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REGIONAL LEVEL ANALYSIS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL SYSTEM OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER ON THE EXAMPLE OF ADJARA

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ABSTRACT

In modern developed democracies, the mechanism of control of the executive structure by the representative body operates at both the central and local levels of government. In the case of Georgia, the analysis of the regional level is important, because the autonomy of Adjara in the country creates an important regional level of governance, and therefore the purpose of this study is to determine how similar mechanisms are represented in the regional governance system and how it works. To achieve this goal and to study this issue, is used a conceptual approach of social control. The research is based on quantitative and qualitative social research techniques, as well as analysis and statistical methods. All this helped us in proper analysis and study of collected primary and secondary scientific information and materials. This study was conducted between May 20 to August 20, 2022. According to the results of this research, in the presented study, the significance of the control of the representative body as a system at the regional level is studied for the first time. The functioning system and mechanisms of parliamentary control management at the regional level are shown and described. The parliamentary control system is defined as a characteristic of the transparent system of public administration. The quality of regional level parliamentary control management system is shown; Evaluation and measurement criteria. The problems of effective functioning of regional parliamentary control as a management system in Georgia are listed, and in the process of research we have developed recommendations that will contribute to the effectiveness of regional parliamentary control.

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Introduction.

An important segment in the parliamentary control system in Georgia is regional parliamentary control, which is carried out by the legislative (representative) bodies of the state government of autonomous units, which is not a territorial extension of the central parliamentary control, but has its own goals, tasks, objects, technologies, which indicate its independent functional purpose. Regional parliamentary control, which has its own sectoral legislation on parliamentary control, requires theoretical generalization and proper scientific systematization in order to reveal its shortcomings and optimal features, to make possible the use of its individual models at the central level. At the same time,

the system and practice of parliamentary control requires scientific and practical proposals and recommendations that will increase the effectiveness of parliamentary control, the degree of its influence on the activities of the executive power. Therefore, the aim of the study is to analyze the regional parliamentary control management mechanism in Georgia, in theoretical, regulatory and practical components, to study and determine its optimal characteristics on the example of the Adjara region.

Main research questions.

How effective is the system of parliamentary control of the executive power at the regional level? What mechanisms and procedures are used in the parliamentary control system at the regional level? How effective are specific mechanisms of parliamentary control at the regional level and what development opportunities are there?

Literature review.

Theoretical issues of parliamentary control in the Georgian reality are analyzed only from a legal point of view, at a scientific level, in the works of such authors as: B. Kantaria (2012), Z. Macharadze (2017), V. Gonashvili and others (2016), O. Melkadze (1996), B. Guliashvili, V. Gurgenidze (2014). However, in these works, the emphasis is not on the study of the parliamentary control management system, but on presenting the legal aspects of control implementation. Accordingly, less attention is paid to the study of the practice of parliamentary control as a system, determining the effectiveness of control mechanisms, etc.

At the same time, there are no scientific works in modern political and legal science that contain a comprehensive analysis of the actual problems of parliamentary control in its practical application at the regional level. It can be said that until today we are unable to make a systematic and detailed analysis of the management mechanism of parliamentary control in the context of theoretical, regulatory and practical components.

In these works, the emphasis is not on the study of the control management system, but on the presentation of the legal and political aspects of the implementation of control. Accordingly, less attention is paid to the study of parliamentary control as a system management, determining the effectiveness of control mechanisms, etc. The works of such foreign authors as: F. Cuocolo (1994), E.S. Lapatuhina (2009), B.E. Chirkin (1993), C.A. Denisov (2002), T.HO. Divaeva (2004) were important for us.

The mentioned works are obviously not related to the study of Georgian practice. Accordingly, this research is a novelty for Georgian scientific literature. However, at this stage, research does not contradict its practical solution.

Accordingly, the research presented in the Georgian reality is a novelty in the context of public administration from the point of view of studying parliamentary control as a management system from a theoretical-methodological point of view.

Research Methodology.

The empirical basis of the research is the practice of regional parliamentary control and the acts replacing regional parliamentary control. The normative base for the research is created by the valid laws and legal acts that regulate issues of parliamentary control, both at the central and regional levels.

One of the important methodological methods of the research was interviewing, which we conducted with representatives of autonomous, executive and parliamentary authorities, which serves to investigate the main issues. As part of the interview, questions were sent to the former and current speakers of the Supreme Council of Adjara and representatives of the speakership on a selective principle, to the chairmen of the commission, to the AR of Adjara. Government representatives: ministers and heads of sub-departmental institutions. As a result, the features and problems of parliamentary control were highlighted on the example of the control mechanisms of the Supreme Council of Adjara. One of the important methodological methods of the research was the technique of document analysis. With the mentioned method, we studied A.R. of Adjara. Stenographic reports of the parliamentary sessions of the Supreme Council, which relates to and reflects the procedures, process and specific cases of parliamentary control. This helped us to describe the process of using parliamentary mechanisms, practice, practicality of use, to identify features and problems. In the research of the mentioned issue, the method of observation was also important, which helped us to observe A.R. of Adjara in a real environment. the process of using the mechanisms of the legislative body by the

Supreme Council. By observing in the real environment, we identified the positive and negative features of such work. The observation technique was used with the principle of directly involved observation, because I am presenting A.R. of Adjara. Acting Deputy of the Supreme Council.

In order to study the process of evolution and quantitative use of the development of parliamentary control and mechanisms of the executive power, it is important to study the A.R. of Adjara. Study of relevant documents of the Supreme Council by the method of statistical data analysis. Therefore, this last method was also important for the research.

The study of the primary scientific information and data obtained using the mentioned methods was carried out using the methods of quantitative and qualitative analysis, for which we relied on the methods of comparative, systematic and statistical analysis.

Secondary scientific information was also reflected in the research, in the form of studies conducted on a subject of interest to us. In this regard, we would like to highlight the studies conducted by Transparency International (Sajaya.L, Tatanashvili G. and others 2018). Based on the scientific information obtained as a result of the research, within the scope of desk research, we used the methods of documentary analysis and monographic research, and presented the results of the present research.

Main findings and review.

In the Autonomous Republic of Adjara, the forms of modern parliamentary control reflect the mechanisms established in the previous period, as well as modern forms. They are related to the constitutional norms and the efficiency of the functioning of public institutions (Cuocolo, 1994).

According to the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara (2008), the Constitutional Law of Georgia on the Autonomous Republic of Adjara (2017) and the Regulations of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara (2019), together with the legislative activities of the Supreme Council of Adjara, the control of the activities of the Government of Adjara is entrusted.

The Constitution of AR of Adjara (2008) determines the forms and mechanisms of control in terms of how the said control can be implemented. In particular, according to Article 13 of the Constitution - about the bureau, committees and factions of the Supreme Council - it is stated in paragraph 2,- "Committees are established in the Supreme Council for the purpose of preliminary preparation of legislative issues, facilitating the implementation of decisions, and controlling the activities of bodies accountable to the Supreme Council". And Article 14 of the Constitution on the Temporary Commission of the Supreme Council mentions that "it is mandatory for the representatives of the bodies of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara to appear at its session at the request of the temporary commission, as well as to submit the necessary documents and information for the investigation of the issue".

In addition to the mentioned form, questioning and interpellation of a member of the Supreme Council is given in Article 15 of the Constitution.

Thus, the constitution of Adjara defines such forms and mechanisms of control of the executive power as committee, temporary commission, interpellation and questioning of a member of the Supreme Council. The committee and temporary commission can be considered as a form of institutional control, and questioning and interpellation as control mechanisms.

The Regulation of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Adjara (2019) further specifies the forms and mechanisms of control of the executive power of the representative body. In the 15th chapter of the regulation, "Implementation of control by the Supreme Council''-All the mechanisms within which the Supreme Council will control the activities of the executive authority are described. In particular, the regulation provides 12 such mechanisms. These mechanisms are: 1. Questioning of a member of the Supreme Council; 2. Interpellation; 3. Report of the Chairman of the Government of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara on the activities of the Government; 4. Announcement of officials at the plenary session; 5. Minister's hour; 6. Hearing of a member of the government of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara and another official; 7. Approval of the Government of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara; 8. Declaration of no confidence in the government of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara; 9. Consideration of the quarterly report on the implementation of the republican budget; 10. Review of the annual report on the performance of the republican budget; 11. Review of the report submitted to the Supreme Council; 12. Declaration of no confidence in the Advisory Council of Adjara Television and Radio of the Public Broadcaster and premature termination of the authority of the member of the Advisory Council of the Adjara Television and Radio of the Public Broadcaster.

One of the important methods of the research was interviewing, which we conducted with representatives of the autonomous executive and parliamentary authorities-Ministers and heads of sub-departmental institutions. As a result, the features and problems of parliamentary control were highlighted on the example of the control mechanisms of the Supreme Council of Adjara.

Within the framework of the interview, we interviewed 21 active (including 7 opposition), 35 former (including 13 opposition) members of the Supreme Council. Among the interviewed members were also 1 acting and 1 former chairman of the Supreme Council, 5 acting and 13 former committee heads. We interviewed 4 current ministers, 3 heads of sub-departmental institutions, 9 former ministers, 3 former government officials and 1 current chairman. As a result of in-depth interviews, 76 respondents were interviewed as part of the research. Within the framework of the interview, the content of the questions for the respondents included:

- 1. What is the role of the Supreme Council in the social and political life of the region?
- 2. What is the role of the Supreme Council at the regional level in the process of distribution of power and how is it manifested?
- 3. What mechanisms does the Supreme Council have for exercising control over the activities of the executive authority?
- 4. What do you think how effective are the mechanisms used by the Supreme Council to control the executive power?
- 5. How do you think, are there any obstructive mechanisms that prevent the executive authority from exercising control effectively?
- 6. How do you think, the control mechanisms used by the Supreme Council to control the executive power are of a formal nature? Can you specify which are formal and which are not?
- 7. How do you think, what prevents the parliament from more effectively using the levers of parliamentary control of the executive power in its hands?
- 8. Which do you think is the most effective and the least effective of the executive power mechanisms that uses the Supreme Council?
 - 9. Based on your experience, is it possible to create other effective mechanisms?
- 10. Do you remember from your practice which mechanism showed more or less efficiency? What explains this?
- 11. In order for the Supreme Council to more effectively use the control mechanisms of the executive power at its disposal, what should be done for this?

Based on the analysis of the results of the research, it was revealed that 74% of the interviewed respondents evaluated the control mechanisms of the executive power by the Supreme Council as positive and effective, and 26% as ineffective and negative. It should be noted that the representatives of the ruling political force positively evaluated the control mechanisms of the executive power by the Supreme Council, while 26% of those who negatively evaluated the control mechanisms of the executive power by the Supreme Council were representatives of the opposition force.

The results of the research as a result of the conducted interviews appeared as follows: The role of the Supreme Council in the social and political life of the region is evaluated positively by 52% of the surveyed respondents (39 respondents), and negatively by 48% (37 respondents).

As it turns out from the analysis of the answers of the respondents, the role of the Supreme Council in the region is mostly given a negative assessment by the former members of the Supreme Council, and the formal, limited powers of the Supreme Council are named as the basis for this. Among the acting MPs, mainly the representatives of the opposition force give a negative assessment. Excessive actions of the ruling political force are cited as the reason for this.

52% of the surveyed respondents (40 respondents) positively and negatively 48% (36 respondents) evaluated the importance of the Supreme Council in the process of distribution of authority/power at the regional level.

22% of the respondents (17 respondents) were able to list the mechanisms of implementation of control of the activities of the executive authority by the Supreme Council, while 78% (59 respondents) were unable to list them.

51% (39 respondents) of the interviewed respondents named the governing political power represented by the constitutional majority as the factors hindering the implementation of control over the activities of the executive authority by the Supreme Council, which prevent the effective

implementation of control over the executive authority, and 29% (22 respondents) named appropriate weak legal mechanisms and 20% (15 respondents) named lack of appropriate political culture.

46% of the surveyed respondents (35 respondents) consider that the existing control mechanisms of the executive authority's activities by the Supreme Council are formal, and 54% (41 respondents) believe that all the mechanisms operating in practice are effective.

Out of the 12 mechanisms of control of the executive power taken into account by the regulation by the Supreme Council, 7 mechanisms were named as effective: by 80% of the surveyed respondents (61 respondents), and 4 mechanisms as inactive mechanisms by 20% of the surveyed respondents (15 respondents).

59% of respondents (44 respondents) responded negatively to the question - "based on experience, is it possible to create other effective mechanisms?" and said that the existing mechanisms are sufficient, while 41% (32 respondents) consider it necessary to implement changes. However, they cannot name exactly what new mechanisms can be implemented.

In order for the Supreme Council to more effectively use the mechanisms of control of the executive power at its disposal, 43% of the respondents (33 respondents) believe that the ruling political power in the legislative body, which represents the constitutional majority, should not embody the form of party control. If this current practice will be refused, it will be possible for parliamentary control to actually become a mechanism of executive power control.

Thus, as a result of the analysis of the primary scientific information obtained using the in-depth interview method, it can be concluded that the currently existing mechanisms of control of the executive power by the Supreme Council are ineffective. This is caused by several reasons: first-lower awareness of deputies about the essence of parliamentary control and its mechanisms; Second - a legal flaw, the constitution of Adjara indicates only four mechanisms of parliamentary control, while twelve mechanisms are given in the regulations of the Supreme Council. In none of them is there even a reference to the mandatory use of these mechanisms, and there is no legal sanction for non-compliance; Third-the governing political power represented by the constitutional majority in the legislative body actually embodies the mechanism of party control over the executive power.

One of the important methods of the research was the technique of document analysis. One of the important methods of the research was the technique of document analysis. With the mentioned method, we studied A.R. of Adjara. Stenographic reports of the parliamentary sessions of the Supreme Council, which refer to and reflect the procedures, process and specific cases of parliamentary control.

This helped us to describe the process of using parliamentary mechanisms, practice, practicality of use, frequency, to identify features and to problems. The study of the shorthand reports of the meetings of the Supreme Council, the documents reflecting the work of the meetings of separate committees showed that the most effective of the twelve control mechanisms of the Supreme Council is the question of the member of the Supreme Council; minister's hour; Review of the annual report on the implementation of the republican budget, approval of the government, review of the report submitted to the Supreme Council. The Supreme Council more or less uses such mechanisms as: - the report of the Chairman of the Government of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara on the activities of the Government;- - Consideration of the quarterly report on the execution of the republican budget; Such mechanisms as: - interpellation; - announcement of officials at the plenary session; - hearing of a member of the government of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara and other officials; - Declaration of no confidence in the government of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara; - The declaration of no confidence in the Advisory Board of Public Broadcasting Adjara Television and Radio and the early termination of the mandate of the member of the Advisory Board of Public Broadcasting Adjara Television and Radio were not used.

In the research of the mentioned issue, the method of observation was also important, which helped us to see the AR of Adjara in a real environment. The process of using the mechanisms of the legislative body by the Supreme Council, by observing in the real environment, we identified the positive and negative features of such work. The observation showed that the Supreme Council uses only 7 out of twelve control mechanisms. These are: - question of the member of the Supreme Council; - Report of the Chairman of the Government of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara on the activities of the Government; - Minister's hour; - Consideration of the quarterly report on the performance of the republican budget; - Review of the annual report on the performance of the republican budget, - Approval of the government and review of the submitted report.

However, if we take into account the requirements of the regulation of the Supreme Council, and in general the functional purpose of the control of the executive power by the parliamentary body, we can say that single cases of the use of control mechanisms do not give grounds to conclude that we are dealing with an effective and systematic use of the parliamentary control mechanisms.

The analysis of the research shows that the mentioned control mechanisms are not used efficiently and systematically by the Supreme Council. Social understanding of control also requires its systematicity.

For the study of the process of quantitative use of the evolution of parliamentary control and development mechanisms of the executive power, A.R. of Adjara is important. Study of relevant documents of the Supreme Council by the method of statistical data analysis. Therefore, this last method was also important for the research.

As a result of the research, the analysis of the regional level shows that there is a representative body operating in the Adjara region, which has experienced significant changes in the practice of executive power control over the years - legal and political mechanisms of the control authority of the representative body have been created. The study of the regulations of the Supreme Council showed that the use of control mechanisms of the executive power by the representative body of Adjara has undergone a significant evolution since 2004. The research showed that the control mechanisms actually started to exist since 2004, although the examples of the realization of these mechanisms are so rare that the need to strengthen the supervisory functioning of the representative body of Adjara was obvious.

According to Article 122 of the regulation adopted by the Supreme Council of Adjara in 2005 (Adjara newspaper, 2005), the following mechanisms were defined as the control functions of the Supreme Council: - a reporter and/or a group of reporters studying the issue; - the study group of the issue; - asking a question; - Oral and written reading.

Studying the stenographic reports of the Supreme Council, interviewing the members of the Supreme Council in 2004-2008 and 2008-2012, established that the mentioned mechanisms had almost no use in practice.

As mentioned above, according to Article 122 of the regulation adopted by the Supreme Council of Adjara in 2005 (Adjara newspaper, 2005), the following mechanisms were defined as the control functions of the Supreme Council: - a reporter and/or a group of reporters studying the issue; - the study group of the issue; - asking a question; - Oral and written reading.

In particular, according to Article 122 of the Regulation, the Supreme Council, the Bureau, the Committee are authorized to appoint a reporter or a group of reporters from the members of the Supreme Council for the purpose of studying a separate issue and developing a draft of the relevant decision, controlling the revenues and spending of the budget funds of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara by the executive bodies of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara, which chooses the main speaker from among its members. The reporter establishes the plan and schedule for the study of the issue, determines the specialists participating in it, leads the study of the issue, is responsible for its processing and preparation of the decision. The speaker appointed by the plenary session of the Supreme Council has the right to request and receive any information and explanation on any issue from the administrative body. The reporter submits the draft decision to the bureau or committee meeting for consideration. According to Article 123 of the Regulation, it was necessary to create a study group in the Supreme Council in order to investigate the facts of violations of the legislation of Georgia or the Autonomous Republic of Adjara by state bodies and officials and to respond accordingly. The basis for the creation of the group was the information: a) about illegal actions of state bodies, officials, which threaten the political, economic, social or other interests of Georgian citizens; b) about the improper spending of the budgets of the republican and territorial units of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara.) In order to create a study group, the chairman of the Supreme Council, a committee, a faction or a 5-person group of deputies was authorized to submit a proposal for the creation of a study group by submitting appropriate written justification.

The Supreme Council voted on the appropriateness of the mentioned proposal with the majority of the votes of those present at the plenary session, but not less than one third of the full composition. If the proposal was accepted, then a draft decision on the creation of a study group would be put to the vote.

The decision to create a group studying the issue was made by the majority of the list of the Supreme Council. It should have indicated the basis for the creation of the study group, the range of

issues to be investigated, the term of office of the commission, the number of members and the deadline for nomination of candidates for membership".

The regulation also took into account the manner of asking questions. In particular, Article 132 of the Regulation defined the rule of questioning. In particular, the member of the Supreme Council was entitled to address a question to the body accountable to the Supreme Council, the government, a member of the government, the mayor of the city, the head of the executive authority of the territorial unit, the state institution and receive an answer from them. The question could be asked only in written form, each body and official to whom the question was addressed was obliged to submit a written answer within 10 days after receiving the question of the Supreme Council. In agreement with the author of the question, the relevant official could extend the time limit for answering the question by 5 days.

The regulation also determined-"The faction of the Supreme Council, the group of 5 members of the Supreme Council had the right to address a question to the body accountable to the Supreme Council, the government, the member of the government, who are obliged to answer the question at the plenary session of the Supreme Council. The question is answered during government hours. The question could be written or oral. The answer to the question was submitted in written form to the plenary session of the Supreme Council. An oral question may be asked at the plenary session of the Supreme Council. A written question may be submitted no later than 3 days before government hour.

Thus, the mechanisms of executive control by the representative body at the regional level were established by the 2005 Law of Adjara. in the regulations of the Supreme Council, however, the study of the issue showed that they were fictitious and not fulfilled.

In 2012, the change of the official vertical in Georgia also became the basis for the strengthening of the parliamentary control mechanisms in the country. Changes in the direction of strengthening the mechanisms of parliamentary control at the central level were also reflected at the autonomous level.

In 2012-2018, new parliamentary mechanisms were also created. In Adjara, as mentioned above, the number of mechanisms increased from 4 to 6. This meant: - inviting to the meetings of commissions and factions of bodies accountable to the Supreme Council; - exercising the right to ask and question; - government hour, creation of a study group; - Checking the performance of normative acts; - Budget execution control. The research showed that in 2012-2016 In terms of the implementation of the controlling function, the Supreme Council does not use some control mechanisms at all, and in other cases, the implementation of the control functions is weak. The chairman of the government was invited three times to the session of the faction (attended once) and the minister of finance and economy once (attended). The members of the Supreme Council took advantage of the parliamentary question asked at the plenary session three times, which was answered.

The government hour was not held in the Supreme Council. A group studying the issue was created twice in a planned way, but no information is available on its activities. Within 1 month after the end of each quarter, the government presented a quarterly review of the implementation of the republican budget with the cumulative total. Every year, no later than 2 months after the end of the budget year, the government presented the annual report on the implementation of the republican budget. There is no information on the control of the implementation of normative acts (Tatanashvili, Zoidze and others, 2017).

The study of the issue 2016-2020 created new control mechanisms and statistics increased from 6 mechanisms to 9 mechanisms. This meant: - declaration of no confidence in the government; - asking a question; - interpellation; - submission of the report of the chairman of the government; - announcement of officials at the plenary session; - Minister's hour; - listening to a member of the government and another person; - quarterly budget report; - Annual budget report. As a result of the research, it was determined that the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara did not use 4 out of 9 mechanisms in 2016-2020. In particular, only three members of the Supreme Council addressed 11 questions to the state and local self-government bodies in the territory of Adjara. The Chairman of the Government of Adjara presented the activity report to the Supreme Council twice; During this period, the officials were not invited to the plenary session of the Supreme Council. Within the minister's hour, all the ministers of the government of Adjara were heard once, the quarterly and annual review of the republican budget took place 14 times in total.

The composition of political forces in the Supreme Council influenced and continues to influence the development and use of effective mechanisms of control of the executive power by the representative body. From 2004 to the present, the Supreme Council was always composed of one

political force with a constitutional majority, which naturally affected the control of the executive power by the next representative body.

On the web page of the Supreme Council, there is a module - question of a member of the Supreme Council, by studying which it is determined that from 2019 until now, a total of 52 questions were asked by the members of the Supreme Council. The research showed that the frequency of use of effective mechanisms of control of the executive power by the representative body was also different depending on the composition of the political forces in the Supreme Council.

As a result of the research, it was found that the use of all the mechanisms for the implementation of the controlling function by the Supreme Council in practice is not at all apparent, and in this regard, the implementation of the mentioned functions is essentially weak. Ineffective parliamentary control can have several reasons: ineffective mechanisms of supervision established by legislation, lack of traditions and experience in implementing parliamentary control, as well as low political culture of members of parliament and representatives of the executive power.

Conclusions and recommendations.

The research showed that the representative body of the region has not so rich experience in the control of the executive power. Practical, effective examples of control mechanisms are so rare that it is necessary to strengthen the supervisory functioning of the representative body of Adjara.

The research showed that the regional parliamentary control, which seems to have its own sectoral legislation on parliamentary control, directly repeats the procedures and mechanisms of the model of the parliamentary control system at the central level.

In order to strengthen the control functions of the Parliament, it is necessary to adopt the relevant law "On Parliamentary Control", which will define the subject and boundaries, goals and objectives of parliamentary control, the main forms and methods of its implementation, rights and obligations, guarantees of the subjects of parliamentary control, as well as the circle of persons, with respect to which parliamentary control will be provided.

The reasons for weak parliamentary control at the regional level are systemic and due to problems in both the legislative and executive authorities. Full implementation of the supervisory function assigned to the representative body by the constitution is possible only if each member of the parliament and the government understands the importance of this institution and puts it ahead of narrow party interests.

A.R. of Adjara. The legislative body cannot fully use the existing control mechanisms. The reason for this is a poor political tradition, gaps in the legislation and weak mechanisms for the involvement of the opposition in the direction of parliamentary control.

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