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JOURNAL	International Journal of Innovative Technologies in Social Science
p-ISSN	2544-9338
e-ISSN	2544-9435
PUBLISHER	RS Global Sp. z O.O., Poland
ARTICLE TITLE	ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION OF ECO-MIGRANTS IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES OF GEORGIA (ON THE EXAMPLE OF GURIA REGION)
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ARTICLE INFO	Ineza Zoidze, Gela Iremadze, Natalia Lazba, Irine Tsintsadze. (2023) Adaptation and Integration of Eco-Migrants in Local Communities of Georgia (on the Example of Guria Region). <i>International Journal of Innovative Technologies in Social Science</i> . 2(38). doi: 10.31435/rsglobal_ijitss/30062023/8004
DOI	https://doi.org/10.31435/rsglobal_ijitss/30062023/8004
RECEIVED	21 May 2023
ACCEPTED	24 June 2023
PUBLISHED	27 June 2023
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ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION OF ECO-MIGRANTS IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES OF GEORGIA (ON THE EXAMPLE OF GURIA REGION)

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DOI: https://doi.org/10.31435/rsglobal_ijitss/30062023/8004

ARTICLE INFO

Received 21 May 2023

Accepted 24 June 2023

Published 27 June 2023

KEYWORDS

Ecomigration, Ecomigrant, Integration, Adaptation, Local Community.

ABSTRACT

Population mobility, moving from one place to another, generally has a long history and it took place for different reasons at all stages of history and had different forms and in the wake of changes in the political and social environment, it took place with different effects in terms of integration and adaptation.

The study examines the integration-adaptation features of eco-migrants from the Adjara region settled in the Guria region at different times. In order to achieve the mentioned goal and to study the issue, the institutional approach to the study of migration processes was 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 peculiarities of integration-adaptation of eco-migrants from the Adjara region to the Guria region have been studied for the first time, various problems related to eco-migration have been described. Also, during the research process, we developed recommendations that will contribute to the integration processes of eco-migrants in local communities.

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 and other materials. At the same time, it should be noted that the main part of the information related to the research problem was collected in the process of field research in places inhabited by eco-migrants.

Citation: Ineza Zoidze, Gela Iremadze, Natalia Lazba, Irine Tsintsadze. (2023) Adaptation and Integration of Eco-Migrants in Local Communities of Georgia (on the Example of Guria Region). *International Journal of Innovative Technologies in Social Science*. 2(38). doi: 10.31435/rsglobal_ijitss/30062023/8004

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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 in the Adjara region mainly occurred in 19 administrative units of Georgia. Among them Meskheta-Javakheti, Kartli, Kvemo Kartli, Kakheti, some districts of Samegrelo and Guria region. In the presented research, the integration-adaptation processes of the compact settlement of the eco-migrants of the Adjara region in the Guria region are fundamentally investigated. As we have established through research, unlike other regions of Georgia, the migration of the population from the Adjara region to Guria began in the middle of the 19th century, and then continued in the 20th century. According to various data, more than 20,000 families are settled in the mentioned region alone with the status of eco-migrants and surplus population. Some of them experienced re-immigration in the region.

Through the study of archival documents and as a result of field-ethnographic research, it was determined that the integration-adaptation processes of eco-migrants in the mentioned region had different forms at different stages, as different problems arose according to the types of settlement. In addition, as a result of field-ethnographic research, it was revealed that the lower the rate of employment of eco-migrants in local public structures, the more difficult their integration into local communities was. The resettled eco-migrants created the so-called "cultural autonomy", closing themselves in their own farms and having little functional proximity to the locals. This problem is confirmed not only by the materials of the field work, but also by the public information that we requested officially from all three municipalities of the Guria region (Ozurgeti, Lanchksuti, Chokhatauri), where it can be seen that eco-migrants who have a history of living in Guria since the 30s of the twentieth century, were not employed in local public sectors. At the same time, the coexistence of different ethnographic groups was a part of integration, apart from cultural elements, it was also manifested in economic activities. As a result of the migration of the highland population of Adjara, cattle breeding became a fundamental part of the agricultural culture. The mentioned processes to some extent helped to saturate the equilibrium of different agricultural culture, and on the other hand, to remove the frames of agricultural cultural difference. As the migrants gradually started to switch to local traditional farming as well.

Research questions.

What were the specific reasons for ecomigration?

What was the nature of ecomigration?

What factors led to the selection of ecomigrants' destination (Guria region)?

To what extent did the economic and cultural features of the locals and eco-migrants match?

What were the main factors that facilitated or hindered the integration processes?

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. Turashvili (2007), O. Saldadze. A. Mushkudian (2018), Ecomigration in Georgia (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). Tofchishvili R. also presents interesting works for the research and analysis of the mentioned problem. (2005), Kaldani A. (1990). Tsuladze A. (1961), Zoidze I. Manvelidze I. Jakeli L. Lazba N. Tsintsadze I. (2022), Manvelidze I. (2023), Nikolaishvili J. There are also interesting materials and identical materials in the studies conducted

within the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation: "Conflict situations in a polyethnic society" (2011). 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, attention is not focused on the stages of eco-migration, nature and peculiarities of integration-adaptation processes. 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 a specific region in 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 the issues related to the ecomigration process of the Adjarian eco-migrants settled in the villages of the Guria region. The field work was completed by the method of direct observation and interviewing informants. We used focus groups and free discussions to study the intergroup relations and interests of the population of the region, as well as exclusive conversations, in-depth interviews. We held group and individual meetings, we were given the opportunity to collect materials, and accordingly the dynamics of the main trends of the local population and eco-migrants were studied. For the analysis of the material, in addition to the comparative method, a cognitive method was used, i.e. narrative stories, which helped to reveal the role of social stereotypes of both locals and eco-migrants. The use of the aforementioned methods and techniques of research made it possible to get in-depth knowledge about the current situation in places inhabited by eco-migrants, to make a detailed description of the problems of eco-migrants and to typologize their needs. 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. How did you start living in new places?
5. Is the state policy important to activate your integration processes?
6. What is your relationship with local communities?
7. 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?
8. Did the re-migration or reverse migration of eco-migrants take place? And if so, what was the reason?
9. Has there ever been a case of marriage between a local and a migrant?
10. Were climatic or agricultural conditions a difficulty for you?
11. Do you have close neighborly or friendly relations with the locals?
12. Do you think there has been a change in your living arrangements, economic activities, clothing, etc. since you settled here, and if so, why?
13. Were there and how frequent were marriages between locals and eco-migrants?

14. Has there been a case of eco-migrants changing their denomination? (for example, switching from Muslim religion to Orthodox Christianity);

15. Has there been a case of return migration and for what reason?

16. Farms and collective farms were staffed in an integrated manner with locals or only from eco-migrants;

17. Did the eco-migrants have the opportunity for the so-called A way to place goods mixed with fair ones in "farming markets".

In parallel with the field research, we sent letters to the mayor's office of Ozurgeti, Chokhatauri 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.

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 ecomigrants 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 relevant funds of the historical and Adjara state archives of Georgia. The analysis of archival documents helped us to describe the process of eco-migration from the Ajara 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.

"Eco-migration", "eco-migrant" are frequently used terms in the reality of Georgia, as Georgia is distinguished by the frequency of natural disasters and a high rate of eco-migration. From this point of view, depending on the relief and natural-climatic conditions, the region of Adjara is characterized by particularly increasing data, where natural events are active in different periods of the year. As a result, many families remained without shelter and means of self-preservation. 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 equated to labor migration. The result of the geographical proximity and the concurrence of natural conditions was that the main wave from Adjara was in the direction of the Guria region. In addition to natural problems, relief and small land area, economic factors were considered problematic issues in Adjara, which were also equated with labor migration. Accordingly, the history of migration from the Adjara region had different stages, directions and reasons, which were often self-flowing. However, in the

Soviet period, giving priority to the Guria region as a settlement area, as it is clear from the field materials, was also in the interests of the then leaders of Guria as a source of finding labor for the management of the newly formed Soviet farms. The labor force of the Soviet farms of Nasakiral, Narunji and Laituri in Ozurgeti municipality was entirely composed of eco-migrants settled from Adjara. (Atssa. Fund R-356. Part. 1. Sec. 104. F. 107) The government had developed a "prospective plan for the settlement of families in collective farms of the Georgian SSR and Soviet farms in a planned manner (Atssa. Fund R-356. Part. 1. Sec. 287. F. F. 9).

As is known, the characteristics of the population and economic life are mainly determined by the natural-climatic and economic conditions. As long as Guria and Adjara do not differ from this point of view as a result of geographical proximity, therefore there should not be such a difference that would create a difference in existence and prevent the integration-adaptation processes of locals and migrants, but taking into account that the population of Adjara has a different historical heritage (for 300 years it was under the Ottoman rule As part of the empire), the religious policy of the Ottoman Empire and the spread of Islam among the population laid the foundation for a different cultural heritage. Accordingly, today in the Guria region mainly live groups of two confessional directions (Christians of the orthodox current and followers of Islam) (field ethnographic materials, June-July, 2022). During the Soviet period, under the conditions of atheistic ideology, religious practices were either absent or covered by family cults, which made the difference in family traditions and relations between migrants and locals obvious. Consequently, the dogmatic necessity characteristic of the Islamic religion brought about changes in the existence and cultural direction. This was reflected both in the principles of family structure and in marriage issues. Through field ethnographic research, it was revealed that in all three municipalities of Guria (Ozurgeti, Lanchkhuti, Guria) and until recently, mixed marriages of locals and migrants were not recorded. The main objection was religious practice (field ethnographic materials, June-July, 2022). Regarding the arrangement of the family structure, migrant families are characterized by a large and extended arrangement, when two or more generations live together, and the relations between different generations are mainly regulated by religious dogmatics. Neo-local small families are mostly common among locals. All this represents a certain contradiction from the point of view of integration-adaptation.

During the fieldwork in Zoti village of Chokhatauri municipality, an interesting trend was revealed in the mentioned direction: Zoti is the largest village in Chokhatauri municipality according to the number of residents, where about 200 families from Zemoachari (Khulo district) are compactly settled. Not a single local lives in the village.

There is also the oldest mosque in the Guria region, which was built before the Soviet period around 1905-1907 by lazy craftsmen with Georgian elements of ornaments [Baramidze, 107], which differs from the mosque built recently in Nasakiral, Ozurgeti municipality, whose ornaments were painted by specialists invited from Turkey and are not Georgian in nature. with elements. As the local elders tell, the local government helped them build the mosque at the time, and this support continued even in the Soviet period, when no religion was given priority, but atheism was the main political ideology. Against this background, the migrants had complete freedom of religion, this fact is confirmed by the story of one of the respondents. Respondent I.M. He noted that, "the local government helped us a lot in building this mosque." This was also the main condition for our settlement here. It was from this mosque that religious rites and burials were performed for all the dead. This is the case even today.) This is confirmed by the inscriptions on the inner walls of the mosque. Where the dates and data of the deceased, whose burial was performed in the said mosque after the religious rite of burial, are indicated. All of this shows that in the mentioned period, the resettlement of migrants for the purpose of obtaining labor force and running a farm was such a great need of the local government that they were given freedom of religion. However, it is worth emphasizing the fact that they were settled away from the locals and in a compact manner. Respondent I.A. He tells us: "Before our settlement, no one lived in these places, nor was there a village. These areas were used as pastures and mowing areas by the local gurus. Only after our settlement, the village was built and agricultural works started. That's why we didn't live together with Gurus. We are satisfied with the local authorities, because they do not interfere with us in anything. We have our own rules of life. This is not unacceptable to them. Instead, we support them in all official decisions. It is clear from the interviews that although the eco-migrants in all directions created appropriate environmental conditions for living here, they were not close to the locals either in terms of culture or physicality. All this further contributed to the independent life of the settlers and further conservation of the living culture, which was manifested in all segments of the traditional

living culture. For example, from this point of view, an interesting trend was revealed in the architecture of residential and commercial buildings. In general, a two-story wooden structure consisting of several storage rooms was historically common in Upper Adjara. The formation of local options was determined by the geographical location and the characteristics of agricultural life. Precisely in those villages of Chokhatauri district (Chkhakaura, Kvalgha and Zoti), where migrants settled from Adjara live, similar types of compact residential buildings dominate to this day. It differs from the local (guru) residential type buildings, which are characterized by a separate so-called residential building and a separate crown-hall building (Chikovani A. 1976, pp. 30-50; (Nokolaishvili J. Fund, #141, f. 13).

As a result of migration, families moved from one cultural environment to another cultural environment often faced contradictions, as they had to adapt to different psychological, socio-cultural, economic and cultural conditions in the new environment. A similar situation was revealed in the settlement area, where there is a mixed settlement of locals and migrants. During the field work, a similar situation was observed in the village of Buknar, Chokhatauri Municipality, where the confrontations between locals and migrants became active recently, which according to the initial analysis and panoramic view had a religious nature, however, the in-depth interviews conducted during the field work led us to the conclusion that the mentioned problem is multifaceted and has a multiplier effect. It includes both latent and overt provoking factors. In particular, the factors of social deprivation, economic advantage, and political polarization can be considered as latent factors of the conflict situation. From the point of view of social deprivation, the following characteristics were revealed: the analysis of the researched materials showed that migrants are not employed in the public sectors, in state services, or less so; In the characteristics of economic advantage, it was revealed that the ability of migrants to work, the ability to organize their economic life determines their economic advantage, which is determined by the characteristics of the agricultural culture of this local community, and puts them in a profitable position in relation to the locals from a financial and economic point of view. We have appropriated uncultivated lands, created living conditions, which often put us at an advantage in relation to them, and which also often became the cause of conflict. The reality of the conflict in the mentioned direction is also revealed by the interviews we conducted with the local Guri population. One of the local respondents - I.S. He notes: they (migrants) came here with the speed of an eye, if our children needed it tomorrow or the day after, they didn't even leave a place to build a separate house". Migrants also point out that religion plays a non-main factor: respondent (eco-migrant) - A.A. In the conversation with us, he confirmed: "Our religious beliefs and chapel are not new to them (locals), they knew about it since our arrival." We were close neighbors with them and this was never a problem for them." To our question as to why this problem worsened recently, he answered: "They just had political instigators at the end, and only after that this topic became relevant for them." This part of the interview clarifies our version about the indirect factor of religion in the conflict and political polarization. The coexistence of different ethnographic groups was also part of the integration, in addition to cultural elements, it was also expressed in economic activities. Traditional agricultural existence was defined by three-year culture. As a result of the migration of the highland population of Adjara, cattle breeding became the main part of the agricultural culture. The mentioned processes to some extent helped to saturate the equilibrium of different agricultural culture, and on the other hand, to remove the frames of agricultural cultural difference. As the migrants gradually started to switch to local traditional farming as well. The main part of the respondents living in Nasakirali, Ozurgeti municipality (for example, 89-year-old T.K., 78-year-old V.A. and others) mention that, "our economic activity before moving here was mainly cattle breeding." When we moved here, our compulsory activities were picking tea and working in mandarin orchards. Due to the fact that such work was difficult for us at the first stage, because we were not used to it, later we got used to it, we performed more work than planned in the tea areas, also, today almost every family has a mandarin garden, and to this, we also followed a somewhat nomadic herding. In the summer, we have arranged grazing pastures mainly on Bakhmaro and Gomi mountains. From the mentioned interviews, it can be concluded that the migrants, as well as well mastered the local agricultural specifics, also observed their characteristic agricultural culture. As a result of field-ethnographic research, it was also revealed that in the part of the resettlement, where the degree of functional integration in local public structures was lower (the employment of eco-migrants in local public structures), their integration into local communities became more difficult. The resettled eco-migrants created the so-called "cultural autonomy", closing themselves in their own farms and having little functional proximity to the locals. The mentioned problem is confirmed not only by the materials

of the field work, but also by the public information that we requested officially from all three municipalities of the Guria region (Ozurgeti, Lanchkhuti, Chokhatauri), where it can be seen that eco-migrants who have a history of living in Guria since the 30s of the twentieth century, were not employed in local public sectors. As a result of the interviews conducted with the respondents, it was revealed that the reason for the unemployment of migrants in the public sector in the first stage was the fact that there were fewer or no persons with higher education in their number, as they were mainly settled here as laborers intended for the then Soviet farms. In the later period, the statistics of migrants in Martalia in terms of obtaining higher education have changed significantly, although their employment situation in public sectors has not changed. Ethnographic materials obtained as a result of in-depth interviews and observations conducted with eco-migrants in July 2022 will serve as proof of this reasoning. From the villages: Ozurgeti Municipality, Nasakirali Township, Narunja, Laituri, where the main part of the population is eco-migrants or their descendants. For example, hunters in Nasakirali district, 82-year-old respondent V.I. In a conversation with us, he mentions: "In the first stage, there was no request for us to be employed in state services either, before we moved here, it was known from the beginning that we would have to work mainly in farm plots (tangerine, tea) and therefore, the local government would help us arrange housing. The promise was mostly fulfilled. But as for the current situation, there are already one or two university graduates in almost every family, although it's difficult to get a job here, whether it's a local council or a school, and mainly because of this, young people move to Batumi."

Conclusions and recommendations.

The study showed that Georgia is distinguished by the frequency of natural disasters and a high rate of eco-migration. From this point of view, depending on the relief and natural-climatic conditions, the region of Adjara is characterized by particularly increasing data, where natural events are active in different periods of the year. As a result, many families were left without shelter and means of self-preservation. The result of the geographical proximity and natural conditions was that the main wave from Char was in the direction of the Guria region. In addition to natural problems, relief and small land area, economic factors were considered problematic issues in Adjara, which were also equated with labor migration. Accordingly, the history of migration from the Adjara region had different stages, directions and reasons, which were often characterized by unsystematic and spontaneity. However, their resettlement in the Guria region, as it is clear from the field materials, was also in the interests of the leaders and leaders of Guria at that time, the government had developed a prospective plan for the settlement of families in collective farms of the Georgian SSR and Soviet farms in a planned manner.

As is known, the characteristics of the population and economic life are mainly determined by the natural-climatic and economic conditions. As a result of geographical proximity, Guria and Adjara do not differ from this point of view. Therefore, there should not be such a difference that would create a difference in existence and hinder the integration-adaptation processes of locals and migrants, but taking into account that the population of Adjara has a different historical heritage (it was part of the Ottoman Empire for 300 years), the religious policy of the Ottoman Empire and Islam among the population The spread gave rise to a different cultural heritage. Consequently, as a result of migration, families moved from one cultural environment to another often faced contradictions, as they had to adapt to different psychological, socio-cultural, economic and cultural conditions in the new environment. As a result of the research in the direction of their adaptation-integration in the local communities, their compact, differentiated and equal accommodation with respect to the locals revealed a certain peculiarity. The compact settlers managed to preserve the customs, traditions and cultural elements characteristic of the primary ethnographic group, which created a certain difference in relation to the local ethnographic groups. At the same time, over time, this difference became evident in relation to the primary ethnographic groups (that is, from where they were settled), because unlike them, the elements of the preserved culture did not change. In the case of differentiated resettlement, a number of economic and cultural elements were assimilated from the local communities, while resettlement, where locals and eco-migrants have an equal share in terms of number, conflict situations arise.

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