

## Retrospective Comprehension of Post-Soviet Georgia's Population Migration

Mirian Tukhashvili

*Faculty of Economics and Business, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia*

(Presented by Academy Member Avtandil Silagadze)

**ABSTRACT.** In the early 1990s, all-embracing crisis in Georgia and catastrophic decline in living standards have led to radical intensification of the population territorial mobility and significant social-demographic changes. The retrospective assessment of the events that took place over a quarter century is based on accurate information and generalization of many studies. The article critically discusses the migration situation created in Georgia's annexed regions and points out the inaccurate information. Intensified emigration, which still continues, has significantly reduced the number of population and changed Georgia's ethnic structure. The final outcome of permanent emigration is the obvious increase in the share of autochthonic population in the remaining population in Georgia. Ethnic cleansing in the annexed regions and the critical reduction of labor potential has further destroyed the economy, which is evident in the indicators published by the separatist statistical bodies. It seems that the efforts of the international community over the course of the last quarter century have become weak for IDPs to return to their homes and need new initiatives. Retrospective discussion shows that the previous phase of permanent immigration is mostly labor emigration. It represents the positive socio-economic phenomenon, together with remittances, creates a real threat to permanent emigration and threatens to the restoration of normal demographic situation in the country. It is necessary to achieve the formation of so-called "circular migration" regime when mainly legalized managed streams enter the international labor market. Until then, the process of compatriots return to their homeland is to be activated. In the post-soviet period, internal migration took the form of unsystematic nature in the conditions of economic chaos. Due to the destruction of the urban-producing base, the process of urbanization could not be sustained. The population movement from rural to urban areas and the urban population growth had not an economic basis. Effective organized settlements were also discontinued. The demographic donor regions turned out in the depopulation situation themselves. The issue of provision of important new construction projects of Georgia with local labour force has become a problem. Although migration management programs have been created recently, I think they are lacking to be based on deep analytical researches, which is an urgent task for our science. © 2018 Bull. Georg. Natl. Acad. Sci.

**Key words:** migration, population, Georgia, urbanization, annexed regions

**Emigration of the Post-Soviet Period: Reasons and Major Consequences.** The quality and content of the territorial mobility of the Georgian population has changed drastically after

the collapse of the USSR. The economic decline of this period and the ethnic conflicts inspired by the imperialist forces, the destruction caused by hostilities, the civil war and the political chaos caused a catastrophic fall in living standards in Georgia. In the first years of independent Georgia, the volume of the gross domestic product decreased by 4 times, and the number of jobs in the industry – 5 times. The balance of labour force demand and supply on the labour market became extremely distorted, the labor price dropped, emerged the high level of unemployment and hyperinflation. A significant part of the population found the way out of the difficult situation in permanent or temporary employment abroad. This was the main reason for the development of highly intensive emigration processes. The large scale immigration was contributed and accelerated by other circumstances.

- International territorial movement was liberalized due to the change of political situation. Migration administrative restrictions were lifted and the movement between countries became easy. The barriers to returning to their historical homeland were lifted for Greeks, Jews and others living in Georgia.

- The strengthening of the state language status and the legal change of the privileged state of Russian language became a contributing and accelerating factor in emigration of diasporas. According to the population census conducted before the period of the collapse of the USSR, 74% of Russians living in Georgia did not know the state language, Georgian, at all. Only 18% of diasporas living in Georgia spoke the Georgian language [1]. On the other hand, in the conditions of sustained growth of education and culture the natural yearning to return to their own ethno-cultural environment, own ethno-territories was gradually increasing, which strengthened immigration stimulus.

- Emigration intensity was impacted by the departure of the Russian military contingent and their family members from Georgia.

- The political chaos in Georgia in the 1990s, the disorder of the state organism and reign of crime became an emigration stimulator.

Finally, in 1989-2014 the population in Georgia's de jure borders decreased from 5400 thousand to 4023 thousand people, or by 25.5%, which almost entirely comes from emigration. In modern areas the population decreased from 4776 thousand to 3713 thousand people (by 1063 thousand people, or by 22.3%).

At present only 46.7% of 1989 population remains in annexed Abkhazia, and in so-called South Ossetia - 54%. The main reason for the reduction of population in these territories is ethnic cleansing. Along with the substantial reduction of the number of population, the significant result of immigration process is reflected in the substantial change of ethnic population of Georgia (Table 1).

**Forced Migrations and Ethnic Cleansing in the Annexed Regions.** The essential part of the territorial mobility of the post-Soviet Georgia's population is forced migration, ethnic cleansings from autonomous formations. The number of internally displaced persons from Abkhazia and South Ossetia exceeded 300000, part of which left Georgia and went outside the country, and the main part of the IDPs was sheltered temporarily in various regions of Georgia where there are abysmal living conditions. It is quite natural that this contingent joined the wave of immigration taken place in Georgia; by percentage their number of the emigrated was higher that was confirmed from a number of studies [2, 3]. This is also natural, because of the hard life conditions and homelessness the emigration restraint factors in the contingent was weak than in the rest of emigrants.

According to the data of the Ministry of Refugees and Accommodation, the number of IDPs as of September 2014 was 260000 [4], the 2014 population census reported only 159.8 thousand from Abkhazia and 29.9 thousand IDPs from Tskhinvali region [5]. This contingent is disproportionately distributed by the regions.

**Table 1. Change of Ethnic Structure of Georgian Population in 1800-2014 (%)**

Ethnicity	1800	1865	1897	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979	1989	2002	2014
Georgian	79.4	73.8	69.4	66.8	61.4	64.3	66.8	68.8	70.1	81.5	81.4
Abkhazian	6.6	4.6	2.2	2.1	1.6	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.5	2.6
Ossetian	3.7	3.6	4.2	4.2	4.2	3.5	3.2	3.2	3.0	1.7	1.6
Russian	-	2.0	5.3	3.6	8.7	10.1	8.5	7.4	6.3	2.1	1.2
Armenian	6.0	9.5	10.3	11.5	11.7	11.0	9.6	9.0	8.1	5.7	5.2
Azerbaijani	3.8	4.0	4.2	5.4	5.3	3.8	4.6	5.1	5.7	6.5	5.7
Jew	0.4	0.6	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.1	0.6	0.5	0.1	0.1
Greek	0.1	0.9	2.0	2.0	2.4	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.9	0.3	0.2
German	-	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ukrainian	-	-	-	0.5	1.3	1.3	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.2	0.2
The rest	-	0.7	1.1	2.4	1.9	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.6	0.4	0.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Georgia's population census materials of the relevant year. [www. http://Geostat.ge](http://Geostat.ge)

Despite the great efforts of the international community, there are no specific ways to realize the return of IDPs to their home. On the other hand, the IDPs adaptation and integration process with the population of settlement region is in progress.

The large scale forced migrations and ethnic cleansings plunged economic and demographic development of the annexed regions into very dismal situation. In Abkhazia, for example, a per capita gross domestic product (GDP) as of 2015 two times lagged behind the Georgia's index [6]. Together with many tragic events caused by IDPs movement, demand and supply of labour force in the labour markets of the annexed areas has become extremely unbalanced, unemployment has increased drastically and emigration processes have also been intensified from these regions.

Big changes have also occurred in internal migration of the annexed regions.

After the expulsion of Georgians, a huge housing fund remained in Abkhazia, especially in Sokhumi and Gagra, which was subsequently occupied by the Abkhazian population. In the 1989-2011 intercensal period the Abkhazian population increased from 14.9 thousand to 42.3 thousand in Sokhumi. In Gagra Municipality – from 7 thousand to 15.5 thousand, in Gulripshi region – from 1.3

thousand to 6 thousand [6]. Besides, mainly 7365 Abkhazians repatriated from different countries were settled in Gulripshi municipality, 4262 from Turkey, 2500 from Russia, 531 from Syria and so on [7].

After the ethnic cleansing, the process of Abkhazification is going fast. But the number of Abkhazians is intentionally increased. Their growth by 27578 people in 2003-2011 should be exaggerated. In the noted period in Abkhazia, in the conditions of low fertility and natural growth 3131 people of all ethnicities were added to Abkhazia; net migration was negative, with 1065 people leaving the country. Finally, in 2003-2011 only 2066 people of all nationalities were added to Abkhazia [6]. It is obvious that the number of Abkhazians is intentionally increased. Other experts have also mentioned. For example, T. Blumgardt believes that only 55-60 thousand Abkhazians live in Abkhazia and 20-25 thousand are recorded in Abkhazia and are actually living in Russia [8]. Apparently, the secessionist authorities use similar manipulations in order to achieve ethnic homogeneity.

The situation in Tskhinvali Region is also very difficult. After the annexation and ethnic cleansing in 2008, the population has declined sharply.

According to the 2015 population census only 53.9% of the population of 1989 lives there [9]. The labor market conjuncture is deformed. There is little demand on labour force. Intensive emigration of the local population is directed to the Russian Federation.

Thus, the most acute problem which is characteristic of territorial mobility of the Georgian population in the post-Soviet period is forced migration resulted from annexation and ethnic cleansing carried out by the neighboring country, expulsion of the most of people from annexed territories. In these regions they had to leave their property, houses, a source of livelihood created for centuries. They incurred heavy economic and moral loss. In these regions, the economy actually stopped and emerged many signs of so-called anthropodesert.

The great mass of internally displaced persons instantly changed the long-term, evolutionary formed regional proportions of labor resources throughout Georgia, increased the level of unemployment in both former and new settlement regions. This has become a powerful factor for the growth of population emigration.

**Immigration and Policy of Compatriots Return to their Homeland.** According to the 2014 population's universal census methodology, all those who were living abroad for a 12-month period were regarded as immigrants. The census showed that 184629 people belonged to this category, 90.7% of them were citizens of Georgia, 2.7% held dual citizenship, and 6.4% (11751 people) - citizenship of another country. Immigration flow is mainly blended with the population returned to their homeland.

The intensity of arrivals in Georgia from abroad is slowly rising by far, but in parallel with economic development and living standards growth in Georgia, it is expected that this stream will grow, which should be strictly under control and managed by the state by adopting adequate migration policies. We must be careful with investments from

demographically growing and economically backward countries. As experience shows, investments from these countries are followed by cheap labor, which in uncontrolled situation pose certain threats to the Caucasus region and Georgia plunged into conflicts. That is why it is necessary to construct an immigration policy that will take into consideration the geopolitical situation of Georgia in terms of human rights protection. It should be categorically prohibited to stay and work in Georgia illegally; issuance of residence permission must be tightened.

Recently, the movement of the compatriots' return to their homeland has gained support throughout the world. Implementation of the return policy for "demographically dying" country (including Georgia) is of particular importance. In return policy a great importance is attached to the pursuance of effective reintegration policy, effective use of readmission, and activation of employment policies. Through our researches conducted in different periods it was found that 40% of returned migrants had decided to go abroad again, and the main reason is their unemployment. Many of their business activity faced monopolism, racket and other contradictions. Apparently, the reintegration policy of the returnees was not so effective [10].

The ultimate goal of migration management must be the realization of the circular migration model, which envisages an intensive participation of the international labor market in the conditions of permanent residence in the homeland[11,12]

**Labour Emigration.** Labor emigration was not an unusual occurrence for Georgia. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union the population went to work outside Georgia. But during the post-Soviet deep economic crisis, visits for making a living became intensive. As soon as the economic collapse began, large waves of the unemployed rushed for Russia, Turkey and other countries to find subsistence for their families. Then the diversification process started in migration and

labor emigration flows had already spread throughout Europe. There are many studies on the distribution of labor emigrants according to emigration countries, but it is still difficult to judge about their number. The 2014 population census did not fully reflect their number. The census recorded 88541 people who had been abroad for more than 12 months. Their national composition is the same as the national composition of the de facto population of Georgia. This structure is substantially different from the first post-Soviet flows where the share of other nationalities was obviously large.

The absolute majority of labour emigrants before the collapse of the Soviet Union were males, then after the collapse females labour emigration was a completely new phenomenon, the share of which was steadily rising and presently surpassed the share of males (54.6%) [13]. This process was contributed by the fact that demand for females in the international labor market is higher. For example, in Greece, out of the all arrivals from Georgia 83% are females, in Italy – 85.7%, in Turkey – 67.1%. Males mostly leave for Russia (71.1% of the migratory stream), Ukraine (79.8%) and Azerbaijan (60.5%).

According to the census, the largest migratory flow from Georgia now goes to Russia - 21.7%, Greece – 15.9%, Turkey – 11.2, Italy – 10.9%, Germany - 7.1%, US – 5.7% etc. The main goal of travel abroad is employment in the recipient country (73.1%) or study (11%). The contingent which goes abroad has a very high labor potential, is employed illegally in recipient countries in the hard labor conditions and the jobs are not suitable for their qualification. In most cases the qualification of this contingent becomes degraded and labour capacity decreases.

Labor emigrants send a part of their incomes to Georgia. Remittances are mainly sent electronically by banks. The recent studies of remittances confirm that the essential signs of labor emigration from Georgia are similar to those of other countries and

like them they are determined by the regulations of the world globalization[14]. Money transfers and other values brought into the home country are about 2 billion US dollars and amounts to 14% of GDP. It is mainly used to satisfy the primary needs of the population. However, the share of large transfers and the possibility of their investments in small business gradually increase[15].

On the other hand, labor emigration is associated with the lack of normal functioning of families, acute childcare problems, separation from the native environment, and even tragic cases[16]. In addition, labor emigration represents the first phase of permanent emigration. Its continuation in the current form (intensity) undermines national security.

**Internal Migration.** In the post-Soviet period the deep crisis of the Georgian resettlement system started after highly intensive emigration processes from urban areas and due to the destruction of industry which is an urban-creating field. Urbanization has lost the face of evolutionary process. According to the 2002 population census, the population of Tbilisi accounted for 86.7% of the number of 1989, Kutaisi - 80%, Batumi - 89%, Rustavi - 73%, and in mining single-industrial centers, in Chiatura and in Tkibuli - 47.8% and 65.8%. The share of the urban population in the whole population decreased from 55.4% to 52.6% in 1989-2002.

An instant change of sectoral structure of employment took place in rural areas; were destructed labour-intensive branches of international specialization – viticulture, tea-growing and other perennials. Despite the intensive emigration of rural population, the so called “overpopulation” scale in rural areas has not decreased. The rural population started the process of filling the emptied urban areas. Acquisition of flats in the city (especially in Tbilisi) with the money made abroad became frequent. The removal of administrative barriers of the USSR period intensified again the population distribution process from rural to urban areas, in 1989-2014 the rural

population decreased from 2409 thousand to 1574 thousand and accounted for 65% of pre-crisis period.

According to the 2014 population census, 57.4% of the country's population lives in urban areas, and 30% of Georgia's population lives in Tbilisi that is more (51.8%) than a half of the country's urban population. The population of the capital continues to grow rapidly in the conditions of atrophy of city-forming basis and clear signs of pseudo urbanization. The deterrent measures are to be formulated for hypertrophic growth of the capital. In general, the effective policy of the country's equal regional development is to be established, which will fit with market conditions and sharply expressed regional peculiarities[17,18]. We think that the infrastructure development projects (building of highways, gasification, improvement of drinking water supply, telecommunication, internet access etc.) made the positive impact on the irrational distribution process of population from urban areas. Acceleration of urbanization process in Georgia is still an urgent necessity. To do this, it is necessary to create a prognostic scheme of resettlement based on deep scientific research and gradual implementation.

For optimization of resettlement it is necessary to promote pendulum labor migration. In the pre-crisis period, the number of such migrants reached 250000 in Georgia, including 180000 people daily moved from rural to urban areas. It retained 750-800 thousand permanent residents in rural areas. Later, during the period of economic collapse, it almost stopped. The pendulum labor migration is gradually intensifying over the recent period in the conditions of economic recovery and improvement of transport functioning. This is an important way to balance the territorial sector of labour force in the regional labor markets and normalize the internal migration processes.

At present, it is also very problematic to find regional demographic donors for the implementation of the planned settlement projects. The old donors - the mountainous region of Adjara, Svaneti experience the decrease of population. In the post-Soviet period

the number of population in the mountainous region of Adjara decreased from 84.4 thousand to 55.2 thousand people, by 35%. The population of Svaneti has decreased from 26 thousand to 13.7 thousand, almost halved. Generally, the most irrational tendency is the overpopulation concentration process in the intermountain valley of Georgia.

In the post-Soviet period several important international projects were implemented. Georgia fulfills the role of transport corridor; economic revitalization of the seaside zone and economic integration of the Turkish-Georgian seaside zone started. In our opinion, the construction of deep-water port of Anaklia and the city is correctly thought strategically. However, the labour force issue is of principle importance. We believe that first of all, internally displaced people residing in Zugdidi and adjacent regions, as well as our compatriots returning to Georgia, as well as the labour force of municipalities with depressive single-industrial economies should be attracted.

**Conclusion.** Retrospective discussion of Georgia's population migration of the post-Soviet period shows that the main reason for intensive territorial movement is economic collapse and ethnic cleansing inspired by external imperialist forces.

In 1989-2014, in the intercensal period, a fourth of the population left Georgia and moved to other countries to work and live. High intensity migration still continues. The secessionist regions suffered the serious economic and demographic loss. The local self-proclaimed government's campaign to achieve ethnic homogeneity in the annexed territory has put the population in hard conditions. The Russians, Armenians and Greeks, together with autochthonic Georgians left the regions on a mass scale. The employment and living standards of the population displaced from these regions remains very hard.

The analysis of migration of the post-Soviet period showed that the main mass of immigrants is the returnees from abroad, but gradually the process of settlement of citizens of other countries is also

intensified. The practice showed that the state should be careful with investments from demographically growing and economically backward countries because investments from these countries are followed by cheap labour that can exceed the critical limits, threaten national identity and put Georgia, being in demographic depression, before new ethnic conflicts.

The scale of labor emigration is also to be reduced; the policy of the return of compatriots to their homeland, and eventually achieving the status of so-called "circular migration" in territorial mobility is to

be implemented. The recent achievements of liberalization of visa regime will help to the formation of legitimate and managed flows.

It is important to attract national labour force, especially internally displaced persons and returned compatriots to the large constructions.

It requires serious efforts to restrict the growth of Tbilisi and to pursue the policy for the development of middle-sized and small towns, to create and implement scientifically reasonable schemes for settlement, to improve migration management at all.

## ეკონომიკა

# პოსტსაბჭოთა საქართველოს მოსახლეობის მიგრაციის რეტროსპექტული გააზრება

## მ. ტუხაშვილი

*ივანე ჯავახიშვილის სახელობის თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი, ეკონომიკისა და ბიზნესის ფაკულტეტის მაკროეკონომიკის კათედრა, თბილისი, საქართველო.*

(წარმოდგენილია აკადემიის წევრის ა. სილაგამის მიერ)

1990-იანი წლების დასაწყისში საქართველოში განვითარებულ ყოვლისმომცველ კრიზისს და ცხოვრების დონის კატასტროფულ დაცემას მოსახლეობის ტერიტორიული მობილობის რადიკალური გააქტიურება და მნიშვნელოვანი სოციალურ-დემოგრაფიული ცვლილებები მოჰყვა. მეოთხედი საუკუნის შემდგომ მომხდარ მოვლენათა რეტროსპექტული შეფასება დაზუსტებულ ინფორმაციას და მრავალ გამოკვლევათა განზოგადებას ეყრდნობა. სტატია კრიტიკულად განიხილავს საქართველოს ანექსირებულ რეგიონებში შექმნილ მიგრაციულ ვითარებასა და მიუთითებს დასაზუსტებელ ინფორმაციაზე. ინტენსიურმა ემიგრაციამ, რაც ჯერ კიდევ გრძელდება, მნიშვნელოვნად შეამცირა მოსახლეობის რიცხოვნობა და შეცვალა საქართველოს ეთნოსტრუქტურა ანექსირებულ რეგიონებშიც. მუდმივი ემიგრაციის საბოლოო შედეგი საქართველოში დარჩენილ მოსახლეობაში ავტოქტონთა წილის აშკარა მატებაა. ანექსირებულ რეგიონებში ეთნოწმენდამ და შრომითი პოტენციალის კრიტიკულმა შემცირებამ კიდევ უფრო გააჩანაგა ეკონომიკა, რაც კარგად ჩანს თვით სეპარატისტული სტატისტიკური ორგანოების მიერ გამოქვეყნებულ ინდიკატორებში. ჩანს, რომ განვლილი მეოთხედი საუკუნის განმავლობაში საერთაშორისო თანამეგობრობის მიერ გაწეული ძალისხმევა იძულებით გადაადგილებულ პირთა თავიანთ საცხოვრისში დასაბრუნებლად სუსტი აღმოჩნდა და ახალ ქმედით ინიციატივებს საჭიროებს. რეტროსპექტული განხილვა

გვიჩვენებს, რომ მუდმივი ემიგრაციის წინა ფაზა უმეტესად შრომითი ემიგრაციაა. ის დადებით სოციალურ-ეკონომიკურ მოვლენას, რემიტანსთან ერთად, ქმნის მუდმივ ემიგრაციაში გადაზრდის რეალურ საფრთხეს და ემუქრება ქვეყანაში ნორმალური დემოგრაფიული ვითარების აღდგენას. აუცილებლად მისაღწევია ე.წ. “ცირკულარული მიგრაციის” რეჟიმის ფორმირება, როცა ძირითადად ლეგალიზებული მართული ნაკადები გავლენ საერთაშორისო შრომის ბაზარზე. იქამდე კი გასააქტიურებელია თანამემამულეთა სამშობლოში დაბრუნების პროცესი. პოსტსაბჭოთა პერიოდში შიგა მიგრაციამ ეკონომიკური ქაოსის პირობებში უსისტემო ხასიათი მიიღო. ქალაქწარმომქნელი ბაზის განადგურების გამო ვეღარ მიმდინარებდა ურბანიზაციის კანონზომიერი პროცესი. სოფლიდან ქალაქად გადასვლასა და ქალაქების მოსახლეობის რიცხოვნობის მატებას გამოცლილი ჰქონდა ეკონომიკური საფუძველი. ეფექტიანი ორგანიზებული ჩასახლებანიც შეწყდა. დემოგრაფიული დონორი რეგიონები თითონ აღმოჩნდნენ დეპოპულაციურ ვითარებაში. პრობლემად იქცა საქართველოს მნიშვნელოვანი ახალმშენებლობების ადგილობრივი სამუშაო ძალით უზრუნველყოფის საკითხიც. მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ ბოლო ხანს შეიქმნა მიგრაციის მართვის პროგრამები, მათ აკლია დაფუძნება ღრმა ანალიტიკურ გამოკვლევებზე, რაც ჩვენი მეცნიერების წინაშე მდგარი გადაუდებელი ამოცანაა.

## REFERENCES

1. National Composition of Georgian Population Statistical Collection (1991) Tbilisi, pp. 62-63.
2. Tukhashvili M., Toria M. (2008) Labor emigration of the IDPs from Abkhazia. *J. Migration* 3: 86.
3. Zubiashvili T. (2014) Forced migration in Georgia and its social and demographic consequences. *Humanities and Social Sciences Review*, 03 (03) : 419-423.
4. Hakkert R. (2017) Population Dynamics in Georgia. An Overview Based on the 2014 General Population Census Data. Published by: VESTA, Ltd. Tbilisi, Georgia.
5. Georgia's Population Universal Census Materials of 2014. [www.http://Geostat.ge](http://Geostat.ge).
6. Abkhazia v tsifrakh za 2010, 2015. (2011, 2016).UGSRA.
7. Khashba A. Sh. (2015) Etnodemograficheskie protsessi sovremennoi Abkhazii. Cand. diss. Sukhumi. c.17 (in Russian).
8. Blumgardt T. (2011) Naselenie Abkhazii – Gde istina?! Nasha Abkhazia.17.05.
9. South Ossetia-IPFS. [http://ipfs.io/ipfs/.../Languages\\_of\\_South\\_Ossetia.htm](http://ipfs.io/ipfs/.../Languages_of_South_Ossetia.htm).
10. Tukhashvili M., Shelia M., Taktakishvili G., Zubiashvili T., Chelidze N. (2012) Socio-Economic Problems of Return Migration in Georgia, Tbilisi.
11. Badurashvili I. (2012) Circular Migration in Georgia. CARIM-East. Venice.
12. Tukhashvili M. (2012) The Demographic and Economic Framework of Circular Migration in Georgia. CARIM-East. Venice.
13. Shelia M. (2017) Women's emigration from Georgia. *J. Migration* 8: 133-142.TSU. Tbilisi. (In Georgian).
14. Mekvabishvili E., Atanelishvili T. (2017) Personal remittances in the Post-Soviet countries (comparative analysis). *Bull. Georg. Natl Acad. Sci.* 11, 3:157-163.
15. Chelidze N. (2006) Labor Migration from Post-Soviet Georgia. Tbilisi (in Georgian).
16. Shelia M. (2017) Ageing of population in a transitional society: case of Georgia. *European Journal of Social and Human Sciences*, 4(2). URL: <http://ejshs.net/journals/n/1507124275.pdf>.
17. Silagadze A. (2017) History of Georgian Economic Thought: Relation between the Center and the Region. *Bull. Georg. Natl Acad. Sci.* 11, 4:138-143.
18. Silagadze A. (2017) “Post-Soviet paradoxes” of unemployment rate. *Bull. Georg. Natl Acad. Sci.* 11, 1:136-140.
19. Papava V. (2017) Georgia's economy – From Optimism to Primitivism. Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies. Tbilisi.

Received February, 2018