

PECULIARITIES OF WORK AND MIGRATION OF TKIBULI WOMEN



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Peculiarities of work and migration of Tkibuli women

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The report is prepared according to the research of Alexandra Aroshvili about Tkibuli Women Life, Work and Migration

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Acknowledgement

This research paper attempts to describe the main issues related to labor and participation in the labor market of women living in the mono-industrial coal-mining town of Tkibuli, Georgia. However, in addition to employment/unemployment, it seeks to observe the lives of women in Tkibuli in general, their main challenges and needs, which, on the one hand, address several social, economic, and political characteristics of the city, and, on the other, the broader global and national structural challenges and factors that inevitably affect the lives and work of Tkibuli women.

With on-site fieldwork and quantitative or qualitative data obtained, the research paper seeks to depict the current labor market for women in Tkibuli, its demographic, sectoral distribution, and development prospects; Specificities of jobs, peculiarities of remuneration and working conditions; The main aspects and peculiarities of the social, economic, cultural and mental life of Tkibuli women, the general social crisis in the city, which is to some extent built on a specific type of women's employment - labor migration; The importance and scale of labor of women emigrating from Tkibuli, as well as the direct and indirect consequences of this process.

According to the research, the assertion that Tkibuli depends solely on mines and miners' salaries does not reflect the enormous chain of labor outside the formal or informal economy of the city - the scale of income earned by women emigrating to work abroad and the turning point in maintaining the social and economic life of the city. Attempting to shed light on this phenomenon, the research found that the vast majority of Tkibuli women participate in the labor market not locally but abroad; that with these peculiarities, found in the challenges of the daily life of local women, Tkibuli is a typical "shrinking city", where hard physical work locally or hard physical and emotional labor of migrant women abroad again serves to deplete resources - to drain young people from the city.

Research Methodology

The paper is qualitative research on the main features of life, work, and migration of Tkibuli women, for which fieldwork was carried out in the city, a desk study was prepared and 16 in-depth interviews were conducted with women living in Tkibuli or emigrating from Tkibuli.

The interviews examined women, housewives, and immigrant women working in different types of jobs:

- Issues of employment, remuneration, and working conditions;
- Education and opportunities to employ with the profession;
- Issues of self-realization, promotion and career advancement, professional development opportunities;
- Housing and household conditions and facilities;
- Migration and migration consequences;
- Basic public views and attitudes; Attitudes towards the problems of the city; Attitudes towards the needs of women;
- Other major needs and challenges.

The respondents were selected based on the following three criteria:

1. Age range: Interviews with the women of almost all generations

2. Local and international labor market that employs Tkibuli women: Interviews were recorded with all women working in key areas that make up the local labor market, both in the private and public sectors; both in formal and informal employment cases; also interviews with migrant women in Italy and Turkey.

3. Social Conditions: Interviews were recorded with both women with the lowest salaries and the lowest working positions, as well as women in the middle and senior positions. Also, with women entrepreneurs.

The age range that covers surveyed respondents:

15-19	20-24	25-30	30-35	35-39	40-44	50-54	55-59	60-64
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Working places that cover surveyed respondents:

- Saknakhshiri
- Sewing Fabric
- Sewing Atelier
- Municipality City Hall
- LEPL Association of cultural objects
- Public school
- Kinder garden
- Bank
- Bakery
- Confectionery
- Agricultural shop
- Supermarket
- Families in Italy
- Families in Turkey

As agreed with the survey participants, the names of the respondents were changed in the survey to ensure their confidentiality. In addition, to avoid the identification of the respondents, the study does not deliberately allocate a table as to which respondent corresponds to which place of employment. At the end of each quote, next to the changed names are written the real age of the respondents.

The desk research is conducted in two directions: quantitative, by obtaining and processing statistical data and finding and reviewing literature relevant to the research. In terms of quantitative data, both the information requested from the National Department of Statistics of Georgia and the information received from the local municipality were processed;

Several key theoretical frameworks and scholarly articles were used in the literature review, that describe: women in labor and migration in a globalized economy, in developing and in post-Soviet countries; The phenomenon of the current crisis of social reproduction in the world; The phenomenon of urban “compression” in the world today and the depletion of all resources of certain cities.

Author’s fieldwork included living in Tkibuli for a while, experiencing and perceiving primary living conditions and challenges, observing urban infrastructure and spaces, as well as conversations and meetings with various people, including miners, municipal employees, and adults.

Introduction

In the history of independent Georgia, women's life in Tkibuli is rarely the subject of anyone's interest. Because Tkibuli is a "city of miners", it is often believed that women either do not work in Tkibuli or their work has no unique characteristics. The presented paper tries to demonstrate that this particular feature of the city is directly connected to the migrant's global labor market; that if we do not observe how the city lives apart from the salary of the miners and in general, local economic "façade" created by the miners, and not only economically, but socially; if we do not specifically see how the maintenance burden is shared between men and women and what substantial, specific differences are there, that separate them and involves in total difference, in both cases, tragic and brutal work, we will not perceive Tkibuli in today's reality, its actual face and real challenges, that is not only poverty and unemployment, but also particular desperateness, apathy and feeling of impossibility to have future in this city. This situation and perception, in turn, is reflected in the degradation of the city's economic life - the vast majority of young people leave the city after graduation, miners fail to organize resistance for real wage growth and tangible improvements in working conditions, and the city fails to provide them with effective solidarity.

Today Tkibuli is at the stage of atypical development, which can neither be called transitional nor fixed; It is mutually economically, socially, and culturally specific and requires special and meticulous observation. It is mutated economically, socially, and culturally and requires special and meticulous observation. The research considers the only real way to comprehend the economic, social, and cultural appearance of contemporary, specifically deformed Tkibuli, to be the observation on the sphere of his life, which, beyond the above-mentioned superficial notions, has always historically uncovered the real, complete picture. Such is the issue historically of women labor and the special nature of women's labor, observation of which shows that Tkibuli today is not only a coal-producing city but also a "care-giver migrant-producing" city, providing young or middle-aged women to the global migrant labor market.¹ According to the given study, this activity of women makes a major or very significant contribution to the reproduction of economic and social life in the city.

To gain an in-depth understanding of the life and labor market participation of women in Tkibuli, it is necessary to build a comprehensive picture of women's lives in this

1 Lindio-McGovern, Ligaya. "Labor export in the context of globalization: The experience of Filipino domestic workers in Rome." *International sociology* 18, no. 3 (2003)

Federici, Silvia. "Women, globalization and the international women's movement." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement* 22, no. 4 (2001)

city, which not only calculates their economic activity and income locally or abroad but also analyzes the general nature of these economic activities; their causes: affiliated and characteristic symptoms and consequences not only economically but also socially, emotionally, mentally and publicly.

To this end, The research tries to feel and see the city as it is today, without showing the historical stages of development and applying the direct explanatory theories of these periodizations, which was especially helped by in-depth conversations with women of different ages and professions.

Through interviews This paper argues that the issue of women's participation in the labor market in Tkibuli and the current crisis of social reproduction is related to two major global processes, and without their comprehensive analysis, it will be impossible to understand the main social, economic or mental challenges of Tkibuli women and respectively to grasp various crisis in the city and their fundamental causes.

First, it is an international division of labor and globalization that organizes and recruits women of cities such as Tkibuli (mono-industrial / developing / post-Soviet countries) for export in the modern migration movement, in the global care market;

And second, the phenomenon arising from the ongoing changes in the world economic system, leading to population decline in small settlements and cities around the world and the outflow of all resources from the city - urban shrinkage as a spatial and demographic manifestation of globalization.

In light of all of the above, the paper asks the following questions: In what context should we understand the reality of women today, and what does Tkibuli reveal specifically in terms of global inequality and the feminization of poverty?

Tkibuli as a late post-Soviet shrinking city

Tkibuli, a small foggy town on the beautiful ridge separating Imereti and Racha, is famous for its coal production, astonishing historical theater, unique student-youth palace, etc., which today is remarkable with danger for life, degraded infrastructure, and depopulation.

Although Tkibuli is indeed impoverished, a post-Soviet mono-industrial city with all the relevant general economic and social parameters, such categorization leaves invisible other, special features of Tkibuli that are recognized in the daily challenges of the people living in this city, especially women. The observation of their labor directly leads to the problem of the new international division of labor by the international economic order, which is linked to the modern migration movement of women to engage in care and home-based labor in relatively developed countries. Understanding the attitudes, thoughts, psychological state, attitudes, and spirit of Tkibuli women opens the way for us to feel the real life of the city beyond dry pre-categorization and from this experience, we can adapt the state of Tkibuli to even more precise concepts such as “shrinking cities”.

“Urban shrinking” is a sociological term that refers to the massive outflow of population from cities as a result of various economic, social, or political changes in different historical sections. (Martinez-Fernandez et al., 2012) The emergence of “shrinking cities” as a result of globalization has followed the social and economic processes of recent decades as a whole cascade of production and social change that relies on the globalization of capital and has redefined the world economic order since the 1980s. The emergence of “shrinking cities” is mainly explained by the strong competitiveness of “global cities”, which with various technological, logistical, financial, and other resources attract capital, resources, population, and skills from other cities around the world, small cities and settlements can no longer compete; (Sassen, 2001) However, in different contexts, shrinking cities have different provocative causes and characteristics, for example, in countries where the structural transformation of the economy has taken place with shock therapy, shrinking cities have also emerged that experience a continuous outflow of resources and people. Unfortunately, the academic literature on the issue is largely based on an analysis of the experience of Western cities, such as the shrinking of American cities or the shrinking of East German cities after the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, in the rest of the post-Soviet space, there is a less in-depth research on how settlements and cities are specifically shrinking and what their characteristics are in our context; This would enrich the knowledge about this phenomenon.

The shrinking cities in the world today have economic, demographic, geographical, and physical dimensions. We will discuss below that in the case of Tkibuli, shrinkage has a manifest gender dimension, as the local labor market still retains men because of their ability to engage in coal mining.

The interviews also describe how the contraction of Tkibuli affects the general mood of the population, civic activism, the limits and impossibility of various initiatives and unions; How is this behavior of the city transformed into the mental and psychological states of the population, how does it create a sense of absence of future in the city and how does this feeling affect women in particular.

Main characteristics of Tkibuli labor market

General description

The basic structure of the labor market in Tkibuli envisages only two main employment opportunities, coal mining and working in an existing network of public institutions. The main share of the labor market belongs to the coal mining company Saknakshiri, which has owned coal mines in Tkibuli since 2006 and has a 95% share of the municipality's revenues.² This opinion is shared by the population, who, according to interviews, consider the company as the main financier of the city, however, on the other hand, municipal officials say that in 2019-2020 "not even one cent" was taken to the municipal budget by "Saknakshiri", and in 2021, the municipality received only property tax.

Based on the general specifics of the Tkibuli labor market and field observations, it is established that today there does not exist an employer larger than Saknakshiri, but also no other place of alternative employment, except for the permanent jobs necessary for the social functioning of the city, the existence of which is also vital for the life and basic security of any administrative settlement: Public services and public facilities, police, preschool and school sector, groceries, household goods stores and pharmacies, as well as a small number of different types of mixed shops.

An analysis of the demographic data of city dwellers and people employed in the enterprise shows that the vast majority of the people involved in coal-mining work are men. After Saknakshiri, a sewing factory, which employs mostly women, is considered an alternative to private sector employment in Tkibuli, although, according to staff, the number of employees is only 50-60. Due to the lack of orders in the pandemic conditions, the factory is currently closed and not functioning. Currently, there are two banks and two medical clinics employing a total of two dozen people in Tkibuli. Apart from Saknakshiri, another and the only major employer is again the public sector.

The mine employs both young and middle-aged and a certain number of men of retirement age, while public services, as shown by the respondents' interviews, are mainly staffed by middle-aged and retired women. These two demographic factors become a barrier to the employment of young women in Tkibuli: on the one hand, the mine is considered an inappropriate job for women and women can not be employed here, and on the other hand, since public jobs are rarely vacant, young people find employment difficult.

² This data is provided inside Tkibuli Municipality Local Economic Development Plan 2019

Beyond public services and tailoring, the local labor market for women is mainly in the field of trade and services - informal jobs and work without a labor contract, beyond the norms and standards provided by the Labor Code of Georgia, with extremely low remuneration.

The Tkibuli labor market is not just a typical undiversified labor market, explained only by the city's mono-industry and the peculiarities of post-Soviet capitalism. It has other peculiarities, the observation of which will guide us to understand the scale, character, geography, and barriers of real participation of Tkibuli women in the labor market.

The demographic structure of labor, gender, and sectoral distribution

According to Saknakhshiri, only 95 out of 1230 people currently employed in the Tkibuli coal mining plant are women, which is due to the specifics of coal mining at the current technological level and capacity. As said by Saknakhshiri, "the company belongs to the category of heavy, harmful and dangerous enterprises in its field of activity, most of the work involves manual labor, hence vacancies for women, include light physical activity or administrative-office work," but on the other hand, we have no information on whether the number of employed women in the enterprise would increase in case of the technological upgrade-reequipment and if extraction process was fully brought closer to modern standards.

If we consider that 95 women also include administrative staff, it appears that the number of women directly involved in mining is much lower. According to the respondent employed in the mine, this number also includes cleaners and women working in the so-called "Salampe", who register those who enter the mine. Also, even though women do not work in Saknakhshiri with heavy physical activity, according to one of the respondents, there are cases when women have to collect coal with shovels.

Given the population size and its expected decline after the 2014 census, more than 1,100 of the 1,230 people employed at Saknakhshiri indicate that Saknakhshiri today employs about half of the working-age male.³ Finally, we can say that at least one male member of most of the families living in Tkibuli is employed in the mine.

³ According to the National Statistics Office of Georgia, the 2014 census data says that there are 9 770 people living in Tkibuli - 5 148 of them are women and 4 622 are men.

The majority of those employed in the public sector are women, except in the municipality and the city council, where men predominate. Men also dominate municipal management positions. The vast majority of employees in public schools and educational institutions are women, as is the majority of employees in the facilities of non-commercial legal entities with the municipal budget.

Quantitative and gender distribution of employees in the public sector of Tkibuli Municipality:

Employment place	Women	Men	Total
Tkibuli Municipality City Hall	59	61	120
Tkibuli Municipality City Council	10	27	37
LEPL Tkibuli Municipality "Public Healthcare".	13	-	13
LEPL Tkibuli Municipality "Pre-school facility"	218	18	236
LEPL Tkibuli Municipality "Communal Union"	50	70	120
LEPL Tkibuli Municipality "Cultural Objects Union"	134	43	177
LEPL Tkibuli Municipality "Sports Center"	40	72	112
Total	524	291	815

To these data is added the number of employees in the school education sector in Tkibuli, which can be considered as the largest employer of women. According to local teachers, the vast majority of teachers employed in 6 public schools in Tkibuli are women. It is important to note that in parallel with the schools, a so-called tutoring concept - a private training concept - has been developed in Tkibuli, which is indicated by almost all respondents surveyed. According to them, most of the Tkibuli school teachers are involved in this form of informal self-employment to earn extra income.

Talking to the respondents and fieldwork in the city revealed that, employment in the public service network often implies the employment of not functional, specialized and need staff, but due to absence of the alternative employment places beyond Saknaxshiri, it is a mechanism to balance existing social consequences of unemployment, which often maintains non-functional working places and disqualified staff for that purpose. However, the existing meager salary budget fails to provide adequate salaries for public sector employees.

“Lack of funds is the main problem in the municipality. Do you know what the most difficult situation is? Here 95% of the budget is spent on salaries⁴, it is better to have less, but professional people, more work will be done and those people will get a slightly higher salary, but everyone is poor here, you cannot fire a person -really you cannot fire – humanistic factor plays a lot so that eventually, things are ruined everywhere.” Mzia, 51

Another special feature of the Tkibuli public sector is that the employment rate of citizens of retirement age is unusually high. If we process the 2014 census data, we will see that the female population registered in the city of Tkibuli is 37%. In total, according to this census, 25% of the urban population of both sexes in Tkibuli was over 60 in 2014. Not a small proportion of people of retirement age are employed in certain types of public institutions, such as culture or other public facilities, municipal rural libraries, etc. because the meager, basic salaries here are additional income for the elderly for whom a pension is not sufficient. The scarcity and inadequacy of existing pensions, along with other factors such as the cost of medication, etc., are an additional barrier to retirement at retirement age, which most retirees refuse and remain in service. This circumstance becomes a locking mechanism for youth employment and replacement policy.⁵

„In your opinion, what will be the average age of employees? Above 50 years. I was interested in this a while ago, I was interested in how many employees were above 65 out of 180 people and 75 employees appeared to be above 65! And among this 75, all of them are above 70. This man, who entered now, is 84 years old. If he had a sufficient pension, he would not be working here, as it is not enough. I have two pensioners, parents and I know, if I don't help them, their pension together is nothing for them. Absolutely nothing - first of all, medicines are so expensive. ” Mzia, 51

4 The data in the quote reflects the personal feeling of the respondent. On the other hand, according to the representatives of the municipality, more than half of the budget - 55% is really spent on salaries.

5 According to Geo Stat data the number of pensioners is generally high in Georgia and the population is increasingly aging. Additionally, the number of pensioner women is greatly above the number of pensioner men on the national level. Specific peculiarity of Tkibuli is that population reaching pension age is actively participating in labor market, both in public and private employment sectors, and both in case men and women. The reason that such peculiarity is accentuated is not to require pensioners' exit from labor market, but to demonstrate the demography of the labor market, that is on its hand depended on other political variables (low pensions, youth migration, etc.)

Women remuneration and working conditions

The women's labor market in Tkibuli is saturated with extremely low-paying and socially vulnerable jobs, which is why employment in public structures is considered prestigious labor in Tkibuli, however, we can not say that the salary in the public sector is adequate or close to adequate.

The remuneration of middle and low-income people working in LEPLs - for example, culture workers, librarians, and others - often falls below the subsistence level - is 180 GEL per month; 100 GEL per month for certain positions, etc. The salary situation is not favorable either for the full-time specialists at the City Hall, which is a maximum of 700-800 GEL. The same amount is paid to the directors of the associations of non-commercial legal entities of public facilities that are on the balance of the municipality.

Salaries of public school employees are relatively standard compared to the salaries of employees in the same positions in other cities of Georgia and range from 400 to 1200 GEL depending on competency certificates.

The same cannot be said for the preschool sector, which depends on the municipality. Remuneration of employees in 6 public kindergartens in the city is low, however, remuneration in this sector is low in general, at the national level, averaging 350 GEL (UNICEF, 2018). According to the respondent with employment experience in Tkibuli preschool, the general quality of Tkibuli kindergartens may fall short of the standard in other cities.

"The salary was very low - 350 GEL in the kindergarten. I am sure that people in Kutaisi have different conditions compared to people employed in the same position. "A child from Tkibuli is fed much worse than a child from Tbilisi because children in Tbilisi have better food because it is regulated at the municipal level - they do not spend enough money, because the budget does not have these funds." Teona, 26.

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The average salary of art school teachers is around 200-250 GEL, in some cases even 70-80 GEL per month - if at the same time the teachers work in the school and receive the minimum hours. According to the respondents, the maximum salary in this sector can go up to 400 GEL per month.

Such scarcity of salaries in the public sector is explained by the limited budget of the local municipality and the insufficient finances of the city. Under these conditions, it becomes impossible, on the one hand, to recruit and retain young staff in public services and facilities, and on the other hand, for people to maintain their specialties and professions, they have to work in additional full-time jobs.

“For example, we have a choreographic ensemble “Tskhrajvari “and all the boys work in the mines. They have a salary of 180 GEL and can’t they live on that? Rehearsals are mostly in the evening and when they finish the 8-hour working day, then they come to rehearsals. Their profession is choreography and if they do want to lose it, they have to do so. Some already have two professions, an engineer and a choreographer. Some are employed in the utility sector in parallel, and so on. Social background is very difficult in general - especially for people employed in the public service.” Mzia, 51.

In a sewing factory, where, despite the noise, which often causes hearing problems for its employees, the fixed salary of a full-time tailor is 350 GEL. The principle of additional pay is output, although during a pandemic, for example, employees could not even fulfill a fixed wage plan.

“The basic salary is 350 GEL - and we are on remuneration, when there are orders, we have earned 100-150 GEL more. Due to pandemic, the work is less and we could not make even that 350 GEL until the factory was temporarily closed. 350 GEL is so miserable today, how it can be enough, but if the family members work - my husband is in the mine, my salary is just addition - it is a few days’ money, I am doing something and I am making a small contribution.” Tsira, 61

The main share of the Tkibuli women labor market is in the private sector trade and services sector, where the average salary is 250 GEL, including often 12 hours of uninterrupted work schedule and heavy physical activity.

“Now I work in a mixed agricultural and repairs shop. This is not a woman’s job, it is more a man’s job and sometimes I have to work hard, but I prefer to work here - I have a salary of 400 GEL. I used to work from 8 am to 2 pm for 300 GEL. I had to work very hard: I had to bring the product, I had to do the calculation. All-day, I worked 12-hour shifts (at least!), and was off only 1 day a week. I did not even have a break during the day, I could not even drink water. I did not even have a seat - I did not have a dining area, I did not have time to eat.” Tiko, 40.

In their opinion, the issues of remuneration, working conditions, and decent treatment have been relatively improved by the entry of network markets in Tkibuli - in

particular, the city now has supermarkets “Spar”, “Ori Nabiji” and “Magniti”. The opening of “Nikora” is also ongoing. Remuneration is low here as well, although it is standardized concerning the tariffs in other cities of Georgia which, according to the respondents, creates better conditions compared to small markets in Tkibuli. However, the respondent, who worked in Magniti before emigrating, also talks about unbearable conditions.

When I was 15, I worked in a private shop, I was earning 11 GEL a day and that is very low. I worked 11 hours without a break, every day. That was a few years ago. Now I work in “Ori Nabiji” and I get 26 GEL here. They still work in the same conditions in small shops – salary is increased by 3 GEL - 14 GEL per day.” Ana, 19

We started working at Magniti at 8 am, and I came back home at 1:00 AM. Yes, I had the right to break, but I did not have time. You can not stand on your feet, there are so many people. I ran for 5-10 minutes to eat once. No one has time there to change you. You work for so many hours and work with your brain and all the time, and it is very difficult, if you were off for one day, your salary would be deducted with 24 GEL from that 350. “Lia, 52

I worker on bank loans at “Eliteli”, it closed later. There was such bad remuneration – 5 Gel per day and I worked for 7-8 hours a day. In general, there are very bad salaries in the markets. The network markets opened two years ago, salaries are more or less normal there – 300-400 Gel per month, you can maintain a family in Tkibuli conditions, if other family members work. In other shops, there is a minimum of 12 hours working day and if they give you 10 laries, you should be grateful”- Eka, 24.

Women education and opportunities of employment with a profession in Tkibuli

Although most of the women have received higher education in Tkibuli, it is very difficult to find a job with a profession in the city. First of all, it is affected by the structure of the labor market itself, which is saturated with the demand for low-skilled labor. There is only one specialty for women in Tkibuli, which is owned by the public sector - kindergarten, elementary school, or other specialty teachers. The preschool and school education sector is the only sector where women can be formally employed per their profession, so it is no coincidence that many women living in Tkibuli are educated in this profession. The vast majority of women of different ages and occupations with whom in-depth interviews were held turned out to be elementary

school teachers or had an education-related profession. Nevertheless, only one of the respondents currently works with her profession, as a special education teacher in a public school, and the other has 2 years of experience working in her profession in a kindergarten, however, she relates her relatively easy employment to her profession of psychology than a teacher. Respondents here also talk about the effects of informal connections that regulate the employment process in this sector.

"I graduated from the institute, elementary methodology. I could not get a job in 7 public schools even though I had a proper education. I went door to door at schools, sometimes crying, sometimes begging, and no place appeared. Finally, I went to a highland village, to a small school, and worked for 6 years." Sopo, 38.

26 For 2 years, I worked in kindergarten with my specialty, and our acquaintance was the one who accepted me - but I think he would accept me anyway. Nepotism in general is and has intensified recently. Your employment depends on who is in the City Hall now, etc." Teona, 26

"I graduated from primary pedagogy faculty and I always wanted to be employed in my profession. I worked as a primary school teacher in the village for three and a half years, and then I returned to Tkibuli. I have always wanted to work in my profession, but if you do not have someone, you can not start. I had no acquaintances and they refused and the next day they accepted 8-9 grade graduates. After that, I work as a saleswoman in the markets." Tiko, 40.

Respondents also talk about the decline of the level of education in general. Even after passing all the necessary levels of education, competence does not play a sufficient role for employment in this profession, even in the lowest ranks, especially when the evaluation criterion is only acquaintances.

"I applied for a master's degree immediately, because the level of education has deteriorated so much that I did not even think about starting a job with a bachelor's degree. What more steps do you need to take? And yet it is difficult to get a job here, you have to have an acquaintance or be a supporter of someone, as it happens. The competition is formal. If you do not push hard, you will not be employed." Teona, 26

"I was unemployed for exactly 12 years - because I was not an admirer of the previous government - I was always critical and then it was impossible for you to start working. This was happening in all types of public service, including schools. I was

directly told that precisely because I had a different opinion, I could not be hired for any job. In 2012, I started working only in the public service, because the government has changed.” Mzia, 51

“My mother is a teacher - she has 15-20 years of experience working respectively in kindergartens and at school. When the government changed, it started updating the staff in the kindergartens and she filed paperwork. She worked, worked, and then they told her directly – since you are a supporter of UNM, you cannot be employed, what do you hope. If you have someone, you are fine and if you are like that, you can no longer take risks - if you lose this job, then you remain hungry. That is why everyone in this city is always silent “- Eka, 24

Although the labor force in the private sector in Tkibuli is more in demand in the labor market for women with professional education, such as tailors, bakers, salesmen, etc., there are no relevant vocational training opportunities in the city. The Tkibuli Mining and Technological Institute operates in the city, which mainly issues relevant professional diplomas to the mine administration and those wishing to work in the mine. There are other courses at the institute, such as office and computer programs, however, because there are almost no office jobs in Tkibuli except for the municipality and the mine administration, this does not help local women in employment. Cases of vocational training are more reminiscent of individual NGO projects. Several small women entrepreneurs in Tkibuli, who also could not be employed in their profession, started working with the grants of non-governmental organizations.

“I am a teacher by profession, with higher education, but I could not start working in my profession and started sewing. I borrowed a sewing machine. I now have my studio and I have two employees. I would employ more, but the staff is not qualified. I am an employer, I am employed, I am a cleaner and I do everything, while I can employ others. There is no place for retraining. Here I have one student now, but I have such a busy schedule now that I cannot afford it. she is a student and wants to study at the amateur level - I even want her to stay and I prefer young, they have a different vision. But young people do not stay and that is why I have an employed pensioner.” Natia, 39

“I am a nurse by profession. I had not worked with my education, because it was impossible here. Corruption has been before, always, and still is. I was forced to think about what to do and learn on my own. I first opened a beauty salon in 2004. The initial capital was one hundred dollars, delivered from my son-in-law - I saw 100 Dollars for the first time then and at first, I cried. Then I bought a hairdryer and

took scissors from the house. When I got the first two Gel, I cried even then. Now I have a bakery and have been baking for 5 years. I also learned that by myself. I have repeatedly brought others, for employment. I have written many times that I am looking for a baker - first, they ask me for money, when I need a qualification - I even teach, but they are not going stay long and therefore you are more interested in money than studying - I will pay 500 GEL to come today, only if they know how to bake or stay and study.” - Lali, 55

Development and career advancement prospects

Almost all sectors of the Tkibuli women’s labor market, large or small, public or private, are equally limited in terms of development and career advancement, career growth, and increased social mobility.

For women employed in the private sector, such as Saknakshiri, who make up a very small proportion of the total number of women, the only significant step in increasing social mobility is employment in the administration, which locals say is less common, as mostly non-locals are hired in the administration, Tkibuli residents are involved in mining activities. As for women in the mining industry, here, as in the public sector, holding a relatively high position, which gives us a small pay difference, often depends on having an “acquaintance” and a good relationship with the administration. Even in the case of rare qualifications and education, which the enterprise may need vitally, without this “acquaintance”, a professional may not be employed in a position appropriate to his / her specialty. As the respondent points out, the gender factor works less here.

“I work in Saknakshiri, but not in my profession, but as a regular worker. I have studied this specialty in Russia. I came there with my diploma and knew that they did not have such a specialist, that they needed and could not find, but they did not accept me, because I had no one. First, they told me they would employ me, but then they told me if I wanted to study, why not study in Georgia. This was not because I am a woman, - because I had no one, I have been working in this position for 14 years.” Inga, 59

Since tailors in the garment factory mainly have a fixed salary, social mobility will be implemented for them only if everyone’s salary is significantly increased. Consequently, no other, individual perspective of promotion or development does not exist here.

The rest of the private sector, which includes shops and malls, is even less distinguished by opportunities for promotion - increasing social mobility. Consultants, salesmen, waiters can become managers in the same facilities, which does not give us a significant social leap in salary difference or any kind of professional growth and development.

Interestingly, women, who are among the few, and there are only a few in the city who are considered successful private entrepreneurs, such as their sewing studio or bakery, also do not see development - business expansion and employment opportunities, even though they are satisfied with income. It can be said that under these conditions they have already reached the maximum level of their activity.

I can not imagine the development of my bakery in Tkibuli. You want to grow, but the city itself does not allow you to. People are leaving, there is no client. No qualified staff. I have space, I have the equipment, I can not employ anyone. I have a stand of cakes and khachapuri close to the market. First, I bake here at night and in the morning, I go there to sell myself. There I am, here I am. I am one. I will not grow up in any way, no matter how much money I have and invest in it, it will be wasted."Lali, 55

"The demand for my products is very high. If I can no longer take orders here, I started sewing without direct contact. I currently have only 3 local orders at the moment. I send the rest by mail and it is very convenient. I also have all the techniques for sewing, of all complexity. I would still employ others, but the staff is not qualified - but I have good conditions, I can support."- Natia, 39

Interestingly, if opportunities for social mobility, women's development and career advancement, professional growth in the private sector are predetermined by the local labor market, in the public sector these opportunities are completely predetermined and limited by extremely meager wages:

„f there was a prospect of something - after working in the financial department of the City Hall for 7 years, would I want to flee to Tbilisi? Or go abroad for three months? Promotion will be able for my subordinates after I leave, but they cannot go beyond that? I have a salary of 700 GEL. I came here at the age of 22 and the age of 29 I am still where I started - salaries do not increase, I cannot go beyond this level of my specialty. When you realize this, you no longer think about whether to go to Tbilisi or not, you think that you are late to leave!" Miranda, 29

In the public sector at the management level, even in the case of employment in director positions, the salary is lower than, say, the salary of the highest-ranking miner. Even at the highest level, it's much lower than any migrant woman's monthly income in foreign currency. Consequently, local women do not want to spend their whole lives trying to reach a level where they cannot support their families fully.

Now it is unimaginable for you to lead an organization of 180 people and have a salary of up to 800 GEL. And imagine that I have worked for 30 years to come so far. What development are we talking about? "Mzia, 51

All of the above features: undiversified labor market, inefficient public sector with the function of filling jobs, and low-paying, vulnerable jobs in trade and services; High share of employment of retirees - especially affects young women who cannot even work in the mine if they wish; And to plan education following the existing job opportunities in the city, they have to become primary or school teachers, where starting work, as we have already mentioned, in their estimation, is very difficult; Also, extremely vulnerable jobs in the field of trade and services, with the function of expelling people from the city to other cities and the inevitable migration, as well as migration abroad, with no prospect of return.

Labor migration of Tkibuli women and its consequences

Interviews reveal that the large majority of working-age women in Tkibuli are not unemployed, but are excluded from the local and national labor market and are mainly involved in the global supply chain of reproduction from developing and post-Soviet countries to developed capitalist countries and the developed South (Aroshvili, 2020). Labor migration from developing countries has had a pronounced gender character since the 1980s (Kofman and Parvati, 2015), due to the gender bias of the care sector itself and the feminization of global poverty, which in mono-industrial cities is compounded by the nature of male-oriented hard mining labor.

Migration from Tkibuli takes place both in terms of outflows in other cities and capitals, as well as in other countries. The National Department of Statistics of Georgia has been counting migration since 2012 based only on the data of the Border Police of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In addition, there is no registration of the number of migrants by municipalities, as well as a separate labor migration, which makes it impossible to know the exact number and gender distribution of labor migrants from Tkibuli municipality. However, from in-depth interviews that reveal the general attitudes of city residents, labor migration of women from Tkibuli is often illegal, incredibly large-scale, continuous, and increasing.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the cessation of coal mining, many people left the city, however, it is important to note that in 2006, after the privatization and resumption of the mining process, employment prospects and opportunities for men reappeared in the city,⁶ for women, however, these opportunities have not been restored since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

If internal migration, i.e. outflow to other cities and capitals of the country, is affected by unemployment and social prospects in the city, the outflow of women from Tkibuli and directly abroad - in addition to the lack of decent jobs for women in the local labor market, is affected by the meager salaries in the mine, devaluation of the national currency, high and sharp rates of debts, the system of paid higher education and the high cost of health care, etc., i.w. those aspects that cannot be resolved with the salaries in national currency, if you are not employed at well-paid, specific work in the capital. It can be said that all aspects of the economic and social life of the city

⁶ It is noteworthy that after the privatization of the enterprise, production resumed on a smaller scale than it was in the Soviet Union when 4 mines were operating. Currently, there is only one operation - Dzidziguri-Mindeli mine.

today act to encourage labor migration, and since the coal enterprise still employs men, the function of bringing foreign currency into the family is entrusted to women.

Still, what scale can the outflow of women from Tkibuli have? If we believe the respondents, at least one woman in every third family works abroad in the field of family care.

One of the respondents describes the situation she faced before emigrating. The decision to leave immediately was made after she became a breadwinner herself and paid off the debts by working in shops or a sewing salon and maintaining a family was becoming impossible.

“My wife suffered a heart attack twice, he could no longer work in the mine. For the last 1 year I worked in the Magniti network at the cash desk, I had 350 GEL. Then they reduced the hours and paid 250 GEL. I am a mother of three children. We had to sell everything suddenly that we had ever created. I was in a nervous, crisis state - to be hung by a rope and you could neither breathe nor suffocate. For 2-3 months before opening Magniti we had nothing at all. I do not know how we lived. I left with bank debt. If I had not left, my family would probably have died, or I would have killed myself. I was no longer a human, I was no longer normal – when I was looking at myself. I did not want to talk to anybody and I had to take care of all the problems and could not find a solution – go wherever you want and do whatever you want, you cannot handle anything”- Lia, 52.

Most migrant workers in Italy, Greece, and Turkey work as private caregivers, nursing old people. This job means living in the employer’s home and only going out once or twice a week. Most of the women who go to this type of work, as they call themselves, are “undocumented” and “not knowing the language”, which puts them in a, particularly vulnerable situation. The dangers, stress, and conditions that accompany this type of work are important.

*Imagine, when you don’t know the language and anything.
I left 1.5 years ago. My friend helped, I hired a flat. If I earned money with some miracle, I had to pay the bank debt and there was no food at home. Thank God, I got it, but I got into a terrible family.
Grandma and Grandpa were there - Grandma was giving you a terrible day. First, you do not understand what she was talking about, then why do you sit on the couch, she said, why do you go for a bath - even once a week, she could not stand it - water, electricity is consumed, she said. I was locked in with them, unable to get out, it was a pandemic. You could not eat food. They weighed food in grams when*

I ate - and beyond that, if you had something to eat and ate, they told, how you can eat so much and I was starving.

She could not stand when I sat at all, even if I had nothing more to do. When I could not stand anymore, I told, that I was feeling bad and I had to eat.

Imagine for a second when they are counting your food and you had to eat something. You go out twice a week only and I bought something for myself, but I had to eat so that she could not see – otherwise, she would call to the person who employed me and told that I am eating all the time” – Lia, 52.

“The family I worked for did not sign a contract that would legally give me the right to work - they had to pay something in taxes and they refused. If you are undocumented, they will start checking and write me a fine, and you will not be able to work here, he told - I was fired. In general, during the pandemic, 80% of the girls were thrown out, some of them were not even warned, the suitcase was directly put at the door so that they could not enter the house. Nobody asks where they stayed, where they went. Many do so here that when a grandma dies, they take you to a certain destination, help you with the luggage, etc. But this person did not care where I would live, did not give a day to find another place, simply closed the door. Then one girl from Tkibuli gave me a shelter, found someone who rented a flat and so on... such stresses. Then I was lucky and found a job, I am praying for this family today, they appreciated me so much.” Khatuna, 58.

Respondents also talk about the painful degradation and alienation of family relationships that arise as a result of distance and the migrant woman is perceived only as a money-transmitter who should not go back.

“I thought I would come from here - 2 years and everything would be settled, but it is not so, it is not easy here. Here you are an ordinary black worker, a slave, a servant.” Khatuna, 58

“Families are virtually non-existent. This is not called a family. I have not yet felt from my children that - be there, send me money, - but, I know that it is so, it happens - where you are coming, stay there, people have been here for 9-10 years, then it is like that. We have so many problems, where are you coming to - they say. When you are here, you have given up everything, you are just a breadwinner and no one else - you do not exist, you work 24 hours a day, day and night. She calls you and you have to stand up at night, you have no right not to go and take care, no matter what is the time. Psychologically it is a nightmare, you have to walk through four walls. I go out from 2 to 8 o'clock on Sundays and I get so tired that day, instead of rest, I have to do everything - send something or go shopping and you get even more tired” Lia, 52

"If I had stayed in Tkibuli, I would have had a salary of at least 1000-1500 to be sufficient. It used to be considered a big salary, now what? One bag of flour cost 37 GEL and now it costs 70 GEL. I used to buy food for the whole month for 100 and 200 GEL. From now on, if the family cannot buy food for 200 GEL for 1 week, it is excluded. I cannot afford to send money. I cannot save 50 euros to finally have money for a ticket, I do not have enough. I cannot save. I have nothing left. Anything I buy for myself is out of the question. Then there is already a shortage for the family. This money is nothing here, the salary is very low - 600-700 euros." Nino, 32

Significantly, a similar scale of female migration alters not only family integration but also the social and cognitive development of children, physical and mental health, and other aspects that are evident and noticeable in existing empirical research in Third World countries where women have been flowing continuously for decades. (Meng and Yamauchi, 2015)

"As a teacher, I can say two things about abandoned children. One is that the migrated mother sends money and the child goes to the tutor - although it may interfere with the education process and have low attendance because the parent can no longer control it, with the money sent from migration then goes to the tutor; The second story is if the parent could not get there properly. I have two students who do not even have a grandmother and stayed with their father when their mother left. The children came in the winter, wearing only shirts - they lack attention and there are many such children." Sophie, 38

"A family member of 14-15 out of about 20 children in my class went abroad to work, a mother, grandmother or aunt. My best friend has not seen her mother all her life. Sometimes our visions were so different, I used to say that since she has no that's why it was so, when you do not have a mother, you do not know much, even like about the first menstrual cycle, etc. You can not ask your grandfather. She was very upset and seemed to lack the warmth of a mother in conversation, when I mentioned her mother, it was so painful, she would cry. 4 out of 10 children are like that here." Anna, 19

Interestingly, in the global care market, with the mass labor migration of women from Tkibuli, we are taking a whole new type of family, based on the female-breadwinner model, creating specific family structures and different practices of family life, family integration.

Modern family structure in Tkibuli

Tkibuli economic, social and public development limits over the past 30 years, the structure and peculiarities of the Tkibuli labor market have changed and distorted the structure of families living in Tkibuli, which, on the one hand, because of its dependency on the city's mono-industry and miners' wages; On the other hand, due to the disappearance of all other types of jobs in the city after the post-Soviet transformation, there should have been a family model built on the typical "capitalist"⁷ separation of family, where the man still operates paid (outside) type of labor and women - unpaid (domestic) labor. Whereas this model of the family is still prevalent in settlements where heavy industry is still a major part of the local economy and thus helps to maintain the traditional capitalist family that has been shattered in the modern world by the outflow of women into labor market and the service sector. However, the structure of the Tkibuli labor market and the international economic order that defines the impossibility of diversifying the economy at the national policy level, create a new type of family, based on the female-breadwinner model, which is caused by the insufficient wage of an employed man employed for full physical survival and the complete insufficiency of full social reproduction. - This process does not depend on the involvement of a female family member in the local or national economy, but on the outflow of a female family member or members abroad and indefinite labor migration, because, according to the available data, only salaries in foreign currency can support a family.

The type of modern family, which, according to the respondents, is the dominant, or at least quite common type of family in Tkibuli, is the following: A miner husband or father, a housewife, a young or middle-aged unemployed wife (daughter-in-law) engaged in household affairs - raising children and, in some cases, livestock - if a place of residence in the city contributes to this, and a breadwinner, immigrant mother or mother-in-law, whose financial and non-financial remittances are a major contributor to full family support and child education, higher education and other types of investments.

Observing this circumstance also removes the main stereotype about the city of Tkibuli, according to which Tkibuli depends only on the salaries of miners. Observations of women's labor and movement show that the city depends on the miners' salaries as a kind of "skeleton" that helps families survive physically on a daily basis, and also only helps the local trading economy survive physically. However, beyond this most basic layer, the whole social functioning, reproduction, and life is carried out by the money transfers of emigrants.

⁷ This implies the gender separation of labor, which coincides with the origins of capitalism and is structurally intertwined with the traditional forms of capitalist accumulation.

"I would say that the remittances of the emigrants similarly maintain the families or even more. There is no family that does not have an emigrant - mother, wife, and... I am also thinking of leaving .. "Tiko, 40

"Look, if it were not for those migrants, these children would not have received a good education. It is excluded. It is quite expensive to bring a child to a tutor, I mean the locals - those who are good specialists are expensive, but still, most of the children manage to get a good education in Tkibuli. They can no longer use it here. Those who have left, use using it well." Nana, 55

Tkibuli exists with the money sent from emigration, not only Tkibuli but the whole of Georgia. Do you know how it is? Halfway through - the mine is reviving and the emigrants are reviving. Those who work in the mine maintain their family but those who do not work in the mine live thanks to emigrants or many have left the miners' families. Mine and Emigration. There are few employees of City Hall or anything. They are nothing and they have no income. "Lia, 52

The modern family structure in Tkibuli is interesting not only for emigrant breadwinner women but also for young women, mostly housewives who have started families in Tkibuli and engaged in family work (often because another female family member is migrating). These young women can neither think about trying opportunities in another city nor can they employ in low-paying jobs in the labor market because of housework. This category represents most of the housewives of Tkibuli today.

Interestingly, when asked about their perceptions of the main psychological portrait of a woman/girl living in Tkibuli, almost all respondents spoke of this demographic group - young, unemployed housewives, who are described by almost all respondents as "got used to" to the given situation, apathetic, nihilistic, with no sense of faith in the future, who, precisely because of this psychological state, are not motivated to take any initiative, to unite, to organize, to fix anything in the city, to protest against anything. According to the respondents, this state of "getting used to it" is more passive and fixed than depressive and even creates a certain comfort zone. Interestingly, one of the respondents sees the basis of this situation precisely in the fact that the city is focused on letting the next generation out of it and therefore it is perceived as a temporary, secondary space where there is no potential for positive change.

The average resident of Tkibuli is like this: if she works like me, goes out, comes home, and is in a routine, she is more active - and mostly older women. Or there are housewives who are in the robe from morning to evening and rarely go out with

the neighbors - that's just their life. And they are used to it, it is unbelievable to protest something, nor do I feel that they are bothered with anything. It is very rare to find a different person who cares about their own development - and if anyone is like that, they leave. The emotional, inner state of these women is mentally stable - they are used to it and they are used to it in every way, they are less anxious and have no more protests, nothing, so they are stable." Sopo, 38.

Nobody wants to do anything, they are used to it - their problem is that they do not want to have anything better. Whatever they are accustomed to, they want it and it is slowly getting worse, they do not complain about it either. Many dogs bother the city. - The municipality has so many empty buildings, people agree to transfer 1 GEL to make a shelter, but "Come on!"- they say. They prefer not to see them at all, to kill, to disappear, rather than to find a way out. Why this city is passive is because people did not imagine that their children would stay here. They are adjusted to their daily life here, they do not want to spend more time in Tbilisi, like me, they think that they will spend more there, but they still do not want to have children in this place. Everyone is doing everything to let their children go. This is something like that - when you rent a house and close the eyes and say you will not spend money for that, since it is not yours and it's temporary. They look to life like that here." Teona, 26.

"They are more accustomed and comfortable than depressed because you think this is normal. For example, today you have a cup of coffee and you do not look beyond it. They do not want to progress on their own. They adjust to what they have." Lali, 55

The most interesting and central of this chain are the lower echelons, namely children, for whom the rest of the family works for full-fledged physical and social reproduction, and who are unconditionally regarded as temporarily living subjects in this city who must leave the city as soon as they reach adulthood. This circumstance reveals significant emotional, mental, and psychological attitudes towards life in the city in general - although people love their city and do not want to leave it, they cannot even consider their children living and working in this city. It turns out that the whole process of labor, often at the expense of lives, bodies, health,⁸ including hard work in the mines, as well as the hard work of immigrants abroad, is completed and processed not for families and future generations to live with dignity in their city, but for children and future children to successfully leave this city. The main investment is made in the children who have to get out of here.

8 <https://www.hrw.org/ka/report/2020/01/08/332898>

"If things do not change for the better before they grow up, they can do nothing here. And that's what every parent sees - their child here. Unfortunately, this is how it looks. Unfortunately, I have not tried my luck in Tbilisi due to my limitations, but my children will go. The children know that too - they grow up like this, they have to leave when they finish school." Sopo, 38

"There was no child around me - I know everyone out of 180 employees, I know everyone's child - I know everyone's family situation more or less, and there was no occasion for anyone who left and come back. There has not been a single case." Mzia, 51

Given all the above, it is no coincidence that the largest sector employed by women - preschool and school education, as well as the Palace of Youth, Art Schools, various cultural circles and tutoring institutes, the only area - the formal and non-formal education sector in Tkibuli works and is considered to be good - it is focused on making this very investment, which ends up by sending future generations to the markets outside the city.

"The school education, in terms of which the situation is not really bad, the children who left are exemplary in Tbilisi. Education in schools is good and the tutoring institute is more working and at a very high level. Those who are teachers at school, almost everyone is tutoring. The main quantity of children after school goes to tutors and even without school, education is provided." Nana, 55

The problem and scale of labor migration from Tkibuli, the consequences of migration, and the issue of non-use of migrant citizens are also recognized by the 2019 economic development plan of Tkibuli Municipality, in which we read: "Migration (external and internal) and use of the potential of our compatriots abroad for local development remains an important challenge for Tkibuli Municipality. The financial and intellectual resources of labor migrants and the diaspora can be used successfully to accelerate the economic development of the municipality, develop economic ties, and repatriate our compatriots. That is why these issues were reflected in the present plan as much as possible." The same plan states that it is important to stimulate local economic development to stop migration processes, create new jobs, increase the income of the population and improve the social background; However, the fragmented initiatives within the insufficient budget envisaged by the plan clearly do not and will not change the problems of the local economy that we should look for in the prevailing national economic policy and development model, in general.

Conclusion and recommendations

What specifically does Tkibuli reveal in terms of global inequality and the feminization of poverty?

The nature, scale, and geography of women's participation in the labor market in Tkibuli reveal not only challenges at the local self-government level, but also structural inequalities at the national level, which in turn are due to the international economic order and some peculiarities of post-Soviet capitalist development. These processes make Georgia a supplier of human labor resources to the global economy, instead of aiming at the revival of the manufacturing and agricultural sectors at the local level, which would provide a basis for stimulating and improving the real sectors of the economy; An economy focused on tourism and services, the financial and construction sectors, transforms the remaining workforce in the country into a service staff of local elites or international guests in the long run. The growing trend of impoverishment and social vulnerability puts women and children in particularly vulnerable conditions who, in addition to the immediate material crisis, face a severe crisis of social reproduction - their physical and emotional disintegration, displacement, and other phenomena that impede the full, dignified life and work of women, or the inclusive development of children.

Importantly, without understanding this context, public or private initiatives aimed at empowering women at the local level are in most cases incapable of first perceiving and then responding to the real, day-to-day challenges and needs of local women. This misconception is manifested in the attitudes of respondent women who see and feel the above structural problems in their daily lives and, as they call themselves, initiatives created based on the stereotyped guidelines on women's empowerment or gender stereotypes often appear "inappropriate" or "inadequate" in such a context.

There is a Gender Equality Council in Tkibuli Municipality, which has its budget and approved action strategy. Analysis of the Gender Equality Action Plan reveals that the Council is working on a unified standardized approach and strategy for the Gender Equality Councils in Georgia, and it does not reflect a policy based directly on the analysis of peculiarities and specific needs of Tkibuli women. Despite a very meager annual budget, the council has several activities planned, most of which deal with training and awareness-raising measures concerning domestic violence, gender and sexual violence, early marriage, and other issues. The plan also includes appropriate assistance services for women victims of violence, measures to increase women's participation in political life, etc.

In-depth interviews with Tkibuli women show that instead of general, standardized approaches or providing one-time social assistance under a tight budget, the first need for women in the city may be much greater, for example, at least one vocational training college providing women with training in various specialties. Also, based directly on a detailed study of the specifics of women's lives in this city, and therefore on the knowledge of existing needs, for specific age groups of women for whom different types of problems are identified: e.g. For the adolescent children of immigrants; Recognition of special needs, promotion and collective self-determination activities or policy-making for young and middle-aged housewives, retired women employers, miners' wives, disintegrated families, etc.

The present study also showed that the characteristics and categories defined by standardized gender equality strategies, such as, for example, women leaders and entrepreneurs, women involved in management positions and decision-making, etc.; Given the many problems presented in this study, the peculiarities and challenges of the city are not real, desirable images and categories for Tkibuli women, as these problems, peculiarities, and challenges are the factors that prevent even successful private women entrepreneurs from expanding their business and employing people; Or, for example, women in managerial positions in the public sector do not even have the opportunity to live a dignified life to the extent that their pay is not much lower than the income of an ordinary migrant.

Consequently, without realizing that, in most cases, the key lock-in mechanisms of urban development, which come not only from local budget scarcity but also from a range of national and global problems, preclude and structurally close the vast majority of opportunities that women individually must achieve, according to these standard guidelines. Consequently, initiatives and policies planned without detailed examination of the needs of women and the real face of the city, without any real context, are doomed to irrelevance.

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