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STAGES OF RESETTLEMENT OF ECO-MIGRANTS OF ADJARA REGION AND STATE STRATEGY (ON THE EXAMPLE OF GURIA REGION)

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ABSTRACT

The modern migration processes in Georgia, especially ecological motives that are caused by the social environment have many reasons and they don't fully correspond to the socio-economic strategic interests of the development of the country.

It is the weak economy mainly due to geographical factors, the backwardness and high cost of the service sector, and the dangerous natural processes that periodically put the need for intensive one-way migration on the agenda. Based on this, the purpose of the study is to determine the nature and stages of ecomigration of the population from the Adjara region at different times in the context of the state strategy, on the example of the ecomigrants settled in the Guria region. In order to achieve the mentioned goal and to study the issue, the institutional approach to the study of migration processes is used. 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. The survey was conducted from March 12 to September 25, 2022. According to the results of the research, in the presented material, the stages of eco-migration from the Adjara region to the Guria region are studied for the first time, its nature is determined, the state policy and its characteristics are evaluated, and various problems related to eco-migration are described. Also, during the research process, we developed recommendations that will contribute to the effectiveness of the state eco-migration policy.

Based on the set goal of the research problem and the research issues, the research included the study of the scientific literature surrounding the research problem, the study of state documents, including archival documents, press and media materials, and the implementation of field research in the areas inhabited by ecomigrants.

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Introduction.

Due to the expected or already occurring natural events, the lack of material resources, the difficulty of organizing a farm, the lack of permanent work, the desire to improve living conditions, migration processes took place with periodic intensity from the mountainous villages of the Adjara region to different regions of Georgia.

From the second half of the 20th century, especially in its last period, the compact eviction of the population from the naturally affected or naturally unstable zones mainly occurred in 19 administrative units of Georgia. Among them Meskheta-Javakheti, Kartli, Kvemo Kartli, Kakheti, some districts of Samegrelo and Guria region. Within the framework of our research, the compact resettlement of the eco-migrants of the Adjara region in the Guria region is particularly important. As research has established, unlike other regions of Georgia, the migration of the population from the Adjara region to Guria begins in the middle of the 19th century. According to various data, more than 8,000 families have settled in the mentioned region alone with the status of eco-migrants and surplus population. Some of them experienced re-immigration in the region, but these were isolated cases. Based on this, the purpose of the study is to determine the stages of ecomigration and evaluate the policy implemented in accordance with the state ecomigration strategy.

Main research questions.

What stages are separated in the process of migration from the Adjara region to the Guri region?
What were the specific reasons for ecomigration?
What was the nature of ecomigration?
How effective was the state's eco-migration strategy?

Literature review.

A special interest in the study of theoretical and practical issues of eco-migration in the Georgian reality can be observed in the last decade. Individual issues of eco-migration are analyzed at the scientific level in the works of such authors as: T. Trieri. M. TuraSvili (2007), O. Saldadze. A. Muskatelidze (2018), Ecomigration in Georgia (2017), Ecomigration... (2017), R. Getiashvili (2011), Natural disasters... (2013), S. Silagadze (2017), I. Macharashvili (2008), M. Kukchishvili (2020), Laili J. (2012), J. Lyle (2012), T. Putkaradze (2006), Chumburidze M. Ghvinadze N. (2015).

However, in the mentioned works, the emphasis is hardly placed on the study of eco-migration processes from the Adjara region to the Guria region. Accordingly, no attention has been paid to the stages and nature of ecomigration, the study of the practice of the state policy of ecomigration, and the determination of the effectiveness of the strategy. At the same time, there are no scientific works in modern Georgian social science that provide a comprehensive analysis of the current problems of Adjara ecomigrants in the Guria region. In the mentioned works, the emphasis is not on the study of the issues of eco-migrants settled in Guria region from Adjara, but on the description of the current situation of eco-migrants settled in different regions of Georgia. Therefore, the issues of eco-migration of Adjara eco-migrants in the Guria region have not been studied.

For the theoretical-methodological research of the issue, the works of such foreign authors as: Kniveton D. Schmidt-Verkerk K. r Smith Ch. (2008), Arango J. (2000), Wood W. Zolberg A. (eds) (2001). Massey D.S. Arango J. (1993). The mentioned papers are obviously not related to the study of Georgian practice. Accordingly, this study is a novelty for Georgian scientific literature, since the given study on the example of the research of a specific region in the Georgian reality is a novelty from the point of view of studying the process of eco-migration from a theoretical-methodological point of view.

Research methodology.

The empirical basis of the research is the field study of issues related to the ecomigration process of Adjarian ecomigrants settled in the villages of the Guria region, as well as the identification and analysis of official documents as a result of archival work related to ecomigration. Accordingly, field research included conducting research in the villages of Guria region through observation, description, survey (questionnaire) and interviews (face-to-face, group, extended). The use of qualitative methods made it possible to get in-depth knowledge about the current situation in places inhabited by eco-migrants, to provide a detailed description of the problems of eco-migrants and to typologize their needs. At the same time, the research was based on such methods, which are united in the paradigms of

sociological and ethnographic research. In particular, within the scope of the ethnographic research, the daily life of individuals and social groups was described in order to study their cultural norms, which in itself meant conducting field work in the natural conditions characteristic of the studied group or individuals, which was based on the analysis of the data collected about the existence of the title and the elements of culture and the interpretation of the obtained results.

One of the important methodological methods of the research was interviewing, as part of the interview, the villages of Ozurgeti, Lanchkhuti and Chokhotauri municipalities of the Guria region were interviewed: Zot, Chkhakura, Kvalghia, Nasakiral, Naruja, Laituri, Bakhv, Dvabzu, Konchkati, Meria, Mitisdziri, Nagomar, Shroma, Aketi, in Deepaghele, Chiba, Buknar, Chochkhati, etc. 3000 eco-migrants or their descendants. During the in-depth interview within the framework of the research, the content of the questions for the respondents included:

1. When and under what conditions did you settle?
2. Did you relocate by yourself or with state support?
3. What were the main reasons for your relocation?
4. What support did you feel and do you feel from the state?
5. What kind of help did you receive from the state as an eco-migrant?
6. How did you start living in new places?
7. Do you consider yourself an eco-migrant?
8. What should the state do to help you?
9. What is your relationship with local communities?
10. Did your families feel supported by the local authorities in the direction of cultural or labor activities, and in what way was/is it manifested?
11. Did the re-migration or reverse migration of eco-migrants take place? And if so, what was the reason? (Field research materials. 2022).

At the same time, we sent letters to Ozurgeti, Chokhotauri and Lanchkhuti municipalities to request public information. The requested information was about:

1. In which villages of the municipality are resettled/resettled eco-migrants from the Adjara region.
2. Since which years have settled/resettled eco-migrants from the Adjara region settled in the villages of the municipality.
3. The number of families of settled/resettled eco-migrants from the Adjara region settled in the villages of 3 municipalities by villages.
4. Total number of eco-migrants settled/resettled from the Adjara region settled in the villages of the municipality according to the villages.
5. The number of eco-migrants employed in public structures.
6. Documents depicting local municipal social programs promoting adaptation-integration of eco-migrants in local communities.

One of the important methodological methods of the research was the technique of document analysis. Using the mentioned method, we studied archival documents, which we searched in the respective funds of the historical and state archives of Adjara. The analysis of archival documents helped us to study the state policy of eco-migration, to determine the stages of eco-migration and to identify the problems associated with eco-migration. The mentioned archival materials helped us to describe the process of eco-migration from the Adjara region to the Guria region during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, to reveal the peculiarities and to identify the problems. In the study of the mentioned issue, the observation method was also important, which helped us to observe the daily life of eco-migrants in a real environment. We studied their economic and cultural-religious life in a real environment. The observation technique was used on the principle of direct observation. For the evolution and study of eco-migration as a process, it was important to analyze public information requested from state agencies.

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 research conducted with the support of the European Center for Minority Issues (Trieri T. Turashvili M. 2007), as well as the research conducted within the framework of the Democracy Institute (Eco-migration in Georgia... (2017) and a special report prepared by the Public Defender of Georgia (2013)). . Based on the scientific

information obtained as a result of the research, within the framework of the desk research, we used the methods of document analysis and monographic research.

The last stage of the research was completely devoted to the systematic processing of the obtained primary and secondary scientific information, systematic analysis and formation of relevant results, which are given within the scope of the present research.\

Main findings and discussion.

Georgia is characterized by high frequency of natural disasters. According to the data of the National Environment Agency, the scale of natural disasters has increased dramatically in recent years. All this is reflected in a particularly large and growing number of eco-migrants. Natural events are frequent in the Adjara region, the mountainous terrain often naturally causes natural events, which are active in different periods of the year, and as a result, many families remain without shelter and income.

Natural events and the issue of affected families is a well-known problem for the government. The current situation in Georgia in terms of eco-migration is also complicated by the problems caused by the unsystematic and inconsistent policy of resettling victims of natural disasters over the years, which the state has to solve gradually.

Eco-migrants in Georgia are families that were resettled by the state decades ago, as well as families that request resettlement, and no matter how strange it may be, families that live in the risk zone. In other words, in Georgia, the concept (term) of eco-migrant includes both resettled and resettled families and families belonging to the risk group, which indicates the inconsistent attitude of the state to this issue (Eco-migration in Georgia, 2017, p. 4).

The definition of an internally displaced person in the national legislation is given in the 1996 Law of Georgia "On Internally Displaced Persons-Displaced Persons." It does not contain concepts related to natural disasters, and also, the law does not protect a group of persons who were forced to leave their permanent residence as a result of a natural event or a man-made disaster. Consequently, the government has also been relieved of its responsibility and internally displaced persons are also deprived of the opportunities to exercise their rights established by the constitution or international principles. No status applies to them, and persons of this category cannot benefit from the mechanism of legal protection guaranteed by law (R. Getiashvili. 2011. p. 3-4).

As we mentioned above, the Adjara region is distinguished by the frequency of natural events, which in turn causes massive population migration to different regions of Georgia, including the Guria region. However, in the process of field ethnographic research in the mentioned region, as a result of the research, we determined that in addition to natural disasters, the reason for migration could also be an economic factor, which was also equal to labor migration.

As a result of interviews with eco-migrants, it became clear that population migration from Adjara region to Guria region started in the second half of the 19th century and was related to economic migration. In particular, in Upper Adjara, on the one hand, the lack of land, and on the other hand, the excess of population (Upper Adjara is characterized by large and extended families) necessitated the search for new housing. Since the Guria region borders the Adjara region geographically, Guria has become the main and accessible object of settlement (field research materials. 2022).

In particular, as the first flow of eco-migrants from the villages of Zemo Adjara-Didachari and Ghorjomi was established by interviews with eco-migrants, about 50 families were first resettled in the village. in Zotikeli, and then in the villages of Zot, Chkhakura, and Kvalgha. Then the total number of eco-migrant families increased to 300. As a result of field research work, this stage of ecomigration was established in the form of single cases and continued until the 20s of the 20th century. This was the first flow of eco-migrants, which was caused by economic conditions and had a spontaneous, self-flowing character, although their resettlement in the Guria region, as it is clear from the field materials, was also in the interests of the then Guria leaders and leaders. This can be considered as the first stage of eco-migration from Ajara region to Guria region.

The second stage of eco-migration from the Adjara region to the Guria region already began during the Soviet regime, and it had an organized, planned nature. As determined by the study of archival documents, which was also confirmed by interviews with eco-migrants (field research work. 2022), during the Soviet period, the resettlement of the population from the Adjara region in the Guria region began in the 60s of the 20th century and continued until the 70s of the same century. According to archival documents, at that time, eco-migration took the form of intra-republican agricultural tax (Atssa.

Foundation R-356. Part 1. Sec. 104. F. 107). The government had developed a "perspective plan for the settlement of families in collective farms of the Georgian SSR and Soviet farms in a planned manner (Atssa. Foundation R-356. Part. 1. Sec. 287. F. F. 9). Resettlement was carried out by the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR #154 of March 5, 1963, #399 of July 2, 1964, #279 of May 8, 1965, #181 of March 24, 1866, #200 of March 30, 1976, #177 of April 23, 1969, On the basis of resolutions #184 of April 3, #39 of January 21, 1970, #411 of June 23, 1975, #103 of February 8, 1979 and decree #404 of May 4, 1971 (Atssa. Fund R-356. Section 1. Sec. 118 p. 15; p. 133. p. 32; p. 287. p. 8-9). In the mentioned years, the resettlement of eco-migrants in the Guria region was due, on the one hand, to the deterioration of the ecological situation and overpopulation in the highlands of the Ajara region (Atssa. Fund R-356. Part. 1. Sak. 287. F. 8). and in collective farms (Atssa. Fund R-356. Part. 1. Sect. 118. F. 56). Also, according to the regulation of settlement-resettlement in an organized manner, a family, whose two members would be able to work and would be employed in the Soviet farm, was subject to settlement. (Atsa. fund R-356, case 89, sheet 21) According to the Resolution # 528 of the Council of Ministers of Georgia of December 3, 1971, with the aim of providing labor for farms, in 1972, 56 households were resettled in the Soviet tea farm of Nasakirali, Makhharadze district, 50 in the Soviet farm of Narunji, and 20 in the Soviet farm of Laituri in the Guria region of Adjara (Atssa Foundation R-356. Anas. 1. Sak. 89. F. 64). In exchange for state aid, eco-migrants often violated the condition according to which eco-migrants had to work in Soviet farms. In such a case, the authorities even discussed the issue of confiscating their home plots and they were housed in dormitories. (Atssa. fund R-356, file 89, sheet 2; 21).

Studying the archival documents also shows that along with the organized, planned resettlement of eco-migrants, arbitrary resettlement of the population also took place, which contradicted the resettlement instructions developed by the state. In such cases, according to the instructions, the migrated resident was obliged to report to the state authority of the original place of residence and obtain a resettlement permit. Otherwise, he could not take advantage of the state aid program and was forced to return to the territory of his original residence (Atssa. Fund R-356. Part. 1. Sak. 118. F. 66.68).

The third stage of eco-migration from the Adjara region to the Guria region already begins in the second half of the 80s and the first half of the 90s of the 20th century. At that time, eco-migration had the character of planned, organized, as well as spontaneous/purchasing settlement. Accordingly, the state's approach to the issue of supporting eco-migrants has changed. In particular, in one case, the state provided planned, organized resettlement, which was manifested in financial support for the construction of residential houses, on the other hand, eco-immigrants could find a place to live, a house, and the state financially (by granting a loan) helped in its purchase (atssa fund R-356. Section 1 . Sak. 38. F. 13).

Thus, the resettlement of the population from the Adjara region to the Guria region includes three stages.

Through the study of archival documents and interviews with eco-migrants, it was determined that up to 20,000 families of eco-migrants were resettled in Chokhatauri, Ozurgeti and Lanchkhuti districts/municipalities of Guria region from Khulo, Shuakhevi and Kedi districts/municipalities of Adjara region.

As a result of the analysis of the information obtained using the in-depth interview method with eco-migrants and the primary scientific information obtained by studying archival documents, it can be concluded that the state support measures were also different at different stages during the eco-migration from the Adjara region to the Guria region.

In particular, the first stage of eco-migration, which took place in the second half of the 19th century, had a spontaneous and spontaneous nature and was not distinguished by state support measures. At this time, eco-migrants are distinguished only by self-organization and are able to establish themselves in new places independently. We consider an important circumstance in this case that the state in the form of a local government did not interfere with this process. On the contrary, it was renewed in many cases, which was manifested in the recognition of the lands occupied by eco-migrants as their property.

During the field work, it became clear that the eco-migrants had to pay the appropriate fee to the original owner of the land, which is confirmed by the so-called Representation of purchase agreements, which are kept in the family archive. During this period, the population did not even ask for any kind of support from the state. By studying the documents confirming the land ownership of

eco-migrants, it is established that these documents were issued in 1919-1920 during the democratic government of Georgia.

The second stage of eco-migration from the Adjara region to the Guria region is characterized by organized support from the state. However, in the third stage, the state support was relatively weakened, since it coincided with the process of restoring Georgia's state independence. Naturally, the question arises as to why there was so much support for eco-migrants from the Georgian authorities during the Soviet period.

The study of the state strategy of eco-migration during the Soviet period shows that eco-migration was a new problem in Georgia during the Soviet period, although many things were done at the governmental level over the years and this issue was not left without legal regulation. The problem of displaced families affected by natural events coincided with the lack of labor in the Soviet farms and collective farms of Georgia, which called into question the fulfillment of the set state economic plans. Therefore, in order to solve the existing problems in this field and to develop state policy, separate legal acts were periodically adopted, the majority of which mainly related to the settlement of eco-migrants in Soviet farms and collective farms lacking in labor. Moreover, one of the main conditions for settlement and state material support was that at least two members of the migrant families had to be able to work and be employed in the Soviet farm or collective farm.

Conclusions and recommendations.

The research showed that several stages of eco-migration from the Adjara region to the Guria region are distinguished.

The first stage took place in the 70s-90s of the 19th century (which lasted in the form of single cases until the 20s of the 20th century), and had a self-flowing, spontaneous character, which was mainly determined by economic and social factors, when the villages of Ghorjomi and Didachari in the mountainous region of Adjara About 300 families settled in the village of Zot, Chkhakura and Kavalgha of the Guria region.

The second stage of eco-migration is already related to the Soviet period, namely the 60-70 years of the 20th century. At that time, eco-migration was already carried out within the purposeful policy of the state and was characterized by unprecedented support of the state, which was largely determined by the interests of the planned Soviet economy and the surplus population, and therefore it had the character of a planned, organized settlement.

The third stage begins in the late 80s of the 20th century and continues in the first half of the 90s. The third stage of the eco-migration process is characterized by a more self-flowing than an organized, planned character, and it was caused by the deterioration of the ecological situation in the Adjara region and the excess population, and was carried out within the framework of the financial support of the state. We can also distinguish ecomigration.

The fourth stage, which covers the years 2007-2011 of the 21st century, although at that time eco-migration had the character of planned settlement under the conditions of state support, but its scale was not large, since there were no suitable places to live in the Guria region. Accordingly, eco-migration from the Adjara region to the Guria region has almost stopped.

As a result of the research, it was determined that the settlement of eco-migrants from the Adjara region in the villages of the Guria region took place both compactly and scattered, which affected their economic and cultural adaptation and integration with the local communities.

As a result of the research, it was revealed that the state strategy of eco-migration was more complete in the Soviet period than in the period after gaining independence, which was due to objective and subjective reasons. In the post-independence period, the state strategy is poorly organized, there is no visible systematic approach to the problem, it is based on more local and spontaneous solutions, which shows that the state does not have a unified and complete policy towards this issue. Unfortunately, until today there is no legal framework within the framework of which the problem would be understood and solved step by step. Also, there is no unified state statistical data that would allow us to fully understand the scale of the problem.

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