

Картли переехала с семьей в поисках работы. Говорит, что для своей мечты — приобретение собственного дома — готова работать день и ночь. В настоящее время семья Хатуны живет в чужом доме. Он принадлежит семье, которая переселилась в Грецию.

Временное проживание очень популярно в этих местах. Этнические греки мигрируют на историческую родину, но дома продавать не спешат. Чтобы сохранить их, хозяева пускают пожить внутренних трудовых мигрантов. Денег с них не берут — считается достаточным, если те будут возделывать землю и следить за домом. Мигранты получают условия, в которых они могут не только прокормиться, но и что-то заработать впрок. Надо подчеркнуть, что это неформальные договоры, государственные службы не имеют к ним никакого отношения и никак не регулируют процесс. Он идет естественным ходом: домовладельцы, уезжая, оставляют ключи доверенным односельчанам; мигранты, которые уже работают здесь, выписывают родню. Ясно, что эта

практика чревата конфликтами, однако в целом обе стороны находят ее выгодной, и число переселенцев растет.

У Хатуны двое детей, 7 и 8 лет. Мечту о собственном доме разделяет и ее муж. В настоящее время он уехал на заработки в Турцию, на 20 дней. Там сезонная работа — сбор чая, в день за такую работу платят 50 лари. Следовательно, он сможет заработать 1000 лари. То, что останется за вычетом расходов на дорогу и питание, семья отложит на будущий дом. Помимо картофельного поля, у семьи большое животноводство. Основной статьей дохода является не картошка, а молоко.

Сезонная работа в Турции стала довольно популярной. Мужчины уезжают, оставляя жен на хозяйстве. Женщины не возражают, потому что отлучка не длится больше месяца и при этом дает некоторый доход. (Однако удивительно, как легко хозяйства и семьи справляются в отсутствие мужчин! Трудно



представить, что было бы в случае трехнедельной отлучки жены и матери). На заработках и муж Эсмы Иремадзе, он уехал вместе с мужем Хатуны. Эсме 22 года, и у нее двое детей. Она говорит, что когда они покончат с картошкой Хатуны, возьмутся и за ее огород, потом перейдут на участки Майи и Ирмы. Так по очереди переделают всю работу на поле у каждой.

Эсма была на поле с маленькой дочкой. Пока она работала, ребенком занимались дети постарше — дочери других женщин

Ирме Какаладзе 25 лет, замужем с 16-ти, двое детей.

Майя Ананидзе чуть постарше, ей 33 года. Ее семья переехала сюда из Чохатаури в 2004 году и так же, как другие подруги, живет в чужом доме. У Майи муж и трое детей. Несколько лет назад случилось несчастье — муж получил производственную травму руки, она стала недееспособной. С тех пор еще больше нагрузки легло на плечи Майи.

Очевидно, что женщины дружат, доверяют и поддерживают друг друга. Они готовы использовать любую возможность в целях улучшения благосостояния семьи.



ფაგო შავაძე • Пати Шавадзе • Pati Shavadze © GP



Nazi Bolkvadze and Her Friends

In 1980's the planned settlement of a large groups of eco-migrant Ajarians and Svanetians started in Tetrtskaro and Tsalka municipalities. There were several streams of eco-migration up to 2003. The advent of these incomers has left its mark on Kvemo Kartli. It became richer from an ethnic, religious and language standpoint, however it also gave rise to new problems and challenges for new and old residents alike in seeking to adapt to the new cultural diversity.

Many Adjaran and Svanetian families, eco-migrants from other areas of Georgia live in Tsalka Municipality. Nazi Bolkvadze is Ajarian and her house is in Imera Village located a few kilometers on the main road from Tsalka town. It is neat and comfortable with a sofa, armchairs, a carpet and curtains in the living-room. There is no internal water system and cooking is done on a wood stove. Nazi's five neighbours — Kseni Khozrevanidze, Pati Shavadze, Mimoza Nakaidze, Pikria Bolkvadze and Mziuri Vanadze — came for the meeting. All migrated from Ajara at different times.

The ladies compared their living conditions in Ajara with what they have now, all of the women are unanimous when they say that things are much better for them in Kvemo Kartli. They no longer face the problems of avalanches and landslides that they had when they lived in the mountains. Another important fac-

tor for them is that there is sufficient pasture for cows near the village here and so they do not have to travel far with the cattle in search of grass. In the morning, the cows leave with a cow herd who they pay and then return in the evening. All of the women note that this is very convenient. They also like the fact that there is a nice road from the village and they can travel to Tbilisi any time they wish.

All of the women wore headscarfs. They are Muslim but the topic of faith was not the focus of the meeting. The women have children — two each — and some of them are already grandmothers. They explained that although traditionally women have more children it would be difficult for them to raise more than two due to mainly economic constraints. Five of the six women who took part in the conversation have husbands. The families seem stable with non-drinking and hard-working husbands.



At least, this is how it is for Nazi and Kseni although it was clear from their faces that the women work very hard. Women's work is hard but they do not always see it as such. The women are optimistic, cheerful and inclined towards joking. Mimoza Nakaidze married at the age of 16 and has two children. Mziuri Vanadze is 38 years old. She married at the age of 15 but only spent a brief ??? of time with her husband. Right after their marriage, he was drafted into the military and served in China and then died, accidentally, seven years after returning from service. Mziuri has been alone since then. She married off her daughter at the age of 13, when asked about the reason for her getting married at such a young age, she said that things just happened this way. Her daughter is 19 now and has a child of her own.

Milk provides the main source income for these households. Followed by growing potatoes for sale but this depends upon the presence of a land plot and its size. Not everyone has large tracts of land but everyone is able to keep a good number of cows. Nazi and her friends have eight to ten cows. Not all of them are

milking cows and include bullocks and female calves as well as pregnant heifers. On average, the women milk six to eight cows each ???. They do not consider this a great difficulty and say that six cows can be milked in an hour and a half. The cows are milked twice a day, in the morning and again in the evening.

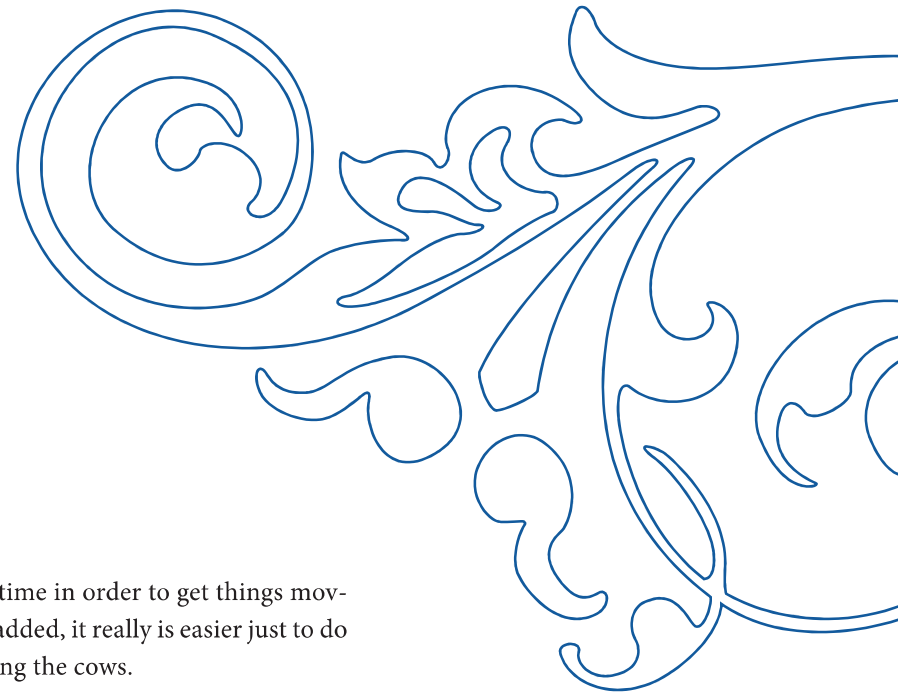
The women were asked whether they thought an investment in a milking machine would help them. The women said that they were skeptical of buying a milking machine. The main factor for them was its high cost which is around a thousand Lari (700 US dollars). Nazi's husband also said that the device would require extra expenses for electricity and Kseni recalled that back during the times when she used to work as a cow milker at a collective farm, such devices were so inefficient that milking cows by hand took considerably less time and had better results. By the end of our conversation, however, the women seemed to be more interested in the idea of a milking device. They liked the idea of saving time and energy as well as the idea of adding new cows to their herds.

The women do not complain about the heavy work they do but consider it to be as normal. They mention health-related issues such as sore joints as a result of their labour and criticize the local authorities for not having any medical specialists at Tsalka's polyclinic which means that they have to travel to Tbilisi for any treatments they might need. Pikria Bolkvadze said that her daughter-in-law, who is expecting a baby, will have to deliver the child in Tbilisi which implies an extra cost for the family as well as a loss of time.

We asked about who was in charge of allocating the money in their households. It appeared that women clearly have a say in these matters with expenditures typically being household items and things their children need. They buy furniture, a car, clothing — even satellite dishes for receiving TV programmes, for example — but do not seem to invest in items which could make their work easier such as a pump for a well. The work done by women remains the same unless they insist on change. But in this case as well, according to Pikria, one has to be very persistent for a

continued period of time in order to get things moving. Sometimes, she added, it really is easier just to do it by hand, like milking the cows.

Families are optimistic about the future because two milk collection centres belonging to EcoFood and Sante were built nearby a couple of years ago and buy milk from their village. This has resolved the problem of marketing cheese as the women now supply liquid milk and has provided stable income although the prices they pay are not so high, only around 60-70 tetri per litre. However sometimes, the factories delay payment and at other times, collection ceases. During periods when the collection centres do not buy their milk the villagers make their own Sulguni cheese from the accumulated milk of two or three families, to sell to traders who come to the village or they use the cheese in exchange for groceries at the local shop, purchasing machinery services or even buying second hand clothes from a woman who comes to the village specifically for exchanging cheese for clothes. They often work together which makes the process easier and more cost-efficient.





This was the case on the day of our visit with Nazi the families combining their milk and their efforts and making cheese whilst demonstrating the process for us.

The large volumes of milk for making the cheese is very heavy. The men carried the milk container to the stove located inside the house and the women then carried out every other step of the process. The milk is brought to the required temperature. The clotting substance, a variety of pectin produced in Turkey is added next and curds start to form. Then the cheese is gathered up in a sieve and pressed to drain. Then the salt-water brine which is used for storing the cheese is prepared and the cheese placed in it.

We met another group of Adjarian women who were busy sowing potatoes on Khatuna Kamashidze's land. She was being helped by three of her friends who are also her neighbours. Khatuna Kamashidze is 25 years old. She is from Adigeni and moved to Kvemo Kartli with her family in search of work. She says that she is ready to work day and night to fulfill her dream of hav-

ing her own house. Currently, Khatuna's family lives in a house belonging to Greek owners who migrated back to Greece when it acceded to the EU.

This situation is common in the Tsalka region. Ethnic Greeks return to their historical homeland but they do not wish to sell their houses, at least not immediately. In order to maintain their houses, the owners let internal migrants use them. Before leaving, the house owners leave the keys with trusted fellow villagers. The migrants who are already working here typically bring their family members or other relatives to live there, too. The absentee owners do not charge rent but the tenants cultivate the land and look after the house. These are informal agreements between people who have an empty house and people who need a place to live with state agencies not involved in any way. The whole process has worked well. This practice can on occasions lead to conflict however particularly when owners return after a number of years to the properties as has started to happen recently due to the economic crisis in Greece, however, overall, it continues to be advantageous for





both sides and the number of migrants keeps growing.

Khatuna has two children, one aged seven and the other aged eight. Her husband shares her dream of having their own house. At present, he is away on a 20-day job in Turkey. There are seasonal jobs there, picking tea, for which they are paid 50 Lari per day which means that he will be able to earn 1,000 Lari. The balance after paying for travel and meal expenses will be put away for their future house. She is able to save money and believes that she will make her dream of her own house happen.

Seasonal work in Turkey has become quite popular. The men go away, leaving their wives at home to keep things running but the women do not mind and cope well because the men are absent for no longer than a month and this brings some additional income for the family. Esma Iremadze's husband had also left for a short-term job, together with Khatuna's husband. Esma is 22 and she has two children. She says that when they are done with Khatuna's potatoes, they will move to her vegetable plot and then to the plots of Maia and

Irma. So, in succession they will work on all their fields. Esma had come to the field with her younger daughter and while Esma is working, the older children, the daughters of the other women, take care of her. Irma Kakaladze is 25 years old. She has been married since the age of 16 and has two children. Maia Ananidze, at 33, is a little older than the other ladies. Her family migrated from Chokhatauri in 2004 and like her friends; she lives in a house which belongs to Greek owners. Maia has a husband and three children. Several years ago her husband had a work accident, injured his hand and was disabled which meant that Maia carries much of the burden of work in the family.

It is evident that the women are friends and trust each other and that they have energy and hope. Through mutual assistance they benefit themselves and each other and are ready to make the most of any opportunity that comes their way.



აჭარელი ბავშვები სოფელი იმერაღან • Аджарские дети из села Имера • Ajarian children from Imera © GP

ნათელა არღვლიანის ოჯახი

სვანების პირველი ჩასახლება ქვემო ქართლში 1987 წელს მოხდა, როდესაც მეწყერით დაზარალებული ჭუბურიდან სვანები დმანისში, სამთავრობო პროგრამით აშენებულ სახლებში დასახლდნენ. სვანებმა ქვემო ქართლში თავიანთი ცხოვრების წესის დამკვიდრება დაიწყეს.

ნათელა არღვლიანი და მისი ოჯახი ეკომიგრანტები არიან სვანეთიდან. ისინი სოფელ ეწერიდან, მესგვიდან გადმოსახლდნენ წალკაში 2003 წლის სამთავრობო პროგრამის ფარგლებში. ნათელა ქვრივია. ის ოჯახის უხუცესი წევრია. ნათელა ცხოვრობს ვაჟის ოჯახთან ერთად. ნათელას ქალიშვილი დედაქალაქში, თბილისშია გათხოვილი და ხშირად სგუმრობს დედას ოჯახით.

ნათელას რძალი, ნინო კვიციანი წალკაში ცხოვრობს. ნინოსათვის წალკა მეორე ადგილმონაცვლეობაა. მისი მშობლები სვანეთიდან არიან. ოჯახი ომის დაწყებამდე რამდენიმე წლით ადრე გულრიფში ჩასახლდა. მოგვიანებით გულრიფშის დატოვება მოუხდათ არა მეწყერის, არამედ ომის გამო.

ნინო ინგლისური ენის მასწავლებელია და კერძო მოსწავლეებიც ჰყავს. 30 წლის იყო, როცა დაქორ-

წინდა. უნივერსიტეტი უკვე დასრულებული ჰქონდა და მუშაობდა დედაქალაქში. ქართულის გარდა, ნინომ იცის რუსული და ინგლისური. ნინოს საკუთარი შეხედულებები აქვს ოჯახზე და ცხოვრებაზე. ის არ არის კმაყოფილი თავისი ცხოვრებით წალკაში. მისი აზრით, ქალაქი ძალიან დანაწევრებულია ეთნიკურად და ერთმანეთს შორის დიდი გაუცხოებაა. ნინოსთვის წალკა არ არის საუკეთესო საცხოვრებელი. ნინო ერთადერთია ოჯახში, ვინც თავისი პროფესიით მუშაობს და საკუთარი შემოსავალიც აქვს.

ნათესავები ხშირად სგუმრობენ ნათელას ოჯახს. ჩვენი იქ ყოფნის დროს სგუმრად ნათელას ნათესავი, მარგარიტა კორძაია იმყოფებოდა. მარგარიტა დმანისში ცხოვრობს. ის ხშირად სგუმრობს შვილებს წალკაში და ნათელასთან დიდი ხნით რჩება. მარგარიტაც სვანეთიდანაა. ახალგაზრდები და



ნათელა ბრგვლიანი • Natela Argvliani © GP



ასაკოვანი აღამიანები ერთხმად ამბობენ, რომ ქვემო ქართლში უფრო აღვილია ცხოვრება. ნათელა და მარგარიტა დიდი ხანია არ ყოფილან სვანეთში; ისინი სიამოვნებით წავიდოდნენ, მაგრამ ოჯახის პრიორიტეტები სხვაა. ნათელა ჩართულია ოჯახის მოვლა-პაგრონობაში. მისი პენსიაც მნიშვნელოვანი შენაგანია ოჯახისათვის.

ნინო მუშაობს, ამიგომაც საქონლის მოვლა გაძნელებულია. ოჯახს მხოლოდ ორი ძროხა ჰყავს. რძეს საოჯახო მოხმარებისათვის იყენებენ. ნინოს თქმით, შესაძლებელია მწველავის დაქირავება. ამ მომსახურების საფასურია თვეში ათი ლარი ერთ ძროხაზე, დღეში ორჯერ მოწველით. თვეში 10 ლარი სოფელში კარგი შემოსავალია.


იმდენი რძე გროვდება, გასაყიდი ყველიც არის. ცისფერი პლასტმასის ბიდონი თითქმის ყველა ოჯახის კართან დევს წალკაში. მასში აგროვებენ

ყველს, რომელსაც გამთარში ყიდიან, როდესაც ფასები გაცილებით მაღალია. ყველი ასევე ბარგურულად იცვლება სხვა პროდუქტებზე. ყველი ერთგვარი აღვილობრივი ვალუტაა.

რძის პროდუქტებთან ერთად კარგოფილი და თივა აქაური ოჯახების მნიშვნელოვანი შემოსავლის წყაროა. კარგოფილისათვის საჭიროა დიდი მიწები, აქაურებს კი მიწები სწორედაც რომ არ აქვთ. რაც შეეხება თივას, მისი მოთიბვა, გაშრობა, მოგროვება და დაბინავება დიდ შრომასთან არის დაკავშირებული. ამიგომაც ქალები, ძირითადად, რძის პროდუქტების დამზადებით არიან დაკავებული და ამით ინახავენ კიდევაც ოჯახებს.



მარგარიტა კორძაია • Margarita Kordzaia • Margarita Kordzaia © GP



Семья Нателы Аргвлиани

Первое переселение сванов в КвемоКартли произошло в 1987 г., когда они были переселены из Чубери в Дманиси. Сваны поселились в домах, построенных в рамках правительственной программы и стали возрождать свои древние традиции.

Семья Нателы Аргвлиани переселенцы из села Эцери, Местийского района. Переехали в Цалку в 2003 году, по государственной программе. Она предусматривала определенную сумму на приобретение дома. На нее семья смогла купить двухэтажный — хотя и очень скромный — дом, в котором Натела живет с сыном, невесткой и двумя маленькими внуками-близнецами. Часто приезжают и другие родственники

Дочь Лела замужем за тбилисцем, приезжает с мужем и сыном и подолгу гостит у матери. Так было и на момент нашего знакомства

Невестка Нино Квициани преподает в местной школе английский язык и дает частные уроки. Она вышла замуж, против обыкновения, после 30, имея

высшее образование и работу. Кроме грузинского, Нино хорошо говорит по-русски и по-английски, имеет свои взгляды на жизнь и свои оценки. Она не слишком удовлетворена жизнью в Цалке. По ее мнению, город очень разрознен в этническом смысле — каждая группа живет автономно и мало взаимодействует с другими группами. Можно предположить, что культурные запросы Нино не удовлетворяются, хотя она и не говорит об этом прямо. Косвенно, из беседы можно сделать вывод, что она хотела бы жить в большом городе и тратить больше времени на работу по профессии. Нино — кормилец своей немалой семьи, она пользуется авторитетом и обдумывает хозяйственные стратегии.

Нино рассказала, что для доения коров можно на-



ნათელა არღვლიანი და მისი ოჯახი • Натела Аргвлиани и ее семья • Natela Argvliani and her family © GP

нять человека. Рыночная стоимость такой работы потрясла нас. Одна корова в месяц стоит 10 лари. То есть можно нанять человека, который будет доить твою корову каждый день, утром и вечером — и в течение месяца заработает всего-навсего 10 лари. Местным это кажется нормальным — ведь если доильщица будет обслуживать 10 коров, то она заработает 100 лари. За тяжелую ежедневную работу. Это показывает, насколько ценится этот труд. Излишне напоминать, что доят коров в основном женщины.

В семье Нателы гостила ее мамида (тётя) Маргарита Кордзая, которая живет в Дманиси, но часто и подолгу навещает своих детей, которые живут в Цалке. Маргарита также родом из Сванетии.

И молодежь, и пожилые едины во мнении, что в Квемо Картли жить легче. Однако Маргарита и

Натела очень скучают по родным местам. Они не были там уже несколько лет, но не просят, чтобы их отвезли. Из скромности и самопожертвования не озвучивают свои желания, заранее отдавая приоритет детям и, вероятно, смирившись, что, может быть, увидеть Сванетию им больше и не удастся никогда. Хотя Натела, например, активно работает по хозяйству и помогает растить внуков — следовательно, в доходах семьи есть и ее не такая уж малая доля.

Невестка Нателы Нино Квициани рассказала, что для нее это не первое переселение. Ее родители покинули Сванетию незадолго до абхазской войны. 7 лет семья прожила в Гульрипше, пока не пришлось спасаться снова — уже не от лавины, а от войны.

Поскольку Нино много работает как учитель, за коровами ходить некому, потому у семьи их только две,



в основном для собственного пропитания. Но молока все же достаточно и для того, чтобы делать немного сыра на продажу. Синяя бочка — необходимая в хозяйстве вещь, ее можно увидеть в каждом дворе. В них консервируют сыр. Его накапливают с лета, и когда бочка оказывается полной, ее плотно и почти герметично закрывают, чтобы сохранить и продать сыр зимой, когда цены будут максимальными. Заготовка и хранение требуют тщательности и аккуратности. Зато доход как бы помещается в «банк» — проценты с него растут. В определенном смысле сыр можно назвать местной валютой.

Кроме молочных продуктов, местное население может заработать на картошке и сене. Однако картошка требует больших земельных участков, которые есть далеко не у всех; а сено, помимо наличия лугового надела, сопряжено с многими организационными действиями. Скосить, высушить, собрать в стога,

спрессовать, погрузить, отвезти покупателю, продать. Хлопотно, требует сильных мужских рук. Получается, что самое простое и надежное — держать коров сколько можешь. Ими занимаются женщины. Эта ежедневная работа кормит и является основным источником дохода практически в каждой семье.



Natela Argvliani's Family

The first settlement of Svans into Kvemo Kartli took place in 1987. This is when the Svans from landslide-affected Chviberi (higher Svaneti) were resettled in Dmanisi, in the houses built under a government programme. Svans started to introduce their style of life in Kvemo Kartli and establish strong communities in Kvemo Kartli.

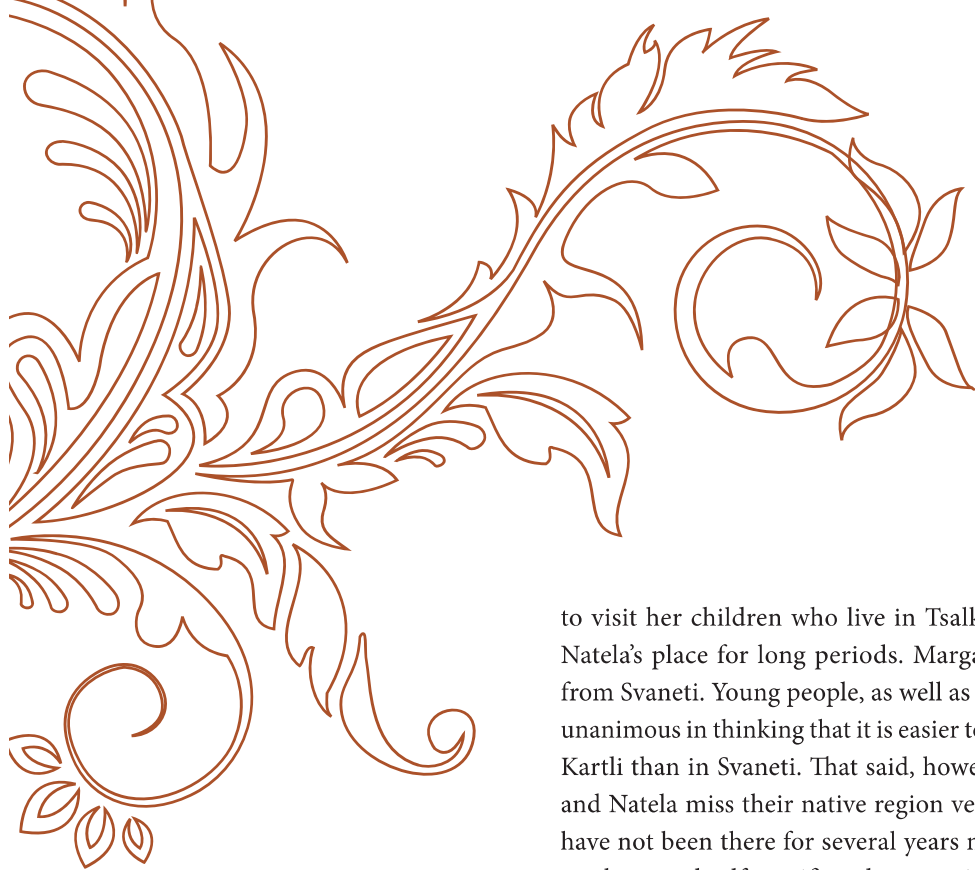
Natela Argvliani and her family are eco-migrants from the village of Etseri in Mestia district; the family moved to Tsalka in 2003 under a government programme. She is the head of the family based on her age. The programme provided some funding for houses and the family managed to purchase a modest two-storey house where Natela lives with her son Nino Kvitsiani her daughter-in-law and her grandchildren who are twins.. Natela also has a daughter, Lela, who is married to a Tbilisi resident and lives there. She visits her mother with her husband and son and stays for long periods at Natela's house as was the case during our visit.

Natela's daughter-in-law, Nino Kvitsiani lives in Tsalka with Natela. This is not the first displacement for her. Her parents left Svaneti not long before the Abkhazia war. For 7 years the family lived in Gulripshi until they had to flee again — not avalanches but war.

Nino teaches English at a local school and also gives private classes. She married when she was over 30, had already graduated university in Tbilisi and had a job. In addition to Georgian, Nino speaks good Russian and English, has her own opinions about life and her own judgment. She is not very satisfied with life in Tsalka. In her opinion, the town is very scattered from an ethnic standpoint with every group living autonomously and having little interaction with the other groups. One can assume that the cultural life of Tsalka is somewhat narrow for Nino but she does not say this explicitly. Nino is the breadwinner of her large family. She has authority and deliberates upon household strategies. Her husband has not worked for a long time.

Other relatives often visit their family. Natela's aunt, Margarita Kordzaia, was visiting the family during our visit. Margarita lives in Dmanisi but often comes





to visit her children who live in Tsalka and stays at Natela's place for long periods. Margarita also hails from Svaneti. Young people, as well as the elderly, are unanimous in thinking that it is easier to live in Kvemo Kartli than in Svaneti. That said, however, Margarita and Natela miss their native region very much. They have not been there for several years now but, out of modesty and self-sacrifice, do not voice their wishes giving priority to the children's opinions and, possibly, accepting the likelihood that they may never be able to see Svaneti again. However, Natela, for example, is intensively involved in household affairs, helps with the raising of her grandchildren and makes, clearly, a not-insubstantial contribution to the household income with her monthly pension.

As Nino works mainly as a teacher, there is no one to take care of the cows and so for this reason, the family has just two with the milk used mainly for their own consumption. Nino told us that they could if they wanted to hire help for milking the cows which is currently handled by Natela, as the work is poorly paid and affordable, paid at ten Lari a month per cow

milked morning and evening. 10 Lari in the village is good money and it's important for them. There is enough milk to make cheese to sell. A blue plastic barrel in which the cheese is stored can be seen outside the house. Cheese is stored in the barrel through the summer and, when the container is full, they close it tight in order to store and sell the cheese in winter when prices are higher. Cheese is also used for barter exchange for other goods and services. Thus, cheese can be referred to as local currency.

In addition to dairy products, potatoes and hay are other sources of income for the family and for people locally. The production of potatoes for other than household consumption, however, requires larger tracts of land and not every resident owns such territory. Producing hay, too, is labour intensive both for home consumption and for sale and requires mowing, drying, gathering and storage or loading for delivering to buyers and selling. So the women look after the cows and make cheese and this daily work feeds the families and is the main source of income for this family and for almost everyone else here.





Those of us, who met you, were invited into your houses, heard your stories and recorded them in pictures and words would like to thank you and hope we have done you justice.

გვინდა განსაკუთრებული მადლიერება გამოვხატოთ იმ ქალების მიმართ, რომლებმაც გვიამბეს და გაგვიზიარეს თავიანთი ცხოვრების ამბავი, რომელთა სურათებიც მოხვდა ამ ალბომის გვერდებზე. იმედი გვაქვს, რომ შევძელით ამ ჰატარა ისტორიებში მათი ყოფის, რეალობის ობიექტურად ასახვა.

Мы хотели бы выразить особую благодарность женщинам, которые поделились своими историями жизни, образы которых представлены на страницах этого альбома. Мы надеемся, что смогли в этих маленьких историях объективно отразить



