It allows compliance with the interests of the military institution by committing to the core values of integrity and courage. Military professionals display initiative and dedication towards their duties. Undertaking the tasks also demands the physical and moral courage to build off the allegiance to the country and faithfulness to the comrades.

The purpose of this chapter is to show how contemporary military missions widen the circle of military comradeship and more importantly, it tries to delineate how specific military doctrine influences the trust and cohesion among the officers. First, the chapter looks at the evolution of the shared values in Georgian Defence Forces and assesses its adherence to the principles NATO member states. The second part analyses the influence of military doctrine choice and personnel management systems as two factors greatly affecting the trust and cohesion within the Defence Forces. Last, the special attention is given to the importance of having the common understanding and speaking the common language in the context of the international peacekeeping missions and multilateral military exercises.

6.1 Trust and Cohesion in Georgian Defence Forces

Trust and cohesion are the central points to analyse military corporateness (Allen & William) According to Anthony King, the group cohesion consists of four components. It includes peer to peer (horizontal), leader (vertical), organizational and institutional bonding. Peer bonding takes place between the members of the same hierarchical level, while leader bonding is between different levels. Both peer and leader bonding within a small group is included under the primary group cohesion. Organizational bonding happening between military personnel and their next higher organization and institutional bonding taking place between personnel and their military branch composes the secondary group cohesion (King, 2006: 287). The primary group in the military is a squad to a platoon-size unit that is characterized by face-to-face relationships. Peer and leader bonding are evolved through direct personal interactions within a small network (Siebold 2007:289). The small size of the unit enables the group members to know not only individual roles and responsibilities but personal characteristics and background as well. The secondary group usually includes a company and battalion levels, to a lesser degree brigade or regiment level. In an extended environment, officers usually know each other by name, however, they might not always be familiar with other personal details. Therefore, the interactions in the secondary group are more business-oriented. The scope of the bonding is also subject to cultural phenomena (King, 2006: 289-291).

6.1.1 Evolution of the Shared Values

In light of the domestic instability, acquisition of the democratic values and establishment of the democratic state institutions has been a long and challenging process in Georgia. The first semi-autonomous military units

represented the reflection of the divided society. Not only the paramilitary groups provided shelter for members with criminal records, but the National Guard was also transformed into a bandit-type organization that was accused of corruption, illegal arms trade, and carjacking (B Kutelia 2019, personal communication, 15 April). The democratization of Georgia represented a threat towards the powerful political and military elites who were afraid of losing Soviet-time dividends. Their power in the newly created bureaucratic structures included control over the recruitment and personnel management. The National Security Concept 2000 stated that Georgia seeks the partnerships with states that share the common values of democracy, respect for human rights, market economy and flow of the ideas (Government of Georgia 2000:5). However, democracy practice in a country was far from the officially declared narrative. On de facto level, nepotism and corruption were the common practices hindering the success of the democratization attempts until the Rose Revolution (D Darchiashvili 2019, personal communication, 15 April).

Democracy and good governance represent important prerequisites for NATO membership. As outlined in NATO Strategic Concept the door of the Alliance is open for all European democracies "that share the values and are willing to assume the responsibilities and obligations of the membership, whose inclusion can contribute to common security and stability" (NATO 2010: 26). NATO strategic concept outlines the shared vision of the Member states to protect the common values of individual liberty, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. "These values and objectives are universal and perpetual and member states are determined to defend them through unity, solidarity, strength, and resolve" (NATO Strategic Concept, 2010:11).

Adherence to the democratic principles was thus both logical and practical decision from the side of the new Georgian government since 2004. International Security Advisory Board report (2004) notes that the new government of Georgia elected in 2004 proposed the security sector reforms to be judged through four principles to ensure compliance with Euro-Atlantic standards. These principles included democratic standards, compatibility, legality and sustainability (ISAB, 2004: 49). The report also stressed that reforming the security sector in accordance with the democratic standards is the main prerequisite to Georgia's integration in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures (ISAB, 2004: 49). The National Security Concept of 2005 outlined more clear vision regarding the fundamental values, including sovereignty, liberty, democracy and the rule of law, prosperity, peace, and security. The updated version of 2011 does not differ much from the predecessor and further reassures the commitment towards mentioned values. National Military Strategy is a more relevant document to narrow down military values. It identifies the democratic control of the armed forces as the core principle of the defence policy. The subordination issue which was prevalent during the first two governments has been resolved through acknowledgement of the primacy of democratically elected civilians. Current defence policy follows the non-confrontation principle to pursue friendly neighbourhood policy and does not regard its own armed forces as a foreign policy tool (Ministry of Defence, 2014:5). The main principles the military doctrine builds on are good governance, transparency, and accountability.

International organizations have long stressed the importance of resolving the gender equality issues in Georgian Defence Forces. Minister Vision 2018 and 2019 are the first official

documents expressing the commitment towards integrating gender in pre-deployment training for peacekeeping missions and general education and career courses, as well as the institutionalization of the gender advisors by 2020. While gender equality has officially been acknowledged as one of the core principles, experts remain critical about practical implementation. According to Shorena Lortkipanidze (2019, personal communication, 10 April), even though gender equality has been incorporated in the military educational courses, it is questionable to what extent officers fully understand and respect the concept in practice. She recalls the cases against MoD when female military personnel have expressed concerns over the fair merit-based promotion. As also noted by Lt Col Michael Rozmara (2019, personal communication, 12 April), military values change in accordance with the general societal progress. For example, the Norwegian military has quickly reflected the progressive public attitudes towards gender equality. For this reason, he believes that full adherence of democratic principles among the Georgian officers greatly depends on how Georgian society first transforms itself.

According to Irakli Mchedlishvili (2019, personal communication, 10 April), there are no xenophobic attitudes in the Georgian Defence Forces. While there is a general problem of drug-trafficking and corruption in Afghanistan, Georgian soldiers have never been caught of illegal activity. The issues have been detected in Central African Republic where a small contingent of Georgian troops is deployed through the EU mission. In contrast to such scandals, the Ministry of Defence often highlights the acts of high morale of Georgian officers. Such acts are positively appreciated by NATO field command as well as the political leadership through official declarations and statements.

The diffusion of the norms and values is a complex process and it cannot be fully attributed to one specific driver. However, NATO membership aspiration has coined the acquisition of democratic values at the core of the defence sector modernization. Common ideology and shared values represent the foundation for other elements of military corporateness such as trust and cohesion. Looking at the official documents, it can be noted that Georgian military values are in full accordance with the norms and principles NATO stands for.

6.1.2 Fairness of the Personnel Management System

The trust and cohesion of the Georgian Defence forces have historically been affected by the fairness of the recruitment and personnel management systems. Prevalence of the nepotism as a common practice in the General Staff and Ministry of Defence for more than a decade resulted in stronger military bonding within the primary units; however, secondary group cohesion was greatly characterized by mistrust. Starting from 2012, the Ministry of Defence has started the implementation of the new human personnel management plan and developed GDF Unit Status and Evaluation Reporting System (USERS) in cooperation with NATO (2017: 8). The system follows already existing evaluation criteria set out in the NATO guiding manuals. The White Books 2013 and 2014 (Ministry of Defence of Georgia) stressed the need for merit-based professional development and elaboration of the professional development plan based on the evaluation of the job execution. Regardless of the achieved progress, experts remain critical of the personnel management system. According to them, the human resources are not effectively utilized within the defence system with full consideration of their military professionalism. Often times, officers with

western education and extensive training face the problems of employment upon return to Georgia (I Mchedlishvili 2019, personal communication, 10 April; B Kutelia 2019, personal communication, 15 April). With the gradual increase of foreign education and training programs, more and more Georgian officers have benefited from professional development opportunities. However, throughout the 2000s the General Staff was still characterized by the generational split. The officers with western experiences were sometimes perceived as too change-oriented (I Mchedlishvili 2019, personal communication, 10 April). Challenged by bureaucratic barriers, unfairness and politicisation of the promotion, many highly qualified officer moved to the private sector, joined the political parties or stayed unemployed. Experts consider this problem as a waste of resources, as these individuals have been financed to enhance their professionalism through state-funding (I Mchedlishvili 2019, personal communication, 10 April; G Muchaidze 2019, personal communication, 14 April). Regardless of the relative progress, the personnel management policy is one of the most criticized areas of the defence sector. The Minister's Vision 2019 stresses the importance of hiring highly qualified personnel who have a common understanding of their responsibilities towards society at all levels. In relation to the personnel development, the White Paper (Ministry of Defence, 2017-2020) identifies three priorities: rebalance of the mix of forces, correction of rank structure imbalances and facilitation of career management. The Paper proposes that enforcing an effective Military Personnel Management System requires further improvements regarding establishing transparent and fair recruitment, selection, appointment, professional development, maintenance, and reintegration into the civil sector after retirement. Regardless the declared commitment,

Former Deputy Minister of Defence Batu Kutelia argues (2019, personal communication, 15 April) that the Ministry already holds the competence of the tools and practices to finally resolve the issue, however lack of the political will results in the necessary financial resources for its implementation.

According to Lt Col Michael Rozmara (2019, personal communication, 12 April), the evaluation of the military personnel's performance has been formalized through NATO cooperation process. As a result, Evaluation and Monitoring Centre at JTEC systematically engage with the assessment of military officers. According to him, the culture of receiving feedback has also changed over the years. Negative feedback could affect the employment status of the military officers in the past, however, more recently the leadership became more receptive of the idea that it is better to tolerate and address the mistakes during the exercise rather than at the battlefield (Lt Col M Rozmara 2019, personal communication, 12 April).

6.1.3 The Nature of Military Doctrine

Due to the Soviet legacy, Georgian Defence Forces have inherited the centralized command system. However, the Minister's Directive (2019:33) outlines the plan for incorporating the principles of "mission command" in the Defence forces in the upcoming years. The idea of "mission command", also known as Auftragstaktik, comes from the Prussian tradition and refers to centralized planning and decentralized execution (Storr, 2003). The six principles at the core of the doctrine include: building cohesive teams through mutual trust, shared understanding, clear commander's intent, the exercise of the disciplined initiative, and acceptance of the prudent risk. It enables commanders and their subordinates to develop a high degree of

understanding and trust (Luck, 2013). The effectiveness of the "mission command" builds on the fact that in the post-Cold War era, the armies have to operate in varied circumstances which makes the operational planning more difficult. The protagonists of the "mission command" argue that decentralization of the execution mobilizes the commitment and stimulates the initiatives at every hierarchical level. On the other hand, it prevents information overload. Since "mission command" is based on the autonomy of action, it presumes that commanders at every level are willing to be independently responsible for their actions and decisions. Furthermore, decentralization of the action requires access to the resources by personnel at all levels.

Building and maintaining trust is the challenging task for each commander to exercise "mission command" and achieve cross-domain synergy. Promoting trust to all directions empowers mission partners. Personal, as well as command relationships, are equally important in the contemporary inter-organizational environment. The strength of these relationships requires continuous dialogue before, during and after the crisis (Vogelaar & Kramer, 2004). However, building and maintaining trust with new partners is a time-bound process and strengthens through joint experiences.

The shift from centralized to decentralized execution in Georgian Defence Forces is a timely decision, however, as anticipated by the representatives of the General Staff, will be a long-term process. 2019-2020 period will be dedicated to the assessment of the regulations that can hinder the full incorporation of "the mission command" practices paving the way to the actual introduction starting from 2021. Some elements of mission command, such as risk, bravery and

courage have traditionally been in Georgian military culture; therefore the only issue remains with the competency (Lt Col G Dumbadze 2019, personal communication, 17 April). The examples of international joint exercises and international peacekeeping missions demonstrate the achieved progress but there is more to be done in terms of overcoming institutional barriers and personnel management problems to make the project successful. International peace-keeping missions represent the great environment where officers encounter with the "mission command" culture. Even though NATO member states' understanding and approach towards "mission command" is often different, Georgian Defence Forces aim to develop one according to the national context (Col M Kavtaradze 2019, personal communication, 18 April).

Currently, practical experience gained through deployment in international peacekeeping missions is the main source to get acquainted with the principles of the "mission command". Posting under German and American commands who have already incorporated such practice into the military culture makes Georgian officers familiarized with the "mission command" practice (Col M Kavtaradze 2019, personal communication, 18 April). As a result, the officers understand the need for critical and analytical thinking. First education institutions and second the practice in missions is an opportunity for such knowledge. While decentralization has historically been part of Georgian combat culture, the traditions and customs were transformed through Soviet occupation and following changes in centralized command and execution. Both representatives of General Staff and NATO Liaison Office in Georgia positively assess the mentioned move and taking into account the general progress already achieved by Georgian Defence forces in terms of the

professionalism, they express the confidence in its eventual successful internalisation.

Even though Mission Command will significantly transform the expertise and corporateness components, it is arguable to what extent the decision can be attributed to the NATO integration process. It is important to note that NATO doctrine includes the principles of Mission Command. However, it does not represent the requirement for all the member-states. Some NATO nations operate on the principles of the "mission command", offering a detailed explanation of how the concept should be understood and executed. Consequently, these states make sure military educational institutions are fully adapted to provide necessary competence and military training are planned to support the professional growth at all levels. Through formal education and collective training, officers get to develop collegiality that is based on team spirit, unity of view, cohesion and mutual trust. National Defence Academy of Georgia has already approached the NATO member states with similar historical experience for the exchange of the best practices. These countries include the Baltic States, the Czech Republic and Poland. In addition, the mission command has also become the key priority through DEEP which will further enable the changes in academic curriculums.

6.2 Common Understanding and Language

To fully understand the scope of military corporateness it is also important to analyse how multinationalism changes the Esprit de Corps. While primary and secondary group cohesion are the essential components of military culture, participation in international missions and recognition of the mutual trust is a challenging process due to the differences in Standard Operating Procedures, as well as culture. NATO

interoperability that has been taken as a target by the Ministry of Defence of Georgia includes the compliance of doctrine, procedures and common understanding. The completion of the strategic and operational planning initiative through the NATO-Georgia Substantial Package in 2017, show that the compliance has been reached on a doctrinal level. Procedural interoperability takes place through continuous professional development through formal education, military training and practice. As for the third aspect of compatibility that draws on the common understanding, not only the expertise but the corporateness also has great importance. All interviewed respondents acknowledge the need for finding and speaking the common language. To achieve the interoperability, Georgian Defence units undergo through intensive training explaining the NATO operational procedures, rules of engagement, as well as training on multiculturalism and tolerance. However, actual deployment in peacekeeping missions acts as both a test and an amplifier of common understanding.

With increased competences of Georgian Defence Forces through education and training programs that are conducted in accordance with the NATO standards, foreign partners have developed trust towards Georgian colleagues. Furthermore, the fact that Georgia does not use the right for national caveats in the NATO mission further contributes towards earning the status of the reliable partner. As acknowledged by Lt Col Michael Lund and Lt Col Michael Rozmara (2019, personal communication, 12 April) from JTEC, western partners have overcome the initial mistrust caused by unfamiliarity with Georgian military practices and culture. Currently, Georgians represent one of the most desirable companions in any mission due to their continuous demonstration of the can-do, winning approach, bravery, and

discipline (G Muchaidze 2019, personal communication, April 14). The absence of caveats enables Georgian soldiers to assist the night operations under any circumstances and without geographical restrictions. In general, gaining and keeping the common understanding of intent is a real challenge as the geopolitical perspectives often vary among the national leadership and field commanders.

Lieutenant Colonel David Gagua in his interview with Sova (2019) recalls a story when one of the NATO generals was looking for the volunteers for the mission, however, after a moment of long silence, Georgian officer stood up and declared that Georgians would do it regardless the fact that it was beyond their responsibility. Lt Colonel Gagua (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) reminisces the proud feeling when the general officially thanked the Georgian contingent for their volunteering spirit. Such acts increase the trust and cohesion in multinational settings as well. Colonel Vepkhvia Chalabashvili (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) notes that participation in training and education programs with NATO partners help officers to find a common language, common thinking and share values for common goals. Colonel Irakli Kolbaia (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) also states that multinational command requires the development of the common language, especially taking into account the size of the Georgian contingent. However, according to him Georgians are known for their hard work and show no less capabilities that NATO member states. Chief sergeant Koba Tsirekidze (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) also recognizes the importance of speaking a common language. Major Mary Shavrova (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) thinks that Georgians have demonstrated quick decision-making skills in emergencies and are famous for being brave. Platoon

commander Jilda Tsurthumia (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) adds that every officer should love their comrades, remain professional and fair to fight for right ideals. If they do not share the bond during the peacetime, it will always be hard to maintain the team and trust at the battlefield. Manuchar Davituri (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) who is a chief Sergeant at National Defence Academy of Georgia spends his free time with Junkers. He encourages sharing personal stories and feelings to increase peer-to-peer bonding. Lieutenant Colonel David Gagua (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) recalls that NATO countries recognize Georgians as very brave and professional. They execute their tasks and orders in a good manner and are disciplined. Such positive statements have also been confirmed by the representatives of the NATO Liaison Office during the interviews.

It should also be noted that during the foreign deployments not only the scope of comradeship widens to international partners, but the bond between the representatives of one nation also strengthens. Due to cultural similarities, they might face similar challenges during the deployment that improves personal bonds. As noted by Mary Shavrova (NATO Liaison Office & Sova video, 2019) the comrades become like family members with whom they can share personal sentiments. During the holidays, Georgian officers often organize cultural activities, inviting the international partners, using the opportunity of introducing Georgian culture and traditions. During free time, there have been cases of sports tournaments that further enforce the strengthening of personal bonds through informal practices. Lt Col Dumbadze (2019, personal communication, 17 April) recalls that officers usually stay in touch after deployment

and enjoy the reunions within more informal settings upon return to the home countries.

While the general openness and collegiality greatly contribute to the formation of the corporateness, the latter cannot fully be achieved without good language competences. This includes both the technical aspects of the English language as well as the common understanding of the terms in order to avoid the mismatching interpretations. As noted by the representative of the NATO Liaison Office (2019, Personal communication, 13 April), a significant number of aspiring officers still cannot freely communicate in English that pose serious threats to the international combat missions. Alternatively, Lt Col Grigol Chelidze (2019, personal communication, 17 April) and an anonymous high official from General Staff (2019, personal communication, 17 April), claim that nowadays most of the officers possess the working proficiency in the English language while it was not the case a decade ago. To fully resolve the issue MoD plans to make the English Language as an official second language in medium-range time.

6.3 Key Findings and Implications for the Theory

This chapter has analysed the convergence of the Georgian democratic values and the main principles military doctrines build on. Georgian Defence Forces are mostly considered to be aware of democratic values. Adherence to these democratic principles represents the foundation for professional collegial relations. However, the process is ever-evolving as the military directly reflects the wider societal values. As argued by Moris Janowitz (1961), self-imposed "professional standards and meaningful integration of civilian values lead to mutual trust between military elites and elected political leaders".

Military trust and cohesion in Georgian Defence Forces have greatly been influenced by the nepotism and corruption practices resulting in the unfair personnel management system (Fluri & Cole, 2005). Membership conditionality for NATO represents the powerful, however not the only pressure for Georgia's democratic reforms. Both the NATO demand for increased integrity and transparency, as well as practical assistance in terms of transferring the expertise in personnel management systems have targeted one of the most deeply rooted challenges of the Georgian defence sector. However, regardless of relative success, the personnel management system remains one of the most criticized areas. Without achieving better results in this direction, the military corporateness will remain impartial.

In addition to the personnel management systems, the general nature of the military doctrine also greatly influences the expectations towards individuals at any hierarchical level. The study of mission command is absent from the wider research on military professionalism even though it serves as a useful aspect to analyse the expertise and corporateness components through a new perspective. The success of Mission Command greatly depends on the competence, therefore, the expertise of the military personnel which provides a foundation for collegial trust and cohesion. Thus the components of the military professionalism are greatly intertwined. The argument made by Rebeca Schiff (1995) proves to be relevant as it emphasises on the collegiality based on peer boding and horizontal cohesion. Developments of the sense of shared purpose, team membership, technical and practical proficiency are important for professional collegiality (Herries-Jenkins, 1990: 126).

In addition to common values and fairness of recruitment and promotion, common educational, training and combat

practices greatly influence the trust and cohesion to form a military corporateness. While sociologists are biased to focus more on the importance of personal informal relationships, more attention needs to be given to sustained education and training (The US Army, 2015). The competence acquired from the latter and confidence in each other's abilities can be a key foundation for trust and cohesion (Allen & William, 2013).

7. Conclusion

7.1 Key findings

This dissertation has analysed how and by using which tools has NATO cooperation influenced the military professionalism of the Georgian Defence Forces. The research has reassured that the profession of arms is unique in its nature and differs from other occupations by specific technical knowledge and doctrine, group coherence, complex organizational structure and formal educational path for developing peculiar expertise.

Operationalization of military professionalism is a challenging task as it encompasses complex, interconnected, sometimes even abstract indicators which are difficult to measure. Analysis of the literature on the subject indicates that the study of professionalism has been dominated by the emphasis on the interrelation between professionalism and subordination in civil-military relations. However, in the contemporary context supremacy of the civilian leadership is widely acknowledged through the principles of democratic oversight. Hence, the dissertation has taken a different perspective and instead of an analysing the mentioned link, it has devoted central attention to the study of the actual components professionalism requires.

Scholars of military professionalism have suggested various categorisations of the core indicators; however, due to its simplicity and wide-encompassing character, the dissertation has surrounded Samuel Huntington's identification of expertise, responsibility and corporateness components. Nonetheless, the dissertation takes the different perspective from Huntington in regard with the nature of these concepts and draws upon more constructivist perspective, according to which professionalism is dynamic and evolves in time and place, taking into account new the domestic and foreign security context, therefore changing national interests. Thus, as argued by Carnes Lord (2015:73), professional jurisdictions can change over time and are subject to negotiations both horizontally with wider society and competing organizations, as well as vertically with higher military and civilian authorities.

In addition to delineating the key features of the Georgian military professionalism, the dissertation has attempted to enrich the existing literature by increasing the scholarly focus on the effects of the NATO integration process. Such approach fills in the gap in the existing literature around the external sources of professionalism and focuses on how international actors diffuse the professional norms and standards globally.

The given research has been possible through the openness of the Ministry of Defence, NATO Liaison Office in Georgia and security experts from the major Georgian think tanks. The information acquired during the semi-structured face-to-face interviews has enriched the research with governmental, international and expert perspectives that enable the complementary and objective research findings. To address the generalisation issue of the elite interviews within a single case-study, the research has also incorporated other sources,

namely 8 video interviews with the Georgian military officers reflecting on their attitudes towards the profession, professional experiences and personal relations with colleagues, friends and family. In addition, analysing the official documents published by the Government of Georgia and NATO has allowed identifying the convergence of the strategic vision and policy priorities. For a comprehensive understanding of the expertise component, the syllabi of the academic programmes of the National Defence Academy have been requested from the Academy administration through email communication. Due to the lack of literature on the Georgian military professionalism, secondary sources such as academic articles and books have been used to establish the link between empirical studies and already established theoretical underpinnings.

The dissertation has argued that military responsibility evolves in accordance with the domestic and foreign policy changes. As rightly argued by Samuel Huntington, military professionalism was unattainable in Georgia in times of the domestic crisis. Territorial disputes and frozen conflicts in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Regions reassure the importance of the military's responsibility for national defence and territorial integrity. However, Georgia's foreign policy aspirations of becoming a member of the EU and NATO has resulted in increased responsibilities toward regional and international security. Thus Georgia has the hybrid military system where modern and post-modern military characteristics are coexistent. Participation in international peace-keeping missions has been tied to improving the national defence capabilities, as well as establishing the status of an equal partner in NATO cooperation.

Multinational cooperation widens military responsibility both vertically and horizontally. By serving in international

missions Georgian military protects the interests of the Georgian society, however, the consequences of their actions widen to the host society as well, leading to increased horizontal responsibility. In addition, working under the foreign field command, without national caveats, diversifies vertical responsibility as well. Absence of Georgian national caveats proves Michael Pugh's claim that states sometimes thrive to move their security apparatus in more cosmopolitan direction to enforce the national interests (2001: 6). Taking into account high public support of NATO integration, the increased undertaken responsibility represents the consensus between Georgia's civilian leadership, military officer corps and wider Georgian society.

Widened scope of responsibility logically demands the military expertise that is relevant to the evolving international security environment. To delineate what makes the military expertise different, Samuel Huntington has argued that the military's core function represents managing the violence and use of lethal force. However, this dissertation has challenged the relevance of this argument in a contemporary security context. Hybrid threats, diversification of security actors and nature of peace support operations highlight the importance of deeper contextual understanding of political, economic and social processes. Thus, the role of expertise now refers to carefully evaluating the conditions for use of force, rather than the ability to use force.

Overview of the collective military training programmes planned and executed in accordance to the NATO procedures has demonstrated that working in a multinational environment with allied partners requires a high standard of professionalism that builds on interoperability through using diverse technology, addressing the wide range of security

issues including the cybersecurity, air, sea and land operations. Extension of the expertise areas does not diminish the role of military training and reliance on the use of force, however analysing the military education component stresses that in addition to being warriors contemporary soldiers have to be scholars and diplomats as well. Developing critical and analytical thinking is of key importance for professional development. Hence, the given dissertation supports the argument made by Sam Sarkesian regarding the concept of "new professionalism" which claims that the scope of the military's actions is not limited to managing the violence. Dealing with external and internal conflicts results in different levels of the force application. While there is no need for limiting the violence against the external threat in the name of defence (however still abiding International Humanitarian Law), application of violence in domestic conflicts is limited to maintaining law and order. That is why military professionalism is a wider concept encompassing expertise in political, social and economic matters. In modern conflicts management of violence represents the small aspect of military tasks. Therefore Janowitz's idea of a constabulary force that is committed to minimum use of force comes as a more acceptable model.

Fulfilment of the objectives of the responsibility areas and effective practical use of military expertise could be impossible without the third indicator of military professionalism: corporateness, also known as Esprit de Corps. Without effective communication means and capabilities, commitment to shared values, discipline and common understanding of the rules of war, planning and execution of the military missions, especially through multilateral cooperation, is challenging. Trust and cohesion that serves as the core precondition for achieving the military

corporateness are built through the fair personnel management system, as well as the training and education practices that are planned in accordance to the national military doctrine. The effectiveness of NATO operations is greatly challenged by convergence issues among 29 member nations. Creation of the common framework for training, education, evaluation and monitoring procedures has contributed towards establishing the common understanding between Allied and Partner states. In addition to adherence to common practices, the English language skills represent the foundation for effective field communication between the officers.

Thus studying the core components of military professionalism, such as expertise, responsibility and corporateness further demonstrate their interrelation and complementary function. Without a comprehensive approach and addressing all of them with equal attention, the overall military professionalism of the highest degree is unattainable.

In order to assess to what extent the detected changes are a result of the Georgia-NATO cooperation, it can be argued that NATO can only serve as one of the drivers to transform military professionalism. As noted, the military reflects the wider societal values that transform through various domestic and foreign factors. The democratization of the defence sector is co-shaped by Georgia's interest to join the European Union and general willingness of modernization. In most of the Central and Eastern European states which share the similar socialist history with Georgia EU and NATO integration processes have been parallel. Scholars have accordingly increased their attention towards studying the influence of international actors to provide models, practical advice and political pressure. It can be noted that Georgian military professionalism is both a function and a result of the

external policy choice to aspire the NATO membership. However, as widely acknowledged professionalization cannot be forced upon an unwilling partner. The process should be regarded as a joint project guided by the military leadership of all involved stakeholders. Throughout the years Georgia has joined a number of NATO programmes and well-established multinational frameworks, however, some programmes have directly been tailored to the specific needs of the military professionalism of the Georgian Defence Forces.

The effects of NATO cooperation are visible in terms of increased interoperability of equipment, operating procedures, command and control, as well as the establishment of the institutions that provide the corresponding military training, education and evaluation. In addition to the tangible outcomes, NATO has also been important in promoting the values and norms of the transatlantic security in Georgia. Overall, the success of mentioned tools greatly depends on the wide consensus among civilian leadership, military and society.

7.2 Recommendations for Future Research

Identifying the particularities of the case of Georgian Defence Forces shows the power of the international actors, in this case, NATO, to globally diffuse the professional procedures, norms, and standards. Taking into account limited focus on this aspect in the scholarly literature of civil-military relations and military professionalism, the theory could greatly benefit from future studies expanding on the diversification of the actors of civil-military relations through a broadened understanding of the "new professionalism".

Since the exploratory (pilot) nature of this research has already exposed the main aspects of Georgian military

professionalism, conducting a larger-scale study of direct military attitudes could benefit the future development of Georgian defence strategies and policies. Regardless the generalization limitations of the single case study of Georgian Defence Forces, the further research to study similar indicators in other NATO partner countries could provide interesting insights of the similarities and differences of the NATO integration process.

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Appendix 1: Research Participants

1. Shorena Lortkipanidze, Board member of Civil Council on Defence and Security, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 10 April 2019 at Civil Council on Defence and Security

2. Irakli Mchedlishvili, Board member of Civil Council on Defence and Security, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 10 April 2019 at Civil Council on Defence and Security

3. Anonymous, Military Liaison Officer to Georgia, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 11 April 2019 at NATO Liaison Office in Georgia

4. Lt Col Michael Spanne Rozmara, Team Leader at NATO-Georgia Joint Training and Evaluation Centre, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 12 April 2019 at NATO Liaison Office in Georgia

5. Lt Col Michael Lund, Chief of Staff at NATO-Georgia Joint Training and Evaluation Centre, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 12 April 2019 at NATO Liaison Office in Georgia

6. Giorgi Muchaidze, Executive director of Atlantic Council for Georgia, former deputy Minister of Defence, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 13 April 2019

7. Batu Kutelia, former Georgian Ambassador to the United States and Deputy Secretary of Georgia's National Security Council, former deputy minister of Defence, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 14 April 2019 at Tbilisi Open University

8. Davit Darchiashvili, Former member of the Parliament of Georgia, professor, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 14 April 2019 at Ilia State University

9. Irina Shamiladze, Head of NATO Department at EU-NATO Information Centre, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 14 April 2019 At EU-NATO Information Centre

10. Mariam Gigauri, Senior Specialist at EU-NATO Information Centre, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 14 April 2019 At EU-NATO Information Centre

11. Anonymous, General Staff, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 15 April 2019 at General Staff of the Defence Forces of Georgia

12. Colonel Grigol Chelidze, Military Education and Training Command (J7), interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 15 April 2019 at General Staff of the Defence Forces of Georgia

13. Lt Colonel Giorgi Dumbadze, Commander of the NATO-Georgia Joint Trainings and Evaluation Centre's (JTEC), interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 15 April 2019 at Krtsanisi Military Base

14. Col Mamuka Kavtaradze, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 18 April 2019 at David Aghmashenebeli National Defence Academy in Gori

15. Rati Tvalavadze, Senior Specialist of the department of international relations at National Defence Academy, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 18 April 2019 at David Aghmashenebeli National Defence Academy in Gori

16. Tea Nikolashvili, Director of Defence Institutional Building School, interviewed by Rusudan Zabakhidze on 18 April 2019 at Defence Institutional Building School

Appendix 2: The Draft of Interview Questions

Questions for the Ministry of Defence

1. What are the major changes observed regarding the professionalism of the Georgian Armed Forces in recent years?

➢ What were the key factors influencing these changes?

➢ What were the key actors behind these changes and how would you assess their role in transforming the professionalism of the Armed forces?

2. What are the main messages of the recruitment campaigns?

3. What are the main motivations of joining the professional army? Are these motivations studied and considered for further planning by the Ministry of Defence?

4. What is your department doing to further develop the level of military expertise? What resources, training, and processes does the Army have in place to facilitate this development?

5. What is the role of NATO in providing support for Georgian Armed Forces?

➢ What are their priority areas of engagement? Have these priorities changed over the years?

➢ What tools/programmes does NATO provide for Georgian Armed Forces? What are their effects on the army professionalism?

6. What's the main purpose of the participation in international peace-keeping missions?

➢ Where and how are these strategic narratives communicated with officer corps?

7. Who in your opinion is a "client" for modern Georgian Armed Forces and has this understanding changed over time? If yes, why and how?

8. How and in what ways does participation in international peace-keeping missions affect the army professionalism?

- How does it affect the officers' understanding of their responsibility?

9. Providing security through peace-support/keeping missions goes beyond the military's traditional roles. How would you assess the process of widening and deepening of Georgian officers' military expertise?

- What were the key drivers/factors in this process?

10. How would you assess the relations between Georgian officers and their international counterparts?

11. Overall, what are the statistics of Georgia's engagement in peacekeeping missions?

- International military exercises?

- Military education programs?

- Redeployment?

12. In your opinion, how does international experience change the overall nature of civil-military relations in Georgia?

Questions for National Defence Academy

1. What are the major changes observed regarding the professionalism of the Georgian Armed Forces in recent years?

- What were the key factors influencing these changes?

- What were the key actors behind these changes and how would you assess their role in transforming the professionalism of the Armed forces?

2. What is your Academy doing to further develop the level of military expertise? What resources, training, and processes does the Army have in place to facilitate this development?

3. What are the key subjects taught at the Academy?

- How the main themes/subject areas changed in the past two decades?

4. What are the major factors influencing the military education?

➢ Has the importance of military professional education changed over the past years? If yes, what were the main reasons? (Bologna Process?)

5. What is the role of NATO in providing support for Georgian Armed forces?

➢ What are their priority areas of engagement? Have these priorities changed over the years?

➢ Has NATO been involved / consulted in developing the new study materials for army officers?

➢ What tools/programmes does NATO provide for Georgian armed forces? What are their effects on the army professionalism?

6. How and in what ways does participation in international peace-keeping missions affect army professionalism?

➢ How does it affect the officers' understanding of their responsibility?

7. Providing security through peace-support/keeping missions goes beyond the military's traditional roles. How would you assess the process of widening and deepening of Georgian officers' military expertise?

➢ What are the programmes targeted at transferring civilian tasks to the militaries?

➢ What are the officers' attitudes towards diversifying the roles and responsibilities?

➢ How does the National Defence Academy facilitate this process?

8. How does the Army's culture reinforce military expertise at an institutional level? How is military promoted expertise at the unit and organizational level?

9. How does military expertise impact the shared identity of Army professionals?

➢ What impact does expertise have on trust within the Army Profession? How does the military expertise build or degrade trust within an organization?

10. How has participation in international peace-keeping missions affected the military culture of armed forces?

11. How is corporatness promoted among the army professionals? What shapes the shared identity?

12. How would you assess the relations between Georgian officers and their international counterparts?

Questions for experts

1. What are the major changes you have observed regarding the professionalism of the Georgian Armed Forces in recent years?

➢ In your opinion, what were the key factors influencing these changes?

➢ In your opinion, what were the key actors behind these changes and how would you assess their role in transforming the professionalism of the Armed forces?

2. Who in your opinion is a "client" for modern Georgian Armed Forces and has this understanding changed over time? If yes, why and how?

3. What's the purpose of the participation in international peace-keeping missions?

➢ In your opinion, how the official narrative regarding the participation in international peace-keeping missions differ from officers' understanding of the purpose of the mission?

➢ Where and how are these narratives communicated?

4. How and in what ways does participation in international peace-keeping missions affect the army professionalism?

5. Providing security through peace-support/keeping missions goes beyond the military's traditional roles. How would you assess the process of widening and deepening of Georgian officers' military expertise?

➢ What were the key drivers/factors in this process?

6. How would you assess the relations between Georgian officers and their international counterparts?

7. In your opinion, what are the greatest challenges remaining towards the development of military professionalism in Georgia?

Questions for the NATO Liaison Office in Georgia

1. What are the key characteristics of military professionalism of the Georgian Armed forces?

2. Then where is the main gap (if any) between NATO member states and Georgian army professionalism? How has this gap changed throughout the cooperation?

3. What are the priority areas of NATO engagement with Georgian Armed Forces?

➢ How have these priorities changed over time?

4. What are the main tools/programmes targeting at the modernization of the Georgian Armed Forces?

➢ How would you evaluate the outcomes of these programmes?

➢ To what extent are they locally driven?

5. How would you assess Georgia's participation in International Military exercises?

6. How has the attitude of NATO member state armies changed towards Georgian counterparts?

7. How has improved expertise contributed towards building the international trust among the partners?

8. What are the key benefits the Georgian officers gain from participation in international peacekeeping missions?

9. What are the skills gained? Where have the major achievements been demonstrated in this regard?

10. How are Georgians integrated into the international chain of command?

11. How would you assess their relations with international counterparts?

12. In your opinion, who in your opinion is a "client" for modern Georgian Armed Forces and has this understanding changed over time? If yes, why and how?

13. In your opinion, what are the greatest challenges remaining in the development of military professionalism in Georgia?