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**MIGRATION OF YOUNG WOMEN FROM GEORGIA AND FACTORS
FACILITATING THE PROCESS
(ON THE EXAMPLE OF KAKHETI REGION)**

**Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.), Sociology
The present work has been completed at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University
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General Characteristics of the work

The Relevance of the Research Topic. The presented work is a study of emigration of Georgian women from Kakheti region. The fact that emigration from Georgia is a rather large-scale process has been demonstrated by 2002 general census of the population of Georgia. The census stated that the population of Georgia has diminished by more than one million compared to 1998. This, as experts consider, is caused mainly by emigration of population.

Labor emigration from Georgia started not too long ago, but if at the initial stage men prevailed in the emigration floods, the number of women considerably grew at the next stage and is still more and more increasing. Factual as well as potential labor migration of women from Georgia is mainly involuntary and is connected with employment problems and worsening of living standards. Alongside with socio-economic factors, political situation existing in Georgia forces the greater part of women to leave the country for a short period of time. If the situation is not changed for a longer period of time the number of those who are eager to leave the country for good will increase steadily. Therefore, it is important to state the incentives and motives determining women labor emigration on the basis of the research conducted in the largest region of Georgia and show the mode in which the results of these processes can impact the nationwide picture.

The State of Topic Development. Women migration as an independent sphere of scientific and practical activity was singled out in Europe in the 80s of the 21st century. Organizations, foundations, social movements of different levels were formed. The United Nations Organization formed a group of experts working on the problems of international migration policies and the status of women migrants. In 1990 this group stated on the highest international level that alongside with men, women were the main players in the international migration, i.e., they appeared as independent and active participants of the migration processes. International statistical data confirm that participation of women and men in the migration processes is at comparable levels. According to the population census of the principal recipient states, 48% of migrants are women [International Migration Policies and the Status of Women Migrants, U.N. New York, 1998, p. 2].

Studies of the problems of labor migration conducted in Georgia were mainly focused on calculating the number of emigrants, detecting the directions of emigration, the spheres of emigrants employment abroad and the amount of remittances sent by them. But the sphere of emigration of Georgian women is left beyond the scope of these studies.

The sphere of independent research of women emigration is often a disputed point and gives rise to difference of opinions. Therefore, we were to determine outright the sphere of our research. While discussing the women migration, we have in mind such types of migratory movement where women are active agents. Women can be initiators of migration and carry out migratory movement independently of their families. Alternatively, they can follow their spouses abroad and become active organizers of their own employment in the recipient country. In both cases, women present themselves as active agents on the migratory stage.

Analysis of the migration processes presented in the work is based on the works by the following authors: T. Gugushvili, A. Vadachkoria, R. Gachechiladze, G. Tsuladze, G. Meladze. M. Tukhashvili, as well as on the results of the research published by the International Organization for Migration.

While analyzing our data, the studies of the following scientists were used as its background: R. Woldinger, D. Massaey, M. Piore, W. Zelinsky, A. Porter.

The Goal and Objectives of the Work. The goal of the presented work is to reveal the characteristics of women migration and to state the factors causing it.

In order to achieve the research goal it was necessary to fulfill the following research objectives:

1. to identify the level of women emigration from this region, directions of emigration (recipient countries), social-economic state of returned and potential emigrants;
2. to state the reasons enhancing the growth of women emigration;
3. to elucidate those negative consequences ensued by increased scale of women emigration that impact the demographic situation in the present day Georgia.

The research hypothesis can be stated as follows: the example of Kakheti region demonstrates that complex socio-economic processes underway in Georgia play the decisive role in decisions of potential emigrants to go abroad. We can suggest that the

rate of emigration from Georgia will increase as the world economic crisis and the complex political processes unfolding in Georgia make the situation more critical. Large-scale departure of women of fertile age from Georgia entails changes in the status of women themselves, and renders the demographic situation of the country much more grave. These hypotheses were tested by the research conducted in Kakheti region.

Research Method. The data on emigration rate that is available in Georgia are not trustworthy. This is in part conditioned by low quality statistical accounting and character of external migration which make it rather difficult and in certain cases almost impossible to account migration processes accurately. Due to this situation, we attempted to conduct the research in the biggest region of Georgia where the rate of emigration is very high, akin to the entire Georgia.

In working out the methodology of the research, the qualitative as well as quantitative methods of research were used. This enabled us to re-test and compare the results to reach more convincing conclusions.

We used gender statistics in our research as the most important means which enabled us to take into account characteristic features of women as a specific socio-demographic group.

Novelty of the Work and the Research Results. The dissertation work presents the analysis of specific features of women labor migration. The analysis was carried out on the basis of the results of the research conducted in Kakheti region.

Since I had no opportunity to process the already collected data on women labor emigration from Georgia and from Kakheti region in particular, the presented work is to a certain extent of descriptive character. In spite of this important material which enables us to understand better than main directing forces of women migration was gathered. The main results of the research concerning women labor migration and conducted in Kakheti region can be generalized in the following way:

There was no indication of labor migration of Georgian women from Kakheti region in the Soviet times. We suppose that in contrast to other regions there were no developed forms in the region to meet new realities and intense growth of women migration revealed itself in a form of somewhat unnatural leap.

In Kakheti as well as in all other regions of Georgia migration processes determined

deformation of the demographic structure of women population. In result the parameters of reproduction of population worsened.

In the West, feminization of migration is considered a new stage in development of labor migration and a progressive mark of achieved gender equality. But our research unveiled the unnatural process of destroying of centuries old genuine values, which is caused by the migration process. Therefore, feminization of labor migration in Georgia as it is given at present and appearance of Georgian women on the international labor market are conditioned by the threat of famine and cannot be accounted for as a progressive phenomenon in the demographically “dying country”.

Approbation of the Work. The dissertation work was approbated at the Division of Social and Political Sciences at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University.

Volume and structure of the dissertation. The work consists of the following parts: introduction, three chapters (the first chapter consists of four subchapters, the second – of ten, the first and the third subchapters of chapter 2 consist of several sections, the third chapter consists of three subchapters), conclusion, bibliography and two appendices.

Summary of the Dissertation

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In the **Introduction** the relevance of the research problem, the place of the presented research among the migration studies carried out in Georgia are shown, and the structure of the dissertation work is outlined.

Chapter I – Specific Features of Research into Labor Emigration in Georgia consists of four subchapters.

1.1. General characteristics of external emigration processes in Georgia. It is shown that external migration is a serious problem for Georgia at present and will remain such in the nearest future. At the same time, it is to be noted that the records of external migration are virtually not maintained. Unfortunately, due to various reasons, results of the 2002 general census of population were faulty in relation to the external migration as they did not contain the exact number of the emigrants from Georgia. Though the census in a certain aspect fixed up to 114 000 emigrants and data concerning them.

Labor migration has become an important phenomenon of socio-political life of the population and has naturally entailed serious concern of the society as to its results. The fact that scientific research of this urgent problem is of a sketchy character and is carried out using limited resources is no less disturbing. This, in turn, is adequately revealed in imperfect appraisal of certain aspects of labor migration.

In spite of special importance of labor migration from the country, the problem is still left unstudied. One of the main reasons causing such a situation is imperfect migration statistical data, the data on emigration are especially imperfect and the situation is still complex as labor migration from the country has mainly an illegal character. In such a situation when the official statistical data do not exist, it becomes essential to conduct selective research and obtain information through interviews.

In order to receive a perfect picture of specific features of labor migration of Georgian women from Kakheti region we tried to take into account specific conditions of this region engendered by ethno-demographic and economic development. Every district of Kakheti region, district centers and several villages in every district were chosen as the research regions. The interview locale and particular microzones in Kakheti region were determined with the purpose to reflect the general unit.

1.2. Research goals and objectives. The goal of the presented work is to elucidate the character of women migration from Kakheti region, to detect the factors that play the main role in stimulating labor emigration, to demonstrate correlation of psycho-emotional state of women and their migration determination. It is evident that it would be impossible to achieve this aim without preliminary study of the rate of migration from this region, directions of migration, demographic and social-economic characteristics of women residents of the region, especially of the returned or potential emigrants.

The presented work has no claims of being a comprehensive coverage of women migration processes in Georgia. Its objective is more specific: to highlight the main characteristics of emigration of Georgian women based on the existing and, it should be noted, very limited information. It is known certain attitude exists to give only negative assessment to the migration of population, especially to external emigration as well as migration from the countryside to towns. There are certain alarmist attitudes as well, which emphasize a dramatic decrease of ethnically Georgian population. We think that these attitudes have a real foundation. Convincing information as to the situation is rather scarce. Therefore we decided to carry out sociological research in order to determine certain tendencies of women migration.

In order to achieve this goal it was necessary to accomplish the following research goals:

1. to identify the level of women emigration from this region, directions of emigration (recipient countries), socio-economic state of returned and potential emigrants;
2. to state the reasons enhancing the growth of women emigration;
3. to elucidate those negative consequences ensued by increased scale of women emigration that impact the demographic situation in the present day Georgia.

The research hypothesis is as follows: the example of Kakheti region demonstrates that complex socio-economic processes underway in Georgia play the decisive role in determinations of potential emigrants to go abroad. We can suppose that the rate of emigration from Georgia will increase as the world economic crisis and the complex political processes unfolding in Georgia make the situation more critical. The large-scale departure of women of fertile age from Georgia entails changes in the status of women themselves, and makes the demographic situation of the country much more grave. The aforementioned hypotheses were tested by the research conducted in Kakheti region.

1.3. Research methodology. In working out the research methodology, quantitative as well as qualitative methods were used.

Qualitative research. The main part of the in-depth interviews was carried out on 20.06.2007-05.07.2008. In order to receive more comprehensive information it was decided to interview potential as well as returned women emigrants. In-depth interviews

were taken from 20 respondents. 10 of them were potential emigrants and 10 – returned emigrants.

It became evident from the very first interviews that the emigrants restrained from discussing the issues which were of special importance for our research. However, the returned emigrants gave detailed answers to the questions which were connected with their emigrational experience. At the same time, it turned out that some of the returned emigrants were planning to go abroad again very soon. Interviews with them enabled us to receive certain information as to preliminary stages of emigration.

Quantitative research. In describing individual farming in Kakheti we mainly draw upon the results of the 2004 research into socio-economic situation in Kakheti. As we had no information concerning either the rate of women emigration from Kakheti or socio-economic characteristics of labor emigrants or returned and potential emigrants, selective study of individual agricultural farming would not be justified. Due to the results of the description we were not confronted with the problem of representativeness as the collected information is relevant to the general unit. If we take into account that according to the 2004 research there were 126,2 thousand individual farms [Socio-economic status of population in Kakheti region, 2004, (in Georgian)] and that our research embraces all districts of the region we can say that there is enough reason to consider that the obtained data fully reflect the situation formed in Kakheti.

It is to be noted that it is difficult to generalize the results of only one research on to the whole general unit but if we take into account the fact that Kakheti is the largest region of Georgia, then we can suppose that the characteristics of the women labor emigration process, the reasons of emigration, factors stimulating the emigration process are characteristic of other regions of Georgia as well.

1.4. Kakheti region as a locale of research. Kakheti region is situated in the extreme East of Georgia. It has the biggest territory among the regions of the country. The population of Kakheti region consists mainly of ethnic Georgians. According to the results of the 1989 census of population there were 441 045 residents. Among these, 360 245 were Georgians, by 2002 the population decreased to 407 182 and the number of Georgians was reduced to 341 503. According to the data of the 2002 census the rate of the ethnical Georgians is 84% of the total population of the region.

In order to gain more credibility and basis to generalize the data, the research was carried out in the whole region and comprised towns as well as villages.

Social stratification of the population in every district centre of Kakheti region is more or less different, though in whole the general situation formed is characteristic of Kakheti. Based on the same principle 4-5 villages were chosen in every district where labor women migrants were interviewed as thoroughly as possible. Age selection was applied and women of 18-34, 35-54 and 55-60 were interviewed. According to the 2002 population census the number of women living in Kakheti region – in towns as well as in villages – was 212,141 and the number of women of the age which represented the focus of our research (18-60) was 11,964 .

In the process of research, it was very important for the quality of information to determine representativeness, specifically, to clarify how it was possible to reflect the general unit through of the selected unit. 802 interviews were considered enough for the research conducted by us. In total 1202 respondents were interviewed though 400 women gave negative answers to the question “Do you intend to emigrate?”. This number is important for our analysis. In conditions of limited resources when the degree of homogeneity in the general unit(?) is high, this number can be considered as a satisfactory quantity especially as the presented research is more focused on the analysis of qualitative and structural characteristics of women migration streams and less on determining the quantitative indicators of migrants. We think that in such cases dispersion is low and analysis of 802 respondents is acceptable for such a big region.

Chapter II. Specific Features of Women Labor Migration from Kakheti Region consists of 10 subchapters.

The first subchapter of chapter II (2.1) – **Economic reasons and motives of women labor migration from Kakheti region** consists of three sections. Each section deals with ~~those~~ economic reasons that condition the growth of women migration.

2.1.1 Poverty. Subjective perception of poverty among the women living in Kakheti is immediately associated with the unemployment problem. The fact that the economic state of population in Kakheti region is grave, is proved by the 2004 social-economic study of the population of this region. According to the results of this study, number of individual farms in Kakheti region was 126,2 thousand. The data obtained via analysis of

these individual farms show that half of the individual farmers live below the poverty line according to the median income. The poverty rate distinctly differs from the aspect of town-city opposition. The main reason of this fact is that in conditions of comparative equality of cash incomes, non-cash incomes in the villages considerably surpass the analogical index in towns. The number of the extremely poor town population twice exceeds the same index in villages [Socio-economic status of population in Kakheti region, 2004, (in Georgian)].

Though the economic indices have been rather high in Georgia in recent years, unfortunately they did not affect the poverty line. In 2005 if compared to 2004 the rate of population living below the poverty line grew from 34,3% to 37,1% in towns and from 37,1% to 41,7% in villages [Economic Portrait of the Region, Kakheti, 2004 (in Georgian)]. Such social-economic assessment of the region is confirmed by our research as well. The interviewed respondents assess the financial condition of their families in the following way: “very low” (income is barely sufficient even for food) – 24,69%, “low” (income barely covers expenses on food and clothes) – 47,01%, “moderate” (sufficient to satisfy the principal needs of the family) – 27, 43%, “high” (enough to cover entertainment and recreation expenses) – 0,87%.

Therefore, we can conclude that wage and salary incomes in the region do not create a sufficient foundation for ensuring family well-being and that agricultural production is the main determinant of well-being of families in the region. The fact that natural products constitute the main part of income of the population of the region demonstrates the general low standard of life of the families in Kakheti region.

2.1.2. Employment problems. The problem of employment is one of the most important factors determining poverty. In the 1980's an unprecedented growth of women labor activity determined sufficient improvement of their professional potential. Though because of significant political changes that took place in the country, economic crisis and many other reasons, the sphere of women employment has been drastically reduced and ensued unprecedented aggravation of their social life. Rather numerous and highly qualified citizens of the country – women – were not effectively used.

Economical crisis affected almost every branch and sphere of industry, but the most serious blow fell on the branches of so-called “women professions” – light and food-

processing industries. The area of women employment was reduced due to objective as well as subjective factors and reasons. The majority of enterprises which functioned in Kakheti region in the Soviet period and where the great majority of Kakheti population among them a quite considerable number of women worked do not function at present. In general, employment of the population is one of the main problems in every district of the region.

The processes that have been unfolding in the country lately changed to a certain degree directions of labor activity of the population. Employment rate at state enterprises has been decreased. The overwhelming majority of the workforce in the region (87,3%) are engaged in non-governmental sector and the majority of these is self-employed (up to 80%). Agricultural farming is the main sphere of employment and a significant part of employees are women. Well-being of families mainly depends on low cash income received from realization of agricultural products. It is natural that high level of unemployment in towns and low effectiveness of agricultural activities create unfavorable social background for development of the region and turn out to be most serious stimuli for emigration.

Close scrutiny of the statistical data will reveal that the rate of women unemployment changes in percentage terms – it is sufficiently reduced from 2000 to 2005 and the level of employment grows. If in 2000 the rate of unemployment among women was 7,06% (among men – 6,32%); the rate of employment – 48,99%, the rate of unemployment was reduced to 4,01% by 2005 (among men – 4,93%) and the rate of employment grew to 65,97%.

In 2006-2007 the unemployment rates for both genders were accordingly 6,46% in 2006 and 6,9% in 2007, the rates of employment were 65,8% in 2006 and 68,7% in 2007.

The number of labor power women was 170,180 in Kakheti region in 2000, by 2005 the number reduced to 153,700 and by 2007 the labor power of the both genders was 286,700.

These data enable us to suggest that reducing of the rate of unemployment is determined not by growth of employment rate or working places (as in this case we will have to take into account self-employed women as well), but rather by the reduction of labor power which is caused by intense migration abroad of women from the region.

It is evident that the number of the employed is increased willfully at the expense of the self-employed. In fact, unemployment in villages is not registered as the villagers who are engaged in agricultural activities on their own or rented plots are registered as self-employed, though these activities in main are compulsory (since there are simply no other jobs), characterized by low productivity, inefficiency and are not overwhelming. Employment in villages is, in main, oriented on natural income and accordingly, on personal consuming. Thus, limitation of employment possibilities is one of the most important factors that hinder functioning of labor market in Kakheti region as well as in Georgia in general.

2.1.3 Incomes and expenditures. As to the income structure, it is clear that agricultural production determines the prosperity of families living in Kakheti region. This conclusion becomes more convincing as almost 80% of the Kakheti population lives in country-side. The income structure according to town-village ratio is as follows: the main source of income in villages is the income received from selling agricultural production and non-monetary income, that is, consuming food products of their own production. It points to the fact that socio-economic situation of the farmers living in villages depends, in main, on the harvest. The fact that the share of non-monetary income mainly received from agricultural farming is high, points to a general low living standard of families living in Kakheti region.

98% of expenditures of families are connected with expenses on goods of prime necessity (food, clothes, items of personal hygiene). The second category of expenses from the aspect of frequency consists of expenditures connected with health care (50%); the next category consists of expenses connected with agricultural farming and paying off debts of the family (20%-18%). [Socio-economic status of population in Kakheti region, 2004, (in Georgian)].

Low income makes women run into debts in order to help their families, feed their children, pay their education expenses. But the absence of resources necessary for repaying debts forces them in most cases to make decisions in favor of emigration.

However, it is to be noted that grave economic situation in Kakheti is not the sole reason determining the high level of women emigration from Kakheti. Resources suggested by Kakheti emigration networks play an important role in this process. In the situation when

the population has almost no access to formal banking services and information on different questions associated with emigration process, these networks offer women residents of Kakheti to cut down expenses necessary to emigrate and make the emigration process more secure and appealing.

84% of the respondents interviewed by us are potential emigrants, 13% of them had already emigrated in previous years and are going to leave the country once more. The majority of countries chosen for emigration are the Western European countries. Greece and Italy are especially popular. This can be explained by relatively low emigration expenditures, possibility to receive legal status in Greece and existence of developed emigration networks.

Meetings with women living in Kakheti and other informal meetings created the impression that the majority of women want to go abroad but some of them have no financial means to do it. If we take into account the fact that the average age of the emigrants is 38, their trips abroad can be perceived as some kind of “escape”.

Generally, economic hardship, which is common for all women and one of the main reasons of their intense migration, is complemented by specific details in every particular case. These details can be absence of financial resources necessary to improve living conditions or give children good education etc.

Though in certain cases it is possible to suppose that emigration was conditioned by relative deprivation. Some women, as opposed to others worked, had small-scale farming in the village, though it was not sufficient to satisfy the family needs. They felt deprived in comparison with those women who had gone abroad and managed to render cash support to their family members and even sufficiently improve their living conditions just a few years.

Thus, women go abroad mainly because of grave economic situation existing in Kakheti and absence of any prospects of improving the situation. Though we can suggest that influence of relative deprivation becomes more and more important in making decisions as to emigration.

The second subchapter (2.2) of Chapter II – General characteristic of women labor migration – consists of three sections.

2.2.1 Emigration goals. The main goal of the greatest part of the women who decide to

go abroad as labor migrants is to render support to their families and create better living conditions for members of their families. Though as soon as the urgent needs are satisfied, their majority begin considering the possibility of saving significant amount of money so that after returning to the home country they have sufficient funds to buy apartments either in their region or in the capital city, improve living conditions, start their own business, buy a car etc.

Other reasons of emigration related to subjective motives of women were revealed in the process of research as well. It must be noted that the women did not discuss these motives openheartedly.

It is clear that emigrants did not always manage to fulfill all their plans, though there are certain cases when financial position of women emigrants improved sufficiently. It is evident that financial success achieved abroad by some women emigrants turns out a serious stimulus for others to emigrate. In order to do it, women get in contact with their emigrant relatives, friends and by means of their assistance (financial, informational) try to go abroad. They do not restrain from resorting to illegal and in certain cases dangerous ways.

The second subchapter of Chapter II (2.2.2) – Specific features of organizing labor emigration – consists of three sections.

2.2.2.1 Emigration forms. The process of adaptation of labor migrants and their social-economic and legal positions depend in a great degree on the character of migration and its organizational forms.

Our research envisaged identification of forms of women labor migration from Kakheti region and assessment of effectiveness of individual forms of migration. The research results showed that in most cases, relatives, friends and acquaintances help labor migrants go abroad. Assistance of agents is very frequent as well, migration through student exchange programs is very rare.

It became possible to state on the basis of correlation between duration of visits abroad and organized forms of migration that majority of those migrants who spend long periods of time abroad (more than 5 years) left Georgia with the help of their relatives and friends. Expenditures of such migrants are much more modest than of those who resorted to private employment agencies or agents in order to emigrate. According to the results of

the interviews, 39,3% of women are ready to pay informal costs, while 45,4% refuse to do it. However, we can suppose that in case of necessity most of them will do their best to find the necessary sums will pay informally just in order to be able to leave Georgia.

Effectiveness of migration forms, to a certain degree, can be estimated according to the employment rate and degree of legalization of labor relations. Our data reveal that the legality of migration procedures is more acceptable for women than illegal ways. Besides, choice of women in favor of legality as to migration procedures, 40% of them refuse outright to live illegally in a foreign country and the attitude of 26,8% of them is more negative than positive. Legalization of employment abroad has, of course, crucial importance for the protection of labor migrants' legal and social rights. Despite their answers, though, the majority of women manage to go abroad only illegally.

The conducted research highlights partially legal and, in some cases, illegal business of transporting people to the countries which are especially popular among emigrants, flourishes.

There are several emigration schemes in Georgia. Choice of emigration scheme depends in every particular case on the recipient country, as well as financial situation of potential emigrants. Through interviews with our respondents we found out that women migrants from the region prefer the following emigration routes: tourist visas, illegal border crossing – so-called “stealing away” scheme, Au-Pair programs and - very rarely - transit. As the research demonstrated, majority of women in Kakheti region resort to illegal schemes of going abroad. This can be explained by difficulties connected with receiving labor visas and the absence of treaties on export of labor force between Georgia and the recipient countries. That is just the reason that makes potential emigrants pay considerable sums in cash to “agents” who do not often even provide any guarantees that they would really cross the border and that their lives would be out of danger. This point is of a great importance. Moreover, illegal residence in foreign countries causes serious psychological problems among the emigrants as they live under the permanent threat of arrest and deportation.

2.2.2.2 Emigration expenditures. While conducting the research we inquired into the costs of emigration and the means by which women manage to get necessary funds. The USA is the most expensive country for women living in Kakheti. It is very expensive to

receive a USA visa which is explained by the fact that incomes of emigrants in the USA are much more high than in Greece and Turkey. Everyone who has necessary financial means leaves Georgia. The cost of illegal passage to Greece is, on the average, 2000-2500 US dollars, to Israel – 5000 US dollars, to the USA – 10 000 US dollars and so on. Accordingly monthly wages are on the average 200-800 US dollars (Greece) or more – 1000-2000 US dollars (the USA, Israel). Monthly remittances to families vary from 500 to 1000 EU. In order to go abroad women are often compelled to borrow money, sell or mortgage their houses.

According to the expenses of those returned respondents who had to fall into debts to go abroad, it took them approximately a year to pay off their debts. It was possible only in those cases when they managed to get jobs very soon. In cases when newly arrived emigrants receive financial support from “the first wave” emigrants and pay off their debts into which they ran in Georgia with their help, life abroad turns more successful for them. They pay off their debts in shorter time and receive opportunities to render serious financial support to their families and save money at the same time. But very often it happens so that women who go abroad fail to get any jobs at all or get only very low-paid jobs so that their incomes hardly cover their own individual needs. Unsuccessful emigration makes their psychological state more complex, they have no energy to endure unfamiliar surroundings and homesickness any more, and are forced to return to their home country without any savings.

2.2.2.3 Factors hindering emigration. There was no information obtained through empirical research as to women’s share to the family budgets until the 1990’s. In spite of this, direct observation and certain general considerations enable us to draw some conclusions. Rigid structure that was characteristic of the Soviet order and hindered social mobility determined that personal self-realization, in general, used to lag behind. In contrast to it, women more easily adapted to rapid changes of the post-communist era epoch, better mastered the new possibilities which opened in the spheres of retail trade and service. The research conducted by us revealed the families where the main (or one of the main) sources of economical well-being were women. It must be noted that if in the previous periods men were faced by higher demands to provide economic well-being of their families. Therefore, functions of men as the main decision-makers in the families

and the main sources of family well-being, in fact, coincided. At present, however, this correlation does not exist any more.

It is true that this situation was not clearly revealed in the process of our research as women very seldom take decisions as to emigration independently – as a rule, the whole family participates in decision-making, though there are cases when emigrant goes abroad in spite of opposition of her family.

The research outlined the engagement of family members in making such important decisions. It was found out that 31,8% of them approve internal migration and 29,6% – external migration. The rate of the consent of family members confirms that the main motive of migration readiness stems out from the aims of the whole family and the main aim is the economic support of the family. Though the rate of situations when the family members are disposed more against than in favor of internal migration is rather high – 19,9%; for the external migrations the rate is 24,35%. We have certain reasons to consider that these data are determined by a great number of risk-factors and mainly illegal character of migration (especially of external migration). At the same time, culturally conditioned role of women (taking care of families and housekeeping), which is “endangered” in case of her migration, is of the greatest importance.

Women speak about different reasons that impede realization of migration plans. These reasons can be absence of visas or necessary documentation. Family situation as an impeding factor is extremely actual in relation to internal as well as external emigration and proves that cultural norms as to the role of women in families are stable in the region.

2.2.3 Main directions of women labor migration. The research results demonstrated that serious changes took place in the geography of migrants, among them women labor migrants from Kakheti region during the last 10 years. According to the data of the 2002 census of population, the main direction of migration from Kakheti, as well as from Georgia in general, was Russian Federation. This fact first of all was determined by specificity of demand of man-power on the labor market, historically formed labor relations, relatively better knowledge of the Russian language, better information about the labor market. As to making decisions in favor of other countries, the most important factor is a considerable difference in price of manpower if compared to the labor market in Georgia.

During the first years of the overall economic crisis intensity of labor migration to Turkey was high as the choice of host countries was rather limited and trips to Turkey were relatively cheap and easy to make from the aspect of organization. But in contrast to European countries, a low level of economic development of Turkey and respectively low remuneration of labor in conditions of rapid demographic growth, along with the saturation of labor market, lessened the flow of labor migrants from Georgia to Turkey. The scale of migration stream to Greece is to a certain extent conditioned by specificity of demand of manpower on the labor market of this country. Demand for nurses on high remuneration terms is serious on the secondary labor market of the country.

If the share of Georgian migrants' employment in Russia was in general high enough, the situation changed later. We suppose that poor knowledge of foreign languages and lack of information hindered the movement of labor migrants to the USA and Western Europe at the first stages of migration.

The area of migration countries is bigger at present and has passed beyond the borders of the post-Soviet space. Due to the better employment conditions 85% of the respondents expressed their wish to leave the country. The USA and such European countries as Italy, Greece, Russia, Germany, Spain are at the top of list of the most desirable countries for emigrants. If we take into account that the research was conducted in June-July, 2008 before the Russo-Georgian war broke out, we can suppose that the flow of migrants to Russia has decreased even more since then.

2.2.4 Potential emigrants. The fact that the number of those who intend to go abroad does not decrease becomes evident on the basis of our research as a greater part of the interviewed respondents intend to go abroad, the average age of potential emigrants is 38. It is interesting that 13,3% of them have already been abroad, have acquired certain experience of emigration and in such cases we should speak about repeated emigration.

The research results enable us to suggest that the desire of potential emigrants to go abroad is, on the one hand, conditioned by relative deprivation of these families and, on the other hand, by the influence of well-developed emigration networks in Georgia and in the region in particular. It is evident as well that emigration experience plays an important role in making decisions as to emigration. Returned emigrants who intend to go abroad again know the situation they will encounter well enough, they distinctly know

the required pattern of behavior, therefore the psychological problems they may face are not too severe. At the same time the returned emigrants make certain influence on intentions of their family members as well as on intentions of their relatives, friends and neighbors as to making decisions on emigration.

The financial and instrumental aid ~~which~~ received by the potential emigrants from their emigrant relatives and friends is of special importance for them.

While interviewing potential women emigrants, we were able to single out several types of support rendered by the emigrants, living abroad at the moment, to potential emigrants. These are financial, informational, instrumental and psychological types of support.

Financial support plays one of the most important roles in stimulating emigration. Financial support can be rendered before going abroad as well as after arriving in the recipient country. Financial support rendered before going abroad means, as a rule, a full or partial coverage of financial expenses connected with emigration. Financial support after emigration consists in assisting newly arrived emigrants to pay off their debts. The already established emigrants lend them money interest-free or under low interest.

With help of the established migrants potential emigrants receive information as to living and labor, as well as the “labor market” conditions in the recipient country.

The instrumental support of emigrants comes up to the following: they help those who want to go abroad to receive visas, send them official invitations, give references to trustworthy agents, teach what they are to tell immigration service officials when seeking a political asylum or other kind of protection, etc.

Apart from solving various daily problems which are connected with getting jobs, adaptation with the new surroundings, the newly arrived emigrants have to deal with problems aroused due to homesickness, longing for their families and common surroundings. Therefore newly arrived emigrants receive psychological support from the Georgians who already live in the given country and this fact is very important as to adapting to foreign surroundings.

2.2.5 Remittances and frequency of remittances. Support rendered by women labor emigrants to their families in Georgia is very important. Remittances of emigrants constitute an important part of gross domestic product and improve economic state of the emigrants’ families.

Remittances through banking system grow in Georgia every year. Officially registered remittances in 2000 mounted up to more than 53 million US dollars, i.e. 7% of gross domestic production of Georgia [National Bank of Georgia, “Report of Monetary and Bank Statistics”, #4 (94). January-December, Tbilisi, 2006 ... 2000:132 (in Georgian)]. This, as we have noted, is only an official record. Real amount of remittances including unofficial channels belongs to the sphere of speculation and, as a rule there are different kinds of assessment. e.g. according to the World Bank data the remittances to Georgia in 2006 constituted up to 10% of gross domestic product [World Bank Report. Migration and Remittances in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. World Bank Publications, 2006]. It is evident that the share of remittances from women emigrants is rather high in the total remittances from abroad.

If we take into account the fact that the majority of women go abroad in order to work and support financially their families it will not be surprising that they at different intervals, render financial support of different sums of money to their families designated for different purposes.

Our research established that the maximal amount of monthly remittances from women emigrants to their families was 1,000 US dollars, minimal 50-100 US dollars. The highest cash support was rendered by emigrants who live in the USA, the lowest – from Greece. Remittances from women were, in main, spent on the so-called “non-productive” consuming: the items of individual consumption, clothes, food products, health care, paying off debts, needs of agricultural farming. Acquisition of real estate is one of the most popular investments among emigrants.

Though micro-economical effects of the capital set up by women are not important, it is possible to state that “non-productive” consuming of this capital has its positive effects. Among them the growth of consuming, investments in real estate, expenditures on education and health care, etc. are of the primary importance. However, it should be noted that the most common investments are the ones made into the farming economy.

2.2.6 Education level, employment specter and adaptation degree of labor migrants.

One of the most important and essential feature of labor migration from the present-day Georgia is a high level of education and qualification of labor migrants. It has its own explanation. First of all, it must be noted that obtaining certain information, some

knowledge of foreign languages and high territorial mobility are necessary in order to develop labor migration in a short period of time. These features characterize the representatives of more educated layer who have more abilities to set contacts and adapt themselves in foreign surroundings. On the other hand education potential of the population in Georgia is very high. The demand for such kind of manpower lessened first of all at the internal labor market. Contingent having high educational status dominates among the unemployed and therefore its migration potential is high.

Our research showed that the majority of the potential emigrants – 41,6% – has higher education, 27,2% – high education, 21,5% – high technical education.

When emigrating women do not hope to get jobs that correspond their education and qualification. The main thing for them is to get a more or less acceptable highly paid job. The most desirable job for women labor migrants from Kakheti region is babysitting. Of course, this choice is defined not solely by motherly feelings, but by high demand of manpower for this kind of jobs abroad (especially in Greece). We can suggest that the hope of realizing the individual potentials of women emigrants abroad is extremely weak at present.

It is interesting that among the migration forms women consider labor migration as the most real, the next place is given to emigration with the aim to get education – 13,8%, and next – to emigration with just the aim to settle abroad – 5,6%.

Political and business emigration is considered unfeasible forms of migration – 65-61%, the rate of migration with the aims to settle and to get education abroad is very high is as well - 54-52%.

These data show that business emigration connected with improvement of professional skills is considered as least probable by women emigrants. The sphere of their activities is limited to satisfying needs of their families and members of their families.

We can conclude that from the professional and skill-defined aspects the employment of labor migrants from Georgia is extremely discriminative abroad. Their labor potential diminishes, the human capital devaluates. Absence of correspondence of employment with emigrants' profession and skills and other factors are not the main reasons determining conflicting character of adaptation to new labor surroundings. Labor migrants find it difficult to adapt with unfamiliar cultural environment.

At the first stages of migration to Russia, the Georgian women revealed high rate of adaptation. The main reason of this was probably the fact that Russia is very close to Georgia in terms of coincidence of social surroundings – such as historically formed mentality, common cultural space, social order and even confession. Though the language barrier was a serious problem for the population from provincial regions of Georgia and prevented them from receiving jobs corresponding to their education. Labor migrants in Greece (nurses in main) find it difficult to adapt to their surroundings; those who have migrated to Germany and the USA show better rate of adapting to the new working surroundings (share of young people is larger in these countries).

Overall integration processes underway in the contemporary world enhance drawing nearer social surroundings and conditions of life. But in spite of strengthening of common values, national values and daily patterns of behavior, traditions and different world outlook attitudes to social surroundings are strong. These are the causes of difficulties which women migrants face when move from one country to another.

2.2.7 Contacts of labor migrants with their families and potential of their return.

Labor migration is of provisional character, but adaptation with the surroundings, high remuneration and high standard of life, marriage, grave social, labor and political situation that has formed in the home country and many other reasons turn provisional labor migration into stationary emigration, and provisional emigrants partially assimilate with the population of the migration country. The process of assimilation of Georgian labor migrants takes place with more or less intensity in every country. It is true that the process is not large scale yet, but it is an important phenomenon worth of attention in the process of study of labor migration.

Therefore it is very important to estimate potential of labor migrants' return to their home country. A certain possibility to do this is detected in our research. 13,3% of the respondents intending to emigrate (84%) have already been abroad, the maximal duration of emigration is 10 years, minimal – 2 years. It must be noted that the failure to migrate or attainment of the migration goal does not directly correlate with the duration of emigration.

Just as there are different reasons of going abroad, there are different reasons for return from emigration. In some cases return is a result of unsuccessful emigration, but in

certain cases it is a result of the decision made deliberately by the emigrant and she returns to her home country of her own will. The majority of the women interviewed by us returned of their own will and the main reason of their return (in the overwhelming majority of cases) is homesickness. They found it impossible to endure parting with their families and children any more. The state of the single mothers and widows who left their young children at home is even graver.

Some emigrants returned because their health became worse. Individual facts of worsening health of labor migrants were stated in the process of our research. As migrants work illegally, they do not sign labor contracts with employers and have no health insurances they can use in cases of worsening their health. They try to cover the expenses on treatment on their own; their friends and acquaintances often help them as well. At the worst, they return to their home country. Absence of health insurance point to an extremely insufficient protection of women's health and it must be considered when evaluating the negative aspects of labor migration.

As the research revealed labor migration is steady enough and return of labor migrants to the home country will be possible only in case of creating certain pre-conditions. Readiness to re-emigrate for the returned emigrants is high enough. At the same time their majority will take the final decision after considering the changes in socio-economic and political life in Georgia.

2.2.8 Risk-factors of women emigration. Illegal women migration contains many risks. In interviews with the returned emigrants it was revealed that they fully realized the danger they were facing when traveling abroad illegally and sometimes "left to chance". It was clear to us from the very beginning that it would be impossible to find out whether any of the returned emigrants was employed in the so-called "sex-service" sector as the respondents would say nothing regarding these issues because of negative attitude of public opinion to prostitution. Though other researches clearly show that Georgian women often fall victims to trafficking and are engaged in sex-industry against their will. Illegal employment of labor migrants from Georgia in the western countries facilitates the development of this phenomenon.

Unfortunately, ~~there is~~ not only precise, but even rough statistics on illegal labor does not exist on the migration and trafficking cases.

2.2.9. Reasons and motives of internal migration. Though the main goal of our research was to study the external migration process, the main characteristic features of internal women migration processes were revealed as well.

According to the 2002 population census the number of people who migrated from Kakheti region was 105,900, which constitutes 24% of the population of the region. Among them 35,300 or 33% moved within the administrative borders of the region, while the rest left for other regions of the country. 48,600 have left the region, 16,000 live in other regions or 45,9% and 15,1% respectively of the total number of the migrated population from the region. Among those who arrived in the region, 27,9% are from Tbilisi and 6,4% from Kvemo Kartli. The number of those who left the region sufficiently exceeds the number of the arrived. This fact defines a negative migration balance in the region. In relation to other regions of the country Kakheti region has maintained a positive balance. The total of 29,670 people left Kakheti region as a result of internal migration.

Labor migration to big cities of the country is the only way out for that part of unemployed women in the region who does not have enough financial resources to go to labor emigration abroad. It is natural that the first attempt of migration is directed to big cities of Georgia. Of course, there may be more possibilities of employment there than in some of small towns in Kakheti, but all places on the market of unskilled manpower are already occupied by the local laborers. Women migrants have difficulties in getting jobs in Tbilisi, and the only chance they are left with is connected with high risks and at the same time is not affordable for many women. The picture of internal migration may change after normalization of the situation, which, first of all, means strengthening of economics, though Tbilisi will still retain the role of the main place of attraction for migrants.

The research of internal and external migration processes in Kakheti region revealed that in cases of internal migration women prefer the capital – 74%. In cases of internal migration the majority of women (43,3%) have relatives or friends in the town/village of migration, 12,4% have family members there. It is evident that internal migration processes and attitudes are nourished principally by kindred relations.

Movement of population from villages to towns which in Kakheti region is expressed by

intense women migration to Tbilisi, often with all family members and is caused by social-economic problems existing in villages: unemployment, poor conditions of life, distinct differences between living standards in comparison with towns, etc. Solution of these problems, leveling of material and cultural standards of villages and towns will lessen migration to towns and facilitate return of population to villages.

2.2.10. Evaluation of psycho-emotional state of women migrants. It is important that external migration attitudes of women do not correlate with their psycho-emotional state. In spite of hardships of life, 31,3% of women think that it is still possible to overcome them. 28,7% think that it is impossible to stand such a situation any more. Only 3% think that everything is well enough. Therefore we can conclude that psycho-emotional state of women is rather pessimistic than optimistic. Their attitudes towards external migration do not correspond to their psycho-emotional state. Intention to go abroad is equally strong both among pessimists and optimists.

As it has already been stated the main reason of migration is economical state. The majority of women name financial hardship (35,7%) and unemployment (20,1%) as the first and the second rate problems. Other types of social, political or cultural issues are less actual for them. Hopes as to perspectives of improving their conditions are most often associated with emigration (35,8%).

The data clearly show that perspectives of improving their conditions are more often associated with women's own abilities, assistance of family members and relatives than with external factors. High trust in God and Divine Assistance express public respect to this institution, rather than expectations of real help from God.

Chapter III – Main Characteristic Features of Demographic Structure of Labor Migrants in Kakheti Region consists of three sub-chapters.

3.1. General demographic situation in Georgia. Labor migration from Georgia unfolds on the background of intense depopulation, constant migratory decrease of the population and dropping of the birth rate to a critical level. The influence of stationary as well as labor migration on the demographic potential of Georgia is extremely negative.

The demographic situation that was created in Georgia by the 90s of the 20th century is appraised by professionals as a “demographic crisis”. The objective character of such estimate is proved by the analysis of the changes of the main demographic indicators. It is

natural that we can speak about demographic security of our own country. Especially as the average rate of growth of population lowered from 1,46% to 0,15% in 1960-1990, and the process of significant decrease of population has begun since 1993 (it was 0,03% in 1995), while emigration plays an important role in it. Natural depopulation in Georgia was officially stated in 2000. According to the UNO report if the given demographic tendencies are preserved the population of Georgia will decrease by 2 million people in 2000-2050 which equals to 40% of the present-day population of Georgia and Georgia will turn into a “demographically dying” country. In such a situation intense women labor migration is interpreted and evaluated from a different aspect in our country than, for example, in the Philippines, where the demographic growth of population is rapid and unemployment caused by the growth of population is very high [Labor Migration from Georgia, International Organization for Migration and Association for Economic Education, Tbilisi, 2003, p. 40 (in Georgian)].

In the area of our research (Kakheti region) labor migration activities of Georgian women was non-existent in the Soviet times. We suppose that in contrast to other regions there were no developed forms to meet new conditions formed in Kakheti region and intense growth of women migration took a form of an unnatural leap. Even more alarming from the aspect of national security of the country is the fact that a considerable part of potential migrants are young, most active and able-bodied young women of fertile age.

3.2. Women emigration and demographic security. Demographic situation becomes much more grave as women of fertile age constitute the greatest part of those who go abroad (including unmarried women). High migration activity characterizes women living both in villages and towns.

79,1% of women interviewed by us live in villages, 20,9% – in towns. The rate of women of fertile age is the highest among the interviewed. The majority of the interviewed women are potential emigrants.

Women who emigrate abroad often marry and settle for good in foreign countries. The research showed that return potential of married women is much more high. According to the respondents' answers, the probability of unmarried labor migrants staying abroad for good is higher.

16,3% of the interviewed potential women emigrants have intentions to marry abroad.

19% found it difficult to answer and 55% have no such intentions. Correlation of the answers to women's marital state is rather interesting. The majority of the interviewed are married (52,4%).

It is possible that some of the 16,3% of women who intend to marry abroad are already married, though they see marriage as a means of settling abroad for good. This answer enables us to suggest that migration attitudes in women are not defined just by objective reasons (poverty, unemployment, etc.) but by the subjective factors as well. These factors are family conflicts, discontent with family life or relations (matrimonial, between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law, etc.).

On this basis, it is possible to state that women zealously hide the subjective reasons of migration and this issue requires serious in-depth research.

3.3. Evaluation of women emigration on the background on international labor migration theories. In this sub-chapter the results of our research are analyzed in view of the background of theories of international labor migration. International labor migration and its study used to draw serious attention though this interest has sufficiently increased lately because of growth of its scale. Biased and, in certain cases, only emotional attitudes in evaluating the migration processes must be eliminated. International migration has positive as well as negative aspects.

The positive aspects of labor migration are the following: the unemployment level decreases in the emigrants home countries, demand for manpower existing in the recipient countries is satisfied. Migrants render cash support to their families in the home countries, invest the saved money in local industry, thus facilitating development of economics [Labor Migration from Georgia. International Organization for Migration and Association for Economic Education, Tbilisi, 2003 (in Georgian)].

The negative aspects of labor migration are the following: emigration facilitates the so-called process of "brain drain" when the most motivated and educated unemployed people leave the country. This process, in itself, negatively influences the development of the country. At the same time it must be said that labor migrants, as a rule, do not manage to get jobs that correspond to their education and are forced to comply with unskilled labor.

It has been revealed in the process of our research that the main reasons of women labor

emigration from Kakheti region are socio-economic factors that imply striving for improving living conditions. The new economic theory of migration supplies us with interesting ideas at the initial stage of the research, especially when we consider that Kakheti region depends on agricultural farming.

According to a new micro-level economic theory, migration is not determined just by individual choice of person based on rational calculation of profits received as a result of emigration, but is rather a family strategy. A woman does not decide individually to emigrate, but the family diversifies the existing resources and thus lessens the probable danger to family well-being in case if the family incomes decrease for some reasons [Massaey D.S. et.al, "Theories of International Migration" A Review and Appraisal: in Population and Development Review 19 (3), (1993), p.435].

The family migratory strategy that aims at diversification of incomes presents itself as a family "rescue strategy" in Kakheti region. It is an attempt of families engaged in individual agricultural farming to ensure themselves in cases if due to bad natural conditions they will fail to have good harvest. Therefore the new economic theory explains better the intense growth of women migration from Kakheti region as a traditionally agrarian community.

At the same time the cases in which womens' decisions to leave their families and go to labor emigration have become one of the main strategies to save their families, the factor of relative deprivation becomes more and more important in the process of making decisions to emigrate. This phenomenon is well explained by the neo-classical economic theory.

The potential emigrants fall under influence of "push factor" of Georgia as an economically undeveloped country as well as the "pull factor" of economically developed countries which implies the lack of manpower and comparatively high remuneration in these countries. But quite often the women emigration is caused not by unemployment but by the lack of highly paid positions. We face here a certain paradox which was highlighted by our research as well: women who go abroad because of absence of highly paid and highly skilled jobs in the country agree to take low-paid and unprestigious jobs.

We can state that according to the neo-classical theory, labor migration is a positive

phenomenon, since it helps to decrease the number of surplus manpower in the manpower exporter country [Massaey D.S. et.al, "Theories of International Migration" A Review and Appraisal: in Population and Development Review 19 (3), (1993), p.433-434].

According to the neo-classical theory, on the micro-level decisions are made by individuals according to their own interests and these decisions are based on rational calculations, implying expenditures on migration and the profits, which emigrants will gain in result of employment in foreign countries. Accordingly the choice of the recipient country is based on rational calculations as well. According to this theory potential emigrants go to the country where they can receive the highest possible remuneration [Massaey D.S. et.al, "Theories of International Migration" A Review and Appraisal: in Population and Development Review 19 (3), (1993), p.434-435].

If we apply the neo-classical theory to the economic situation formed in the present-day Georgia, we can say that the number of emigrated women from Georgia and from Kakheti region in particular should be much greater than it is in reality. It is evident that only economic factors do not play the decisive role in the processes of women emigration. Other factors are of certain importance as well. Such factors are, for example, emigrants' individual qualities, financial and social resources available to them, and others.

The majority of women migrants are the most motivated women who intend to improve their living conditions. In most cases, they have higher education and special skills and abilities when compared to their compatriots, who in spite of hardships stay in the country. As a rule, the women who are in the most strained conditions and are rather poor, do not emigrate frequently since they have neither sufficient financial resources to finance expensive trips nor social relations they can resort to for assistance in emigration [Porter A. Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities, in Ch. Hirshman, P. Kazanitz, J. De Wind (eds). The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1999].

Considering the aforementioned reasons, we can conclude that migration is selective by its character and that there are more relatively deprived persons among emigrants than those who live in poverty [Stark O., Taylor E-J. Migration Incentives, Migration Types:

the Role of Relative Deprivation, in *Economic Journal* 101 (408): 1163-1178, 1991].

Thus, the neo-classical economic theory helps us explain the fact that women who have relatively better economic conditions emigrate more often than those who live in extreme poverty as the formers consider themselves relatively deprived.

The theory of segmented labor market helps us explain why there is some demand on different types of manpower in different countries and why emigrant women agree to do the work they refused to do in their home country.

In the recipient countries women emigrants are associated with the low paid work, they do work which the local population refuses to fulfill. There is always a certain demand on specific manpower in the recipient countries therefore the emigrants are consent to occupy these places on the labor market and for the price which is unacceptable for the local population [Massaey D.S. et.al, "Theories of International Migration" A Review and Appraisal: in *Population and Development Review* 19 (3), (1993), p.441].

It is easy to explain why the women immigrants are content to do the work the local population refuses to fulfill. As a rule, women emigrants do not consider themselves as members of the society of the recipient country. It explains the fact why women emigrants refuse to fulfill some work at home and do the same or maybe more difficult and less favorable work abroad. In foreign countries, women migrants feel themselves as members of society of their home country, thus rendering the financial support to their families is of much more importance to them.

According to the social capital theory, decisions on emigration are not made only on the basis of rational calculation and without taking into account opinions of the potential emigrants family members'. This theory as well doubts the role of "push and pull factors" in the process of decision making.

In contrast to the neo-classical theory, the social capital theory claims that decisions as to emigration are made under the influence of the social relations which connect emigrants and members of their families, relatives and friends left in the home country. In such cases, an extremely important role is played by well-developed migration networks existing in the region.

Our research highlighted that one of the main factors facilitating women migration from Kakheti region is the existence of migration networks, though it does not mean that all

the factors of emigration are conditioned by existence of migration networks. Women migration first of all is caused by economic or social factors but, according to the social capital theory, every single fact of migration facilitates formation and development of migration networks.

Adherents of the world systems theory hold that in cases when emigration flows proceed from traditional and less developed countries to rich and developed countries and migrants begin to send remittances to their home countries, migrants' home countries become more engaged in market relations and this in its turn more enhances the growth of migration rate.

The fact that international labor migration from Georgia to the countries of Western Europe and the USA began not long ago to a certain degree can be explained through the world systems theory. After the state borders of Georgia opened, Georgia was involved into the system of the world economic market, and foreign capital began to flow into the country, Georgian manpower (with an important share of women) joined the world labor market and the direction of emigration changed from Russia to Europe and North America. Social-economic process that underwent in the country precipitated involvement of Kakheti region into the international migration process. The fact that Georgia has changed the direction of emigration points not only to the fact that emigration to Europe and America is caused by strained political relations between Georgia and Russia and "closure" of the Russian labor market, but by active involvements of Georgia into the world economic space which in its turn sufficiently determines the growth and development of migration processes.

Conclusion.

Thus, factual as well as potential women labor migration from Georgia is determined by grave economic conditions, problems of employment and worsening of living standards in the country. Alongside with social-economic factors the political situation formed in Georgia disposes a sufficient part of the population to leave the country for a while, though in case if such a situation lasts long enough the number of those intending to leave Georgia for good will increase more and more.

Women go abroad mainly because of the grave economic situation formed in Kakheti and

absence of prospects of its improvement. The greater part of women decide to go abroad in search of work in order to support their families and create acceptable living conditions for their family members. Though we can suppose that the influence of relative deprivation will become more and more important in making decisions in favor of emigration.

High level of women emigration from Kakheti cannot be explained only by the grave economic situation of the region. Resources suggested by Kakheti emigration networks play an important role in this process.

Appearance of Georgian women on international labor market is compulsion of hunger and contradicts the main generative function of women – bringing up new generations and reproduction. Accordingly, while evaluating feminization of labor market from the aspect of women emancipation, its second negative aspect should not be left out. In the West, feminization of migration is considered a new stage of development of labor migration and a progressive mark of achieved gender equality. However, our research unveiled the process of unnatural decay of the age-old genuine values, which is one of the results of the migration process. Therefore, feminization of labor migration from Georgia in the form in which it presently exists and appearance of Georgian women on the international labor market are stimulated by economic hardship and cannot be considered a progressive phenomenon, especially in a “demographically dying” country.

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The principal statements of the dissertation work are reflected in the following publications:

1. On the problem of migration of young Georgian women / “Kavkasiis matsne”, # 15, 2006 (in Georgian).
2. Socialization and gender inequality / “Kavkasiis matsne” #12, Tbilisi, 2005 (in Georgian).
3. Socialization as a process /Collection of Scientific Articles, 2005 (in Georgian).