

## Research Report

Public Perceptions on Gender Equality in Politics and Business


Enhancing Gender Equality in Georgia
womeniel

> Published with financial support of the UN Joint Programme
> "To Enhance Gender Equality in Georgia".


Enhancing Gender Equality in Georgia


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## Executive Summary

This research was commissioned by The United Nations Development Programme under the UN Joint Programme "To Enhance Gender Equality in Georgia". The UN joint programme is implemented by three UN agencies - The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), UN Women and The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) with the financial assistance of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).

The programme has three main goals:

- Political and economic empowerment of women
- Eliminating violence against women, especially domestic violence
- Realization of sexual and reproductive rights of the population

The UNDP component is focused on enhancing women's political and economic empowerment. It aims at advocating for women's increased participation in policy making and empowering them economically, thus setting up sound mechanisms for political and economic empowerment.

The main aim of this research project was to study Georgian public attitudes toward gender equality with a special focus on women's participation in politics and business.

Both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies were used in the study. A total of 1760 face-to-face interviews were conducted throughout Georgia in the scope of the quantitative study. Qualitative research included 16 focus group discussions with women from various cities and villages - eight focus group discussions were conducted in Samegrelo and eight in Kakheti.

Qualitative and quantitative research findings were complementary and enabled us to present the main findings and the respective recommendations.

The study clearly showed that traditional views on gender roles are yet strong: a woman's main function is considered to raise children and take care of the household- in other words household chores; while a man's function is to support the family financially. Although 30 percent of women are the breadwinners in families, the public does not consider this scenario to be ideal. If finances allow, it is better for women to stay at home or take an easier job - "more appropriate work for a woman" - if necessary. Also, a woman should be obedient to her husband and let him have leading positions in various activities.

The public believes that the above listed gender functions are a natural continuation of the essence of woman and man. For instance, since a woman can deliver and raise children, she is better suited to the profession of a teacher, bringing up children both inside and outside the home. Men, by contrast, are more active and have a fighting spirit, so they are better suited for political positions requiring leadership and decision-making skills. The fact that a majority of those surveyed consider that it is inconceivable and unacceptable for men to attend a child's birth is also connected with a woman's function to deliver a baby. Also, almost everyone agrees with the notion that an employer must give maternity leave to a woman, while only 40 percent think the same about men. Since the nature of a man does not correspond with raising children, especially new-borns, men's maternity leave is not required.

A double moral standard is still strong in the society - what can be pardoned for a man cannot be pardoned for a woman. Women's behaviour is controlled by men; moreover, it is controlled by the whole society.

Largely, this research replicates the findings of previous studies. All of them suggest that Georgia is still a masculine, patriarchal country where men occupy a dominant position. Research reveals that men justify this dominant position more than women. Women know that they have a subordinate role and that they have to make concessions. Eventually such an arrangement leads to stress and negative emotions. As a strategy
to deal with the situation, i.e. a coping strategy, women choose to justify the situation they are in and take pride in it, considering that Georgian women are more tolerant and enduring than women of other countries. Moreover, society demands that a woman tolerate her husband's insults in order to preserve the family and to be a tolerant, gentle, obedient person devoted to the family. This is reinforced by the perception that divorce is family dissolution.

At a glance, an index showing that women are slightly more satisfied with life than men is inconsistent with this data. Allegedly, the reason for women's higher satisfaction with life compared to men is that women are a) less ambitious and have lower self-esteem and b) are managing to realize traditional gender functions in the family while men are struggling due to the existing economic situation - a high unemployment level.

It is also worth noticing that the number of those who support gender quotas in Parliament, in political parties, and in high level positions is quite high - 65 percent. We believe that the wording of the question might be a reason. The interviewees interpreted the question - "are you in favour of a quota system according to which a certain number of women must be" differently with regards to a 'certain number': the existing 10 percent in Parliament is also a certain number.

An overwhelming majority of those interviewed knew the meaning of gender equality, although this knowledge does not translate into public support of this notion. Even though a majority of the focus group participants were articulating their support for gender equality, versatile analyses of the research findings (opinions of the focus group participants and the quantitative data) show that a certain number of women are in favour of the traditional distribution of gender roles.

Those interviewed consider that a man is a better business leader than a woman, and, generally speaking, men are much better at any work and, of course - politics is a man's business first of all. They see women in politics, however, in areas relevant to a woman's nature such as healthcare or culture. Both qualitative and quantitative data show that women are not motivated to become actively involved in politics. Women see themselves more in business than in politics.

Present research data is consistent with earlier qualitative and quantitative studies conducted in Georgia. For instance, research on domestic violence published in 2010 (Chitashvili et al, 2010) ${ }^{1}$ shows that a woman should be submissive to her husband, tolerate violence from a husband or a partner, and that divorce is viewed as a tragedy or as family dissolution. Research conducted in 2008 (Javakhishvili, 2008) ${ }^{2}$ shows that virtues acceptable for a woman are: kindness, faithfulness to the family, gentleness and passiveness, while a man should be both active and the family breadwinner. CEDAW research in Georgia (Zardiashvili et al., 2011)3 shows that an overwhelming majority of the Georgian population has heard about gender equality, however 60 percent consider that gender equality is not achieved in Georgia. Forty percent of those surveyed were in favour of the quota system.

[^0]
## 1. Introduction

The given document is the Research Report developed in the scope of the research project 'Public Perception Study on Gender in Politics and Business.' The report is prepared by ACT for the UN Joint Programme "To Enhance Gender Equality in Georgia."

The report presents quantitative and qualitative research results about public perceptions on various issues related to gender equality in Georgia, with special emphasis on women's engagement in politics and business. The report also provides a situational analysis on gender issues in political and economic fields in Georgia.

The quantitative study covered the whole country of Georgia (all controlled parts of Georgia), whereas the qualitative study was conducted only in two regions, Samegrelo and Kakheti.

The research project was executed from February to July 2013. The fieldwork of the quantitative study was performed in April, followed by the qualitative fieldwork in May.

At the beginning, the report reviews main aims and objectives as well as design of the research. The following chapter provides research background and contextual analysis. The main part of the report is dedicated to the results of both the quantitative and qualitative studies. In the final part, main research conclusions are presented.

## 2. Contextual Analysis and Research Background ${ }^{4}$

The UN joint programme "To Enhance Gender Equality in Georgia" is implemented by three UN agencies The United Nations Development Program (UNDP), UN Women and The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) with financial assistance of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).

The programme has three main goals:

- Political and economic empowerment of women
- Eliminating violence against women, especially domestic violence
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The UNDP component is focused on enhancing women's political and economic empowerment. It aims at advocating for women's increased participation in policy making and empowering them economically, thus setting up sound mechanisms for political and economic empowerment.

[^1]
### 2.1. Political Environment

Georgia is in the process of advancing a gender equality agenda. Significant progress has been made by the Government of Georgia in ensuring the implementation of the gender equality commitments laid out by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW):
http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/. In March 2010, the Government of Georgia adopted the law "On Gender Equality" and developed a National Action Plan. The Gender Equality Council of Parliament, initially a temporary advisory structure, became a standing body in March 2010.

Despite progress made in recent years, women are still under-represented at decision-making levels and disempowered economically. According to the Gender Inequality Index ${ }^{5}$ :
http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/68606.html, Georgia is placed 71 of the 137 countries surveyed.
It has been extremely difficult for women to be elected to parliament, the supreme legislative body of Georgia. In the last two decades, the proportion of women MPs has never exceeded 10 percent (In Parliament (the supreme councils) elected in 1991, 1992, 1995, 1999, 2003 and 2008 women comprised respectively $6.8,5.6,7,6.4,9.4$ and five percent of total MPs) ${ }^{6}$. At the moment, the number of female MPs approximates 11 percent, 17 out of 150 parliament members are women.

Despite some progress being made through legislative initiatives, the number of women in local selfgovernance bodies has been decreasing with each successive election; from 14 percent after the local elections of 1998, the percentage of women dropped to 12 percent in 2002. The October 2006 elections produced only 195 ( 11.14 percent) elected women out of a total of 1750. Nor did these figures improve in the 2010 local elections, which gave only 11 percent of women elected to local governments.

The number of female representative is also not large in the executive branch of the government. As of August 2012, only five out of 19 ministers were women. As of June 2013, out of 20 ministers only three are women, thus the representation of women has decreased.

### 2.2. Economic Environment

Currently, in many families, women have taken on the role of breadwinners. This has given them a certain degree of empowerment through some measure of economic independence, but this new situation has done little to alter the traditional gender division of labour and women remain the primary caregivers, responsible for the housework and feeding and caring for the children.

The majority of women who remain employed in the formal sector work in the low-paying fields of agriculture, education, healthcare and light industry. The vertical and horizontal gender segregation in the labour market is obvious from the high concentration of women in lower-paid positions in the less profitable sectors of the economy.

According to National Statistics Office of Georgia (GEOSTAT), on average in the last 13 years (1999-2012) the average nominal monthly salary of employed women is 54 percent of that of employed men.

[^2]In addition, it is worth noting that higher incomes have the households who are headed by men. In 2010, the average monthly income (monetary and non-monetary resources) of man-headed households was 42,3 percent more than compared to households headed by women. In 2012 this indicator decreased to 32,7 percent ${ }^{7}$.

The analysis of data on employment by gender shows that in 2012 compared to 2011 men's unemployment has decreased by 0,6 percent and has increased in women by 0,7 percent. It is also worth noting that traditionally the unemployment rate is lower for women than men. The main reason for this is that the majority of unemployed women are housewives, thus they belong to economically inactive population category. The rate of inactivity for women is almost twice as high compared to men. In 2012 the rate of inactivity was 42,6 percent for females and 21,8 percent for males. Correspondingly, both the inactivity rate and the unemployment rate are higher for women than men.

According to GEOSTAT, only 20 percent of businesses are headed by females. The study on CEDAW implementation in Georgia (Zardiashvili et al., 2011) shows that according to 40 percent of Georgia's population, women are not engaged in economic activities, whereas 60 percent thinks that women must engage more actively in economic activities ${ }^{10}$.

Although different studies exist on gender issues in politics and economics, majority of them are dated to 2008. As time goes by, public attitudes and perceptions change, especially regarding gender which is entirely a social phenomenon.

One of the main aims of the project is to create the enabling environment for women's active participation in politics and business. Respectively, the primary aim of this study is to identify changing trends and pressing gender issues in public perception.

[^3]
## 3. Research Aims and Objectives

The main aim of the research project was to study public perceptions on gender issues in Georgia with special emphasis on women's engagement in politics and business.

The research aimed at studying the following issues:

- How does the Georgian general public understand gender equality
- What are the most powerful beliefs and stereotypes related to gender
- What are barriers to women's participation in economic and political activities
- In which business sectors do women see themselves as successful and financially well off
- What would be the stimulus for women to be further engaged in political activities


## 4. Research Methodology

The research was conducted in three stages:

1. The first stage of the research project involved desk research. Desk research methodology implied the collection of secondary data. A desk review of relevant studies at both global and country levels enabled us to conduct a comprehensive situation analysis.
2. The second stage of the project involved a quantitative study which involved the face-to-face interview technique. The target segment of the study was the adult population of Georgia (residents aged 18 and above). In sum, 1760 face-to-face interviews have been conducted.
3. The third stage of the project involved qualitative research. Focus group discussions were held with women aged 20 to 50 years in different towns and villages of Samegrelo and Kakheti. Participants of focus group discussions had different education and social status.

| Research method | Research methodology | Qualitative research |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Technique | Face-to-face interviews | Focus Group Discussions |
| Target group | Population of Georgia aged $18+$ | Women aged 20 to 50 years from <br> different villages and towns of <br> Samegrelo \& Kakheti |
| Sample size | 1760 respondents | 16 Focus Groups <br> $(130$ participants in total) |
| Sample method | Two staged cluster sampling <br> with preliminary stratification | Targeted Selection |
| Research area | Georgia | Samegrelo \& Kakheti |
| Duration of interview | $45-50$ minutes | $2-2,5$ hours |

Note: A full version of the study report is available in case of interest in further details of the research methodology and the research instruments.

## 5. Research Results

## Structure of the Report

Research results consist of four main thematic sub-chapters:

1. Woman and Family

This thematic section covers research findings about the role and function of woman in a family environment.

## 2. Woman and Career

This section of the report discusses attitudes toward employment and business activities of women

## 3. Woman and Politics

The given part is dedicated to public perceptions regarding the engagement of women in politics

## 4. General Public Attitudes, Stereotypes and Beliefs

Part discusses public perceptions regarding different issues which are directly or indirectly related to the perception of woman's role and status in Georgian society.

On its side, each sub-chapter consists of two main parts - the first part describes behaviour of the respondents regarding the researched issues and the second part discusses perceptions of inquired respondents regarding the main issue of the given sub-chapter.

The second and third parts of research results directly answer one of the main goals of the research identification of the barriers which prevent more active engagement of women in politics and business.

However, as far as woman's role in the family is among the most important determinants of her identity in Georgian societal perception, it was necessary to pay particular attention to this aspect. Thus the first part is dedicated to it. Studying woman's status and behaviour inside the family is particularly important as it may represent a preventive factor to her engagement in political or business activism.

Public stereotypes and beliefs discussed in the fourth part are directly or indirectly related to barriers to women's engagement in politics and business. Respectively, an in-depth study of these issues was important for the research.

The final part of the research is dedicated to the demographic profile and general description of inquired respondents.

Note: Only statistically reliable data are presented in the research. The cross-tabulations, which appeared to be statistically insignificant, are not presented. In some cases the report presents statistically unreliable data though the respective note is present in such cases. It is not recommended to generalize statistically unreliable data to the whole population.

### 5.1. Woman and Family

The sub-chapter below describes public perceptions regarding women's role and function in a Georgian family. Apart from independent value, information presented in the given sub-chapter is important as long as it points to the barriers of women's engagement in politics and business activities. The given subchapter presents both qualitative and quantitative research results.

### 5.1.1. Structure of the Family and Behaviour in the Family

Within the scope of research, it was interesting to study the structure of the Georgian family as well as behaviour patterns, distribution of different functions among family members and duties of man and woman in the family.

## Family Structure

As shown by quantitative research results, more than half (54 percent) of the population is married and lives with their spouse. Nine percent of the population does not live with their spouse but some of them (four percent) are still officially married. Every fifth ( 21 percent) person is single. Five percent of inquired respondents state that they are divorced. It is worth noting that the number of divorced individuals is larger in urban settlements (seven percent) compared to rural settlements (two percent). Eighteen percent of interviewed women are widows whilst the share of such men does not exceed five percent. Seven percent of the population lives with a partner out of wedlock.

The majority ( 95 percent) of citizens are in a civil marriage and only 37 percent are in a religious marriage. It is worth mentioning that a larger share of young respondents are in a religious marriage compared to older generations.

Most common are families consisting of four members from which one member is a child from 6 to 18 years.

Majority (63 percent) of families live separately. 28 percent live with the husband's parents or relatives and nine percent with the wife's parents or relatives. It is interesting to review data by age ranges: With the increase of the survey respondent's age, the number of people who live alone increases. Only 14 percent of young couples (18-24 age range) do not live with their parents. (See table \#1)

| Table \#1 | Place of couple's residence - by age |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 18-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65+ | Total |
| We live with my parents/relative | 34\% | 24\% | 13\% | 14\% | 6\% | 3\% | 15\% |
| We live with my spouse's/partner's parents/relatives | 50\% | 35\% | 23\% | 16\% | 12\% | 8\% | 22\% |
| We live separately | 14\% | 41\% | 64\% | 71\% | 82\% | 89\% | 63\% |
| $N=1081$ - respondents who are married or live with a partner |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Behaviour of Woman and Man in the Family

Research results show that household chores which include taking care of family members (cooking, taking care of sick family member, taking care of children, etc.) and taking care of the house (cleaning house, washing/hanging laundry, etc.) are usually the responsibility of a woman.

For the majority of women washing and hanging laundry and cleaning the house are duties which they fulfil independently. Besides, taking care of sick family members is considered to be a woman's obvious duty - only 17 percent of women think that this responsibility is shared by women and men equally while only 24 percent of men agree to this. (See chart \#1)


N=1081 - respondents who are married or live with a partner

As it turns out, an almost equal quantity of women and men think that going to the market or shopping are activities which are done equally or together by both genders while cooking is always or mainly the woman's duty. Women generally think they always take the garbage out of the house when compared to men.. The opinion that they both equally take garbage out of the house is shared by 31 percent of women and 33 percent of men. (See chart \#2)


Many men (67 percent) declare that house maintenance or repair works are always or usually under their responsibility. Paying bills is the activity carried out equally by 36 percent of both men and women. (See chart \#3)

$N=1081$ - respondents who are married or live with a partner

As it appears, among the issues related to taking care of a child, men are mostly involved in taking a child to the doctor. 44 percent of men declare that they take children to the doctor equally or together with spouse/partner. The same statement is shared by 38 percent of women. As for daily care of child, taking him/her to sleep or staying with him/her during sickness - these activities are mostly carried out by women alone. (See chart \#4)


More than 65 percent of women declare that mostly they take child to school/kindergarten, sports class or for entertainment. Almost one third of men and women think that these activities are carried out by spouses/ partners equally or together. The majority of women say that in most cases they help children do lessons. However, it must be noted that men's perception about doing this activity equally or together differs - 25 percent of men think that they help children do lessons equally while only 12 percent of women agree. (See chart \#5)


Both parents equally participate in conversations about serious or complicated issues with their children. Almost two thirds of women and men agree with this statement. Cases in which women have to speak about serious or complicated issues with their children alone equals 26 percent in the perception of women (mainly or always women) and 12 percent in the perception of men (mainly or always women).

As stated by one fifth of men, finding a way out from complicated situations in family is their duty. Discussing problematic issues and making final decisions are carried out together (43 percent).

It is interesting that in terms of attitudes, 54 percent of respondents think that women and men should spend equal time bringing up their children while 45 percent disagree. 51 percent of respondents think that women and men should do housework equally while 46 percent do not agree. (See table \#2)

| Table \#2 | Attitude toward the distribution of housework N=1760 |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Completely <br> disagree | Disagree | Agree | Completely <br> agree | I don't know <br> refused toanswer |  |
| If wife has a job and husband has not, <br> he must take care of main housework | $3 \%$ | $31 \%$ | $54 \%$ | $9 \%$ | $3 \%$ |
| If husband works and wife does not, <br> she must take care of housework that <br> is usually done by the man | $5 \%$ | $35 \%$ | $49 \%$ | $8 \%$ | $3 \%$ |
| Man should spend as much <br> time bringing up children as woman | $4 \%$ | $41 \%$ | $46 \%$ | $8 \%$ | $3 \%$ |
| Man should be as engaged in <br> house/family work as woman | $3 \%$ | $43 \%$ | $44 \%$ | $7 \%$ | $3 \%$ |

If we analyze the data by gender, it will be evident that slightly more women (66 percent) agree that if the wife has a job and the husband does not, he must take care of main housework. In addition, more women (57 percent) compared to men think that a man should spend as much time on bringing up children as a woman. There is no large difference between the attitudes of men and women regarding the involvement of men in house/family works.

| Table \#2.1 | Attitude toward the distribution of housework - by gender N=1760 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Completely Disagree, Disagree |  | Completely agree, Agree |  | Don't know Refused to answer |  |
|  | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male |
| If the wife has a job and the husband does not, he must take care of main housework | 33\% | 34\% | 66\% | 60\% | 2\% | 6\% |
| If the husband works and the wife does not, she must take care of housework that is usually done by theman* | 39\% | 42\% | 59\% | 54\% | 2\% | 4\% |
| Man should spend as much time bringing up children as woman* | 42\% | 48\% | 57\% | 51\% | 1\% | 2\% |
| Man should be as engaged in house/family works as woman* | 46\% | 47\% | 52\% | 49\% | 2\% | 4\% |

* The evaluation of statement by gender is not statistically significant

However, approximately two fifths of women think that they do more housework than their spouses/ partners. It is worth noting that about the same portion of men admit that their spouses/partners do much more housework compared to them. One fifth of women and men think that their contribution to house works is equal.

As for taking care of a child, 63 percent of women think that they do much more than their spouses/ partners while 56 percent of men admit this fact. Almost the same portion of women and men (11 percent, 10 percent) agree that their contribution in taking care of a child is equal. (See chart \#6)

$N=1081$ - respondents who are married or live with a partner

It is worth noting that in general, the perceptions of men and women regarding the works in the household and activities related to childcare are subjective and therefore, different. The perceived intensity of particular activities depends on what is perceived by men or women as their own responsibility in the family and what is perceived as a responsibility of the spouse. In this regard it is interesting to look at the satisfaction of female and male respondents with the division of labour inside the family.

Slightly more than half of women (51 percent) are satisfied with the labour distribution in the family. Exactly the same share ( 51 percent) of women declares that their spouses are very satisfied with such distribution. As for men, 50 percent of them are very satisfied with the labour distribution and think that their spouses are satisfied as well (44 percent). As it turns out only nine percent of women and four percent of men are dissatisfied with the distribution of housework. (See table \#3)

| Table \#3 | Satisfaction with the distribution of housework in the family (N=1081) |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | You |  | Your spouse/partner |  |
|  | Woman | Man | Woman | Man |
| Dissatisfied | 9\% | 4\% | 2\% | 6\% |
| More or less satisfied | 51\% | 45\% | 39\% | 42\% |
| Very satisfied | 38\% | 50\% | 51\% | 44\% |
| I don't know | 2\% | 1\% | 7\% | 7\% |

It is quite interesting to cite one of the findings from the qualitative research: part of the focus group participants noted that it is unacceptable for men to do things which are a "woman's duty" in the family and that this is "a shame of woman;" in addition, some women declared that a man who washes dishes or does housework "loses his masculine character" and becomes less respectful. When some women have such attitude, the low intensity of men's engagement in housework is not surprising at all.

I don't ask him to take "Fairy" and wash dishes - it does not look good".
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, higher education]
I won't let him wash dishes; it will be a shame for women.
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]
Girls, I know two men aged up to 60 and I have seen both of them cooking potatoes, making pickles and washing. I know one of them from my father-in-law and he always swears to him. The other one is from my mother's side - her neighbour. But both of these men look so masculine, they have a traditional Georgian masculine look, you will not guess they do such housework.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]

### 5.1.2. Values, Perceptions, and Attitudes Related to the Family

The behaviour patterns and distribution of real functions among family members which was discussed in the previous sub-chapter are naturally based on beliefs and perceptions of how a family should be organized. Respectively, it was very important to study the behaviour patterns as well as the beliefs and attitudes that form the basis of behaviour of Georgian society's members.

Research results show that family is a very important value for Georgian society. Family takes first place in a hierarchy of values for the vast majority of women and men (89 percent). Besides, the vast majority of respondents gave first, second or third place to family in the hierarchy of values. (See table \#4) It is worth noting that the hierarchy of values is similar for male and female respondents.

| Table \#4 |  | Hierarchy of values N=1760 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | I <br> place | II <br> place | III <br> place | IV <br> place | V <br> place | VI <br> place | Sum of the <br> first three places |  |
| Family | $89 \%$ | $9 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $99 \%$ |  |
| Religion | $7 \%$ | $32 \%$ | $23 \%$ | $18 \%$ | $16 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $62 \%$ |  |
| Work | $4 \%$ | $31 \%$ | $31 \%$ | $21 \%$ | $10 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $66 \%$ |  |
| Friends | $1 \%$ | $24 \%$ | $34 \%$ | $31 \%$ | $8 \%$ | $2 \%$ | $59 \%$ |  |
| Spare time | $0 \%$ | $2 \%$ | $8 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $52 \%$ | $12 \%$ | $10 \%$ |  |
| Politics | $0 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $12 \%$ | $79 \%$ | $4 \%$ |  |

As shown by qualitative research results, family as an institution is related to Georgian traditions and national identity. There are established beliefs regarding how a good Georgian family should be, how family members should behave and what duties and responsibilities of each family member should be.

Research results show that perceptions regarding the functions and duties of women and men in the family are rather traditional. There is a certain hierarchy and subordination among family members which is based on stereotypical, traditional and often patriarchal beliefs on men's and women's roles.

One such belief that can be considered fundamental refers to the man as the main breadwinner in the family. It is considered that a man should be the head of the family and take responsibility for family's financial welfare.

The fact that a rather large part of the population thinks that ideally, the man should be the breadwinner (88 percent), while only one percent of the citizens think that women should take care of this task, speaks to masculine dominance in the Georgian family. Only 11 percent thinks that man and woman should contribute equally to the family budget. (See chart \#7)


It is worth noting that there is no large difference regarding this issue between urban and rural settlements: 86 percent of the urban and 90 percent of the rural population think that a man should be the breadwinner in the family.

It is interesting that while evaluating reality, respondents declared that the situation in Georgian families is different from their imagined ideal picture - 34 percent of research participants think that the woman is the breadwinner in Georgian families nowadays. (See chart \#8)


Patriarchal values are dominant in discussions of who should be the family's decision-maker. A rather large part of respondents think that men should be the main decision-makers (48 percent). Only two percent of respondents believe that women should make decisions in the family. However, half of the respondents think that decisions should be made together. (See chart \#9)

## Chart \#9

Which family member should make decisions in the family? (\%)

$N=1760$ - Total Sample

More men (62 percent) think that men should be the main decision-makers in the family while 36 percent of women think so. Gender difference was also revealed in the response "equally:" 62 percent of women think that women and men should make decisions together while 37 percent of men think so.

Georgian society believes that getting married is a necessary component of life. Life without marriage is not fulfilling. This is verified by the fact that a rather large part (58 percent) of respondents believes that being in a bad marriage is better than being single. Both women and men ( 58 percent) agree with this statement.

A statement shared by 70 percent of respondents emphasizes the importance of family in a woman's life: in general, it is believed that a married woman is happier than a single woman. Difference in gender perspective is not reported in case of this statement - 70 percent of women and men agree with this statement. (See table \#5)

| Table \#5 |  | Completely <br> disagree | Disagree | I agree | Completely <br> agree |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $9 \%$ | $29 \%$ | $37 \%$ | $21 \%$ | DK/refused <br> to answer |
| Being in a bad marriage is <br> better than being single | $3 \%$ | $16 \%$ | $49 \%$ | $21 \%$ | $5 \%$ |
| A married woman is happier <br> than a single woman |  |  |  | $11 \%$ |  |

In Georgian society, family is an exclusive space where women must be self-realized by combining the roles of housewife and mother. Importance of family for women is primarily expressed by the majority (61 percent) opinion that a woman should be more occupied with bringing up children and taking care of the house rather than with a professional career. This statement is shared more by men - 72 percent than women -52 percent. Most respondents (92 percent) believe that the most important role of a woman in life is taking care of her family. Completely agreeing with this statement are 91 percent of women and 93 percent of men.

At the same time, research shows that 79 percent of respondents believe that a woman is more appreciated for her family rather than her career success. The majority of those inquired ( 66 percent) agrees with the statement that it is better for everyone when men work and women take care of the family. More men ( 73 percent) than women ( 61 percent) agrees with this statement.

A majority (72 percent) of respondents believe that working and supporting the family financially is a man's duty and taking care of the house and family is a woman's duty. This statement is shared by 66 percent of women and 80 percent of men. (See table \#6)

| Table \#6 | Women's and men's roles in the family $\mathrm{N}=1760$ |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Completely disagree | Disagree | Agree | Completely agree | DK/refused to answer |
| Woman should be more occupied with bringing up children and taking care of the family rather than with a professional career | 3\% | 34\% | 46\% | 15\% | 2\% |
| Woman is more appreciated for her family role rather than career advancement | 2\% | 17\% | 58\% | 21\% | 2\% |
| It is better for everyone when man works and woman takes care of the family | 3\% | 28\% | 48\% | 18\% | 2\% |
| The most important role for woman is taking care of the family | 1\% | 6\% | 65\% | 27\% | 1\% |
| It is a man's duty to work and support the family financially and it is a woman's duty to take care of the house and family | 2\% | 24\% | 51\% | 21\% | 2\% |

As shown by research results, there might be particular hierarchical relations among men and women in Georgia and namely, in Georgian families. This is verified by perceived gender subordination and certain perceptions, stereotypes and social norms of Georgian society related to gender roles.

Relationships and power distribution obviously make an influence on a family member's emotional and psychological condition which is expressed in human behaviour. Woman's subordinated role in the family and any type of restriction may negatively influence self-esteem and in turn may determine her subordinated behaviour outside the family. A woman with low self-esteem may be less ambitious in the process of finding a new job or even in her current occupation (she may agree to a lower salary and worse conditions).

Research results also show that Georgian traditional perceptions and customs describe a Georgian woman as an obedient wife, housewife and mother. Career is considered to be less important. Full self-realization of the woman may take place only in case she gets married and becomes a spouse and mother. In the case of men, career and family are equally important or career has more importance. Respectively, on a social level woman has to obey man, behave as he wishes and place her own wishes and demands second. Such perceptions are common for patriarchal societies and Georgia is considered to be one.

Based on survey results, a majority of respondents (63 percent) believe that a good wife should obey her spouse even if she disagrees with him. This statement is shared by 56 percent of women and 72 percent of men.

Besides, a rather large part (44 percent) of respondents agrees with the statement - it is important for a man to show his wife/partner who is the head of the family. More men ( 54 percent) gave a positive answer to this statement than women ( 35 percent). (See table \#7)

| Table \#7 | Male head of family and <br> obedient wife N=1760 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Disagree | DK/refused <br> to answer |  |
| A good wife obeys her husband <br> even if she disagrees with him | $63 \%$ | $34 \%$ | $2 \%$ |
| It is important for a man to show his <br> wife/partner who is the head of the family | $44 \%$ | $53 \%$ | $3 \%$ |

It is worth mentioning that together with the problem of hierarchy inside the family and inequality caused as a result of it, women's attitudes toward such a situation is another problematic issue. As research shows, many women have low self-esteem and a tendency for obedience. It is less presumable that women with such self-perceptions will be active in business or politics. That is why the low self-esteem of women can be considered an important barrier to their engagement in political or business activity.

Questions regarding choosing friends and sexual life were rather interesting in terms of the quality of freedom within the family for women and men. A large part of research participants believes that men should have more freedom to have relationships with friends that his wife dislikes. However, many respondents ( 39 percent) believe that women should have the same right. The following distribution is present by gender: 49 percent of women and 27 percent of men believe that a woman should be able to choose her own friends even if her spouse is against it. Conversely, 57 percent of inquired women and 60 percent of inquired men think that men should have a right to be friends with the people his wife does not like.

As for sexual life, a majority of respondents do not think it is reasonable for a man or woman to have sexual intercourse with their spouse against his/her desire. Though the number of respondents who think that woman is obliged to have sexual intercourse with spouse against her wish is higher (22 percent). No significant difference between the genders is expressed regarding this issue. (See table \#8)

| Table \#8 | Choosing friends and <br> sexual life N=1760 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Agree | DisagreeDK/refused <br> to answer |  |
| Woman should be able to choose their own <br> friends even when their husbands disapprove | $39 \%$ | $55 \%$ | $6 \%$ |
| Man should be able to choose their own <br> friends even when their wives disapprove | $58 \%$ | $36 \%$ | $5 \%$ |
| It is a wife's obligation to have sex with her <br> husband even if she does not feel like it | $22 \%$ | $64 \%$ | $14 \%$ |
| It is a husband's obligation to have sex with <br> his wife even if he does not feel like it | $17 \%$ | $65 \%$ | $17 \%$ |

Inquired respondents expressed interesting opinions regarding divorce. A majority (67 percent) of them thinks that divorce is the best option when a couple cannot solve family problems and often have arguments (fights, disagreements). Such attitudes even if they are just opinions are progressive despite the fact that divorce is related to many barriers and obstacles in real life, particularly for women, which is underlined in qualitative research results (see the Image of a Georgian Woman, page 22). It is worth mentioning that more women (71 percent) than men (67 percent) agree with this statement. (See table \#9)

| Table \#9 | Preserving the family or getting divorced? $\mathrm{N}=1760$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Agree |  |  | Disagree |  |  | DK / refused to answer |  |  |
|  | F | M | Total | F | M | Total | F | M | Total |
| In order to preserve the family, the wife should endure some humiliation from her spouse | 38\% | 54\% | 45\% | 58\% | 42\% | 50\% | 4\% | 4\% | 4\% |
| In order to preserve the family, a husband should endure some humiliation from his spouse | 32\% | 36\% | 34\% | 62\% | 60\% | 61\% | 6\% | 5\% | 5\% |
| Divorce is the best option when a couple cannot solve family problems and often have arguments (fights, disagreements) | 71\% | 63\% | 67\% | 26\% | 32\% | 29\% | 4\% | 4\% | 5\% |

At a first glance, the tolerant attitude toward divorce shared by the majority does not comply with the idea shared also by the majority of respondents which is - being in a bad marriage is better than being single. However, it is noteworthy that the first case concerns "divorce," implying that the woman or man already has a family (and possibly children as well), while the second case concerns "marriage for the first time." Taking into account that in Georgian society, based on quantitative as well as qualitative data, the creation of a family is one of the most important obligations of a person, it is evident why the society has negative attitude toward "being single." At the same time, after getting married the society has a more tolerant attitude toward divorce.

The respondents who state that neither husband nor wife should endure humiliation from a spouse in order to save marriage can be considered progressive. However, more respondents think that endurance is required from a wife ( 45 percent) compared to a husband ( 34 percent). The following distribution is present by gender: 38 percent of women and 54 percent of men believe that a wife should endure some humiliation from her spouse in order to save the marriage. Here it is noteworthy that a larger amount of female respondents think that a wife should endure some humiliation in order to preserve the family (38 percent) than a husband (32 percent). There is a similar situation in the case of male respondents - a majority of men (54 percent) consider that a wife should endure humiliation, while a smaller amount thinks that a husband should (36 percent).

As shown by qualitative research results, women think that divorce has become relatively more acceptable in modern times compared to previous years. However, as shown by the practice, there are barriers related to divorce and these barriers can become a serious problem for women (for example, "demand" from family members and society to save the marriage; woman's financial dependence on man, etc. - see Image of a Georgian Woman, page 22).

All types of gender discrimination stated above strengthen the secondary and subordinated position of women in Georgian society.This could also be considered a reason for women's passive engagement in politics and business.

## Image of a Georgian Woman - What is a Georgian Woman Like?

## "Georgian Woman"

Features, epithets:

- Dedicated to the family
- Loyal to the family
- Obedient to her husband
- Prude
- Honest
- Follower of traditions
- Hospitable
- Good housewife
- Obedient
- Fighter
- Enduring
- Strong
- Proud
- Firm
- Hard-working
- Well-educated
- Beautiful
- Too modest
- Affectionate
- Warm
- Attentive

Within the scope of the qualitative research, participants described a typical Georgian woman and her qualities. The image of a Georgian woman described by research participants carries positive connotations. Respectively, we can conclude that on a public level, it is desirable if a woman matches this ideal. Thus, the results of this projective technique are interesting in two ways: on the one hand, it shows how Georgian women perceive themselves and on the other, it clarifies the desired behaviour pattern for women i.e. what they strive for.

Firstly, the description of a Georgian woman points out that family is a primary value in Georgia. The first spontaneous associations related to "Georgian woman" are related to family. A Georgian woman is characterized as "devoted to the family," "loyal to the family," "dedicated to the family," and so on. Loyalty to the family is expressed by the fact that she is a good housewife, spouse and mother. At the same time, she is hospitable and is a great hostess for guests which is one of the important aspects of a good housewife.

There was a journalist whose interest referred to Georgian woman and I told him/her: we are very traditional, faithful to family and husband - we place our family above work and everything.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
We are more oriented to family. Children and husbands stand above all. [Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

In my opinion, a woman plays very important role in the family and the Georgian woman is the basis of the family, main backing for spouse, children, guest, everyone.
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, higher education]
We are mainly oriented to the family. I would tell a foreigner that I made the right choice by staying at home and bringing up children. I put my personal life aside because of my children and devoted my time to my family, children.
[Samegrelo, urban, 36-60, higher education]
The best virtue of a Georgian woman is that she takes care of her family and in addition, despite her busy schedule, she manages to do all things timely and well.

You are valued as a woman when even if you are not at home all the time, neither yourhusband nor the guests are dissatisfied. I manage everything well and timely. This is womanhood. Woman is strong, and the Georgian woman is really very strong.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
I think that it is in all Georgian, Caucasian women's heart despite her age that in the first place she is a mother and loves her family. She is devoted to her family.
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]

According to respondents, a Georgian woman is distinguished for her strong maternal instincts. Taking care of her children is major priority in her life.

For example, I am a mother in the first place and then a woman. This is how I am. [Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]

Georgian women are devoted to their families and a maternal instinct is particularly developed among them. I think this happens only in Georgia. [...] But as much as woman is active and a care-giver to her children, she is rather obedient to her husband.
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, higher education]
A Georgian woman is particularly thoughtful, modest, shy, enduring.
[Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, secondary education]
[Georgian woman] is modest, a follower of traditions, devoted to the family and of course faithful. [Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]

Apart from everyday life and taking care of housework, faithfulness of Georgian woman to the family is expressed in one interesting detail: it is considered that a Georgian woman is enduring; she can bear many things and is ready not to pay attention to many things in order to preserveher marriage. The latter may mean betrayal from husband and in some cases, even domestic violence.

She [Georgian woman] knows that betrayal from husband is not acceptable but she says: how can I think about divorce when my children need both mother and father. $99 \%$ will not decay the family.
[Samegrelo, rural, 36-50, secondary education]
Masochism is very common in their [women's] character. They are too obedient and endure many things without complaints. Their instinct to endure is highly developed.
[Samegerlo, rural, 36-50, secondary education]
This is not common in East Georgia but still exists in West Georgia. I live in a region where when you get married there you have to stay till the end. If your husband humiliates you, you must endure it. I am sure it does not work this way in the East. You have so much to put up with..
[Samegerlo, rural, 36-50, secondary education]
Domestic violence was a dominant issue in some focus groups during discussions of the image of a Georgian woman. It was noted that Georgian women are oppressed as tradition requires her to preserve the family at any cost. Public pressure makes divorce difficult, because society puts women under particular control and criticizes them after divorce. Some women are able to overcome this pressure and dare to get divorced while some prefer to endure and obey.

It is considered to be a shame to get divorced.

## [Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]

For example, I am divorced. I have a daughter. I left my family based on my own will. If my parents would be against this fact, I would live apart. It was very hard for me. I was thinking what would my brother, sisters, brother-in-laws say about my marriage ruined in one year. But what could I do, I did it for my own future and left.
[Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]
Many families have prejudice, particularly in our region. I should not be out until late. My mother will get mad; she will say you are divorced. My whole family preserves my virtue.
[Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]
Georgian women are often oppressed by domestic violence. I know many similar cases. They often endure much because of traditions, children. I don't agree with our traditions in this regard.
[Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]

Men from Kakheti are very aggressive. There is a patriarchal society. Everything should be done as man says. The woman may be the breadwinner in the family, but man's word is still dominant. Women are obedient because they don't have another option or don't know another life or do not want more in life. I was brought up in such a family - my mother was terribly obedient, so obedient that she destroyed her own life and I will never do the same.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
However, it is worth mentioning that the public pressure against Georgian women and scolding in case of divorce may be transformed into a positive characteristic of women. It somehow justifies self-sacrifice and considers her enduring character as her value. Such thinking is somehow natural, since women need a reward to compensate for their "suffering." This reward is their status as traditional, enduring woman whose main value is preservingthe family at any cost. Besides, in some cases such behaviour of women (enduring, self-sacrifice, obedience) is not related only to tradition but religion. It is considered that such behaviour of women is appropriate in Christian morality.

Georgian women are more enduring than foreigners. They endure more difficulties than foreigners. [Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]

A foreigner may get divorced for elementary reasons - even for unemployment. Georgian women can preserve the family.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
Christianity says that a wife must be obedient to her husband. Georgian women must endure a man of any character.
[Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]
Respectively, such behaviour can be explained by several factors: There is a fear that she may become an object of blister from society. Also, women think that it will be better for children if they preserve the family as the children need a father. In addition, both tradition and religion urge women to obey and endure. Naturally, there are other objective preventive conditions: women depend on men financially and if not supported by her family, she has no capacity of earning for living.

It is quite interesting that while Georgian women are characterized as obedient, weak and helpless, they are also described as strong, enduring and resistant. It was often noted that in modern reality, woman took man's role and became the breadwinner. For example, respondents spoke about labour migration of women abroad and the families in which woman is a breadwinner.

Because of the economic situation, the Georgian woman has turned into a man.
[Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]
Georgian woman will do everything; will do her best to earn for living for her children, not to leave them hungry while her man might appear indifferent [...]. Woman will not stay at home, she will do everything to save her family.
[Samegrelo, urban, 36-50, higher education]
The majority of women are in Turkey to work. I feel really sorry for them. Women work so hard there while their men hang out with beer bottles. It is so terrible.
[Samegrelo, urban, 36-50, secondary education]
It is quite interesting that while discussing such type of women, research participants speak about the strength of maternal instinct - it is believed that woman expresses her strong and fighting nature when her children's welfare faces some danger.

By the way, there are lots of people around me who immigrated abroad in order to save their children and families and I have also heard that woman is weak as a woman but strong as a mother. You can say this about those mothers who do everything for their children.
Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]

Despite the breadwinner's role that women took on themselves in modern life, epithets such as modest, obedient, shy are still dominant while describing Georgian woman. It might mean that in general, it is more acceptable for woman to be quiet and passive. Besides, there is a stereotype that a woman should be in the shadow of a man and it is particularly important that some women agrees with this opinion ${ }^{11}$.

At the given moment, my husband is not at home and I mow, plow and so on. Despite all this, my husband is still husband, a man and I prefer to be in his shadow. I don't know what to call this but this is what I want.
[Samegrelo, urban, 36-60, higher education]

## Family Planning - Preferences of Georgian Parents

Importance of family as a social institution in Georgian society is mostly conditioned by the fact that the future generation is raised in the family. Family is not viewed as only a sphere of man's and woman's cohabitation. It can be said that the latter is a family in the narrow sense and in some cases is considered to be an incomplete family. Such an attitude is conditioned by the fact that as perceived by Georgian society, a complete family must have a child. It is worth mentioning that here we speak about perceptions and attitudes toward the nuclear family. However, it is also important that notion of family in Georgian society often exceeds the cohabitation of two generations and implies broader connections (at least the couple's parents who often live with the couple and other relatives).

Importance of family as an institution in which children are brought up is verified by the fact that the vast majority of inquired respondents believe that motherhood and fatherhood is the most important role in person's life. Most research participants ( 96 percent) believe that motherhood is the most important role in a woman's life and 85 percent think that fatherhood is the most important role in a man's life. Slight differences in perception between the sexes may indicate that for a small part of the society, motherhood is more important for a woman's self-realization than fatherhood is for a man. (See table \#10)

| Table \#10 | Man's and woman's roles N=1760 <br> Completely <br> disagree |  | Disagree | Agree | Completely <br> agree |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Motherhood is the most important <br> role in a woman's life | $0 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $52 \%$ | $44 \%$ |  |
| to answer |  |  |  |  |  |

Within the scope of the research, information was collected about preferences regarding the number of children in the family, the desirable gender of a child and decisions on family planning.

Based on survey results, as believed by the adult population of Georgia, a family should ideally have three children. The average index does not vary between men and women - respondents of both genders think that having three kids is optimal.

As for the decision maker regarding the number of children in the family, the majority of inquired respondents believe that this decision should be made by the spouses together ( 84 percent). Though a small part of the respondents thinks that this decision should be made by the man (nine percent) and these respondents are mostly men. (See chart \#10)

[^4]
## Chart \#10

Who should make a decision about number of children in family? (\%)

$N=1760$-Total Sample

While opinions regarding the number of children in the family can be referred to as an example of gender equality, opinions expressed on preferences regarding the gender of a child present an example of gender inequality in societal perceptions.

As shown by research results, if the choice is to have only one child in the family, 45 percent of respondents prefer to have a boy. Besides the fact that moremen would like to have a son ( 56 percent). It can be concluded that preferences regarding gender clearly indicate a perceived privileged position of men in the society. (See chart \#11)

## Chart \#11

If there is only one child in a family, what gender would you prefer? (\%)


$$
N=1760 \text { - Total Sample }
$$

If we analyze the data by urban and rural settlements, it will be evident that a larger amount of inhabitants from rural settlements (54 percent) declares preference for a boy when compared to urban settlements (37 percent).

| Table \#10.1 | If there is one child in the family, what gender would you prefer? (\%) N=1760 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Urban | Rural |
| Girl | 20 | 26 | 13 |
| Boy | 45 | 37 | 54 |
| Does not matter | 33 | 35 | 31 |
| DK/Refused to answer | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Qualitative research showed those factors causing preference toward having a son.
Having a son is more desirable in a Georgian family as he is an heir. It is considered that a son stays in the family and has a duty to take care of his parents when they get old. At the same time, it was stated that a daughter also has a duty to take care of her old parents, yet in this case means physical care, while the case of a son taking care has a meaning of financial support. Besides, the son's wife, or daughter-in-law is also considered a care-giver to parents, since women have a caregiving role.

## Comments of female respondent:

A boy is an heir.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
[They prefer a boy] a boy stays in the family and parents will have someone who will take care of them.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
[A boy because] I won't be alone when I get old and I will have a family, son...
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]
A daughter is better for parents. Daughters-in-law won't behave as your daughter. It's often men who prefer having a son - they want their surname to be continued. They don't know why, they just want.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]

It is worth mentioning that the issue of selective abortions was mentioned in focus group discussions. As stated by some research participants, they have heard about cases in which women terminate their pregnancies until they have a son. It was stated that selective abortions may also be initiated by pressure from family members (e.g. husband, mother-in-law).

I think that something very bad happens because of that. Woman makes 10-15 abortions in order to... [...] I know my neighbour who has agreed on 13 abortions - she did that when her pregnancy was in that stage when gender of child could be identified...
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
I don't know, I prefer to have whoever it will be. A child is a gift from God. When I was going to an X-ray, my husband wished for a girl. He wants to have a girl in general. His friend did beat his wife when she was eight months pregnant - at this stage ultra sound identified it was a girl when it showed a boy before that. I don't know who thinks what but it does not matter boy or girl, the main thing is health.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
Research participants expressed their opinions on men attending the baby delivery process. In general, men attending the delivery process are not acceptable for the majority ( 67 percent). More men express negative attitudes (73 percent) than women. For those who think it is acceptable if a man attends delivery process, some discomfort is still expressed. (See table \#11)

| Table \#11 | Men attending the baby delivery process (\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Women | Men |  |
| Yes (in general) | $26 \%$ | $31 \%$ | $21 \%$ |  |
| No (in general) | $67 \%$ | $63 \%$ | $73 \%$ |  |
| DK/refused to answer | $6 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $6 \%$ |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Yes (for me personally) | $19 \%$ | $22 \%$ | $15 \%$ |  |
| No (for me personally) | $74 \%$ | $72 \%$ | $78 \%$ |  |
| DK/refused to answer | $7 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $7 \%$ |  |

### 5.2. Woman and Career

The sub-chapter below discusses public perceptions related to employment and business activities of women. The sub-chapter presents the results of both qualitative and quantitative research.

### 5.2.1. Woman's Employment and Income

## Employment of Women and Men

As research results demonstrate, 67 percent of the population is unemployed. The unemployment level is particularly high among women ( 75 percent). The share of unemployed males is 59 percent $^{12}$.

More than a half of unemployed people do not work because they cannot get a job. Eighteen percent of unemployed women think that it is difficult to work and perform housework at the same time and prefer not to work at all. (See table \#12)

| Table \#12 | Reasons of unemployment N=1257 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Woman | Man | Total |
| I could not find a job | $46 \%$ | $73 \%$ | $56 \%$ |
| I don't want to work | $25 \%$ | $19 \%$ | $23 \%$ |
| I find it difficult to combine work and housework so I prefer not to work | $\mathbf{1 8 \%}$ | $1 \%$ | $11 \%$ |
| Old age | $4 \%$ | $4 \%$ | $4 \%$ |
| My spouse does not want me to work | $4 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $3 \%$ |
| Other | $4 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $3 \%$ |

[^5]More than half of currently unemployed individuals are looking for a job. It is also worth mentioning that more unemployed men are looking for a job than women. There are unemployed women who are not looking for a job due to different reasons (e.g. she is a housewife, she is not interested, she is a person with limited abilities, she is a student, etc.) - their portion does not exceed 30 percent. (See table \#13)

| Table \#13 | Current status of <br> unemployed people N=1257 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Woman | Man | Total |  |
| I am unemployed and looking for a job | $29 \%$ | $\mathbf{6 0 \%}$ | $42 \%$ |
| I am a pensioner and looking for a job | $2 \%$ | $4 \%$ | $3 \%$ |
| I am unemployed and interested to find a job <br> but I am not looking for a job right now | $11 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $9 \%$ |
| I am a pensioner and interested to find a job <br> but I am not looking for a job right now | $2 \%$ | $2 \%$ | $2 \%$ |
| I am unemployed and not interested to find a job <br> (except housewife) | $9 \%$ | $2 \%$ | $6 \%$ |
| I am a pensioner and not interested to find a job | $25 \%$ | $17 \%$ | $21 \%$ |
| I am a housewife | $16 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $10 \%$ |
| I am a student/pupil | $5 \%$ | $8 \%$ | $6 \%$ |
| I am disabled | $1 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $1 \%$ |

Unemployed people who had never held a job totalled 36 percent. People who are currently unemployed do not have jobs on average from the year 2000.

The majority of employed respondents are professional workers (39 percent). This working status is mostly prevalent among employed women. (See chart \#12)


## Satisfaction with Job and Salary

According to the research results, the majority of women are satisfied with their current job though most of them think that the salary is not appropriate for their qualification. It is worth mentioning that the majority of men are also satisfied with their job and their opinion regarding salary coincides with women's. (See chart \#14)


As it turns out, the majority of employed women do not find it difficult to combine housework with their job. This opinion is shared by men as well with a slight difference. However it is worth mentioning that housework may imply different contents (men may imply only minimal house work as their duty at home) for men and women. Three percent of women do not have to do housework as presumably they have someone who helps them. Thirteen percent of men declare that they do not have to combine these two activities. (See chart \#15)

$69 \%$ of inquired respondents think that their family members assist their career advancement. In the case of 16 percent, the structure of work itself limits career advancement. As for support from spouses in particular, almost half of respondents believe that their partners help them to move to a higher step in the career hierarchy. The share of respondents who are single at the given moment is 41 percent. (See chart \#16)


Eighteen percent of women declare that it happens quite often when they are too tired after work to do housework while thirteen percent of men return home so tired that doing house work is impossible. An almost equal number of both female and male respondents (28 percent of women and 30 percent of men) declare that such a situation has not happened within the last three months.

Spending extra hours at work or taking work home which prevents fulfilling housework takes place several times per week in case of 10-11 percent of women and men. An almost equal number of both male and female ( 39 percent and 38 percent respectively) respondents noted though, that such a situation has not happened within the last three months. (See chart \#17)


The portion of women and men who declare that it has not happened within the last three months that housework disturbed them to fulfil their duties at work is equally high. (Chart \#18)

## Chart \#18


$N=503$ - respondents who are currently employed

## Incomes of Women and Men

In general, 48 percent of women and 39 percent of men do not have personal income. The share of respondents having personal income from 101 to 300 GEL is 29 percent. It is worth mentioning that this amount is the family income for 36 percent of the population. The average family income equals 300-700 GEL for 30 percent of the population. Eight percent of citizens live in extreme poverty and their income is less than 100 GEL. (See chart \#19)


As it turns out, the majority of women do not have income. One fifth of women say that their husband's/ partner's income is higher. As declared by 15 percent of women and 25 percent of men, the income of both spouse/partner is equal. (See table \#13.1)

| Table \#13.1 | Income of spouses $\mathrm{N}=1081$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Woman | Man | Total |
| My spouse/partner does not have an income | 6\% | 17\% | 11\% |
| My income is higher | 9\% | 25\% | 17\% |
| Our income is almost equal | 15\% | 25\% | 20\% |
| My spouse's/partner's income is higher | 18\% | 7\% | 13\% |
| I don't have an income | 52\% | 24\% | 39\% |
| Refused to answer | 0\% | 0\% | 0\% |
| DK | 1\% | 2\% | 1\% |

It is worth noting that irrespective who has a higher income in the family, family members mostly join their money and use it as needed (52 percent). (See table \#13.2)

| Table \#13.2 | Income of spouses $\mathrm{N}=1081$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Woman | Man | Total |
| I manage all money and give my spouse/partner according to my opinion | 5\% | 11\% | 8\% |
| I manage all money and give my spouse/partner according to his/her necessities | 9\% | 17\% | 13\% |
| My spouse/partner manages all money and gives to me according to his/her opinion | 9\% | 6\% | 8\% |
| My spouse/partner manages all money and gives to me according to my necessities | 15\% | 4\% | 10\% |
| We unite our incomes and each of us gets how much we need | 51\% | 53\% | 52\% |
| We unite some part of the money and leave the rest of it for us | 5\% | 5\% | 5\% |
| We each manage our own money | 6\% | 4\% | 5\% |

The final decision about spending money on things like food products, apparel, large purchases, relaxation/ entertainment and education of children is mostly made together, thoughthe woman has more autonomy while buying food and apparel. (See table \#14)

| Table \#14 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Buying food |  | Buying apparel |  | Making large purchases |  | Expenses on leisure, entertainment |  | Education of children |  |
|  | Woman | Man | Woman | Man | Woman | Man | Woman | Man | Woman | Man |
| Mostly me | 41\% | 15\% | 34\% | 8\% | 4\% | 12\% | 6\% | 8\% | 8\% | 7\% |
| Mostly my spouse/partner | 9\% | 18\% | 7\% | 17\% | 7\% | 3\% | 6\% | 1\% | 5\% | 4\% |
| Sometimes me, sometimes my spouse/partner | 20\% | 36\% | 27\% | 38\% | 19\% | 18\% | 18\% | 20\% | 14\% | 17\% |
| We make decisions together | 24\% | 27\% | 30\% | 36\% | 65\% | 62\% | 61\% | 60\% | 58\% | 55\% |
| Third person | 5\% | 5\% | 2\% | 3\% | 3\% | 2\% | 1\% | 2\% | 0\% | 2\% |
| Not relevant | 0\% | 0\% | 1\% | 0\% | 3\% | 4\% | 7\% | 8\% | 14\% | 16\% |
| $N=1081$ - respondents who are married or live with a partner |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

### 5.2.2. Woman's Employment - Attitudes and Evaluations

### 5.2.2.1. Woman's Role Inside and Outside the Family - a Comparative Analysis

As long as one of the main goals of the study was to identify existing barriers for women in terms of employment and business activities, it is interesting to compare women's role in the family and her business image and study this comparison in society. It is also interesting to find out the difference between opinions of female and male respondents regarding this issue.

Opinions related to employment of women are mostly conditioned by public perceptions on women's and men's behaviour patterns in the family - beliefs about the role and function of a woman in family and about the role and duty of a man. As noted above, according to Georgian tradition, the man is the head of the family and has the responsibility to earn a living for his family while the woman is a housewife and mother and her duty is to obey her husband, take care of the family and children. These attitudes answer the question - How should the society be organized? However, it is quite interesting to analyse why society thinks that such organization is appropriate, i.e. to answer the question - Why should be society organized like this?

Results of both qualitative and quantitative research answer this question. As a result of both research components, several arguments were identified which form a basis for patriarchal perceptions in Georgian society.

## 1. Family hierarchy corresponds with Georgian traditions -

the main argument is that such distribution of roles in the family corresponds with Georgian traditions. Traditions are not doubtful - respectively, everyone needs to match his/her behaviour to these traditions.
2. Taking care of the family is woman's categorical duty/woman is irreplaceable in the family if putting the argument of skills aside, generally it is considered that a woman will never be as successful in career as man because objective conditions may disturb her - due to housework, she may not be able to spend much time on a career. This opinion is backed by the stereotypical perception that doing housework is an obligatory prerogative for woman - this activity must be done by a woman and she cannot distribute it to her spouse. Respectively if a woman wants to be as successful as man in career, she should make a choice between career and family, while man does not have to make such a choice. Besides, it is generally much more important for women to babysit children, bring up the new generation, and take care of her husband - this is what should be her contribution to the society, not work outside of the family.
3. It is natural for woman to take care of the family -
as believed, it is a pleasure for woman to be a housewife, bring up children and she feels happier in a family environment. She will not be happy without family and no success in career can compensate for the happiness felt from taking care of the family. The latter is in woman's nature, it is an organic activity for her.
4. A woman's job must be simple and should not require much time -
woman may have a job but it should not prevent her from taking proper care of her family - husband and children because that is her primary duty. Respectively, society chooses certain professions that are appropriate for women (e.g. teacher, doctor, etc. - see below in detail).
5. A man may not want his wife to work -
in some cases a man may not want his spouse to work. Respectively, if we consider that according to Georgian traditions, a woman must be obedient to her husband and a man is the main decisionmaker in the family, a woman may not be employed due to the simple reason that her spouse does not want her to.

The institute of men still works in Georgia. Woman must stay at home. Some men do not want their wives to work. They go - I earn a living, you bring up children.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]

While defining respective professions for women, one of the criteria is the intensity of woman's communication with men at work. As believed, the majority of men prefer if their wives work where mainly women are working.
„By working as a dentist [a woman] will not be at work until 3:00 a.m. She may work in a pharmacy despite the fact that she may have to spend one night per week at work but they are protected there. It is a clean job.
[Samegrelo, rural, 36-60, secondary education]

The validity of the abovementioned arguments is verified by results from both qualitative and quantitative research. It is true that a large part of inquired respondents do not agree that man is more appreciated for his career and not for his family (70 percent) which indicates that it is important for men to have a successful family. But in the case of women, the majority gives more importance to family - 74 percent of the respondents agree that woman is more appreciated for her family than for her success in a career. (See table \#15)

| Table \#15 | Conditions of personal and career success N=1760 |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Completely <br> disagree | Disagree | Agree | Completely <br> agree | DK/refused <br> to answer |
| Woman cannot be as successful in a career <br> as man because housework will prevent <br> her/she won't be able to spent much time <br> on a career because of her family | $5 \%$ | $39 \%$ | $46 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $3 \%$ |
| Man is more appreciated according to his <br> success in his job and not family | $6 \%$ | $64 \%$ | $22 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $6 \%$ |
| Woman is more appreciated according to <br> her family than for her success in a career | $3 \%$ | $21 \%$ | $55 \%$ | $19 \%$ | $3 \%$ |

It is worth mentioning that many respondents do not exclude necessity of woman's employment and believe that having a job is the best option for a woman to feel independent - 77 percent of inquired respondents think so. However, women see a greater advantage to their employment in terms of independence than men - 85 percent of inquired women think that having a job is a way for women to feel independent while 68 percent of men agree with this statement.

However, in case a woman has to choose between career and family, family is her number one choice. As believed, women find pleasure in housework and are much happier with this activity rather than with success at work. The majority ( 87 percent of women and 88 percent of men) of both female and male respondents think that having a job is good but woman wants family and children most of all - in total, 85 percent of inquired respondents agree on this statement.

Besides, it is believed that housework is pleasant for women as every second respondent (51 percent) thinks that doing housework makes women as satisfied as they would be in a paid job. (See table \#16)

| Table \#16 | Balance between work and family for woman $\mathrm{N}=1760$ |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Completely disagree | Disagree | Agree | Completely agree | DK/refused to answer |
| Doing housework makes women as satisfied as having a paid job | 5\% | 37\% | 44\% | 7\% | 6\% |
| Having a job is good but woman want family and children most of all | 1\% | 10\% | 64\% | 23\% | 3\% |
| Having a job is the best option for woman to feel independent | 1\% | 17\% | 59\% | 18\% | 5\% |

The same is verified by the statement shared by the majority of women and men according to which a woman cannot be fully happy no matter what success she achieves in her career unless she has a family. (See chart \#20)


N $=1760$ - Total Sample
In general, society is not against women's employment. As believed, an employed mother can be as warm a caregiver to her children as a mother who does not have a job - this statement is shared by 75 percent of inquired respondents. However, there are different perceptions regarding what type of work is appropriate for women and men. (See table \#17)

| Table \#17 | Mother's relationship to her children and job N=1760 |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Completely <br> disagree | Disagree | Agree | Completely <br> agree | DK/refused <br> to answer |
| Employed mothers can be as warm <br> a caregiver to their children as <br> mothers who do not have a job | $2 \%$ | $20 \%$ | $55 \%$ | $20 \%$ | $3 \%$ |
| It is better for a pre-school aged <br> child if the mother does not work | $1 \%$ | $19 \%$ | $60 \%$ | $17 \%$ | $3 \%$ |

As shown by qualitative research results, there are some professions that are considered to be optimal and natural for women. Based on qualitative research results, the following professions are considered appropriate:

- Teacher at school or private tutor
- Pharmacist
- Doctor
- Journalist
- Bank operator
- Arts (designer, dress-maker, musician)
- Small business
- Non-governmental sector
- Service sector

It is quite interesting, that profession of teacher is more appropriate for women than men as women are "more enduring" and will get used to the school timetable. Besides, this profession is appropriate for women as the whole day will not be spent at work. We can also presume that on the level of public perception, a female teacher raises future generations. Respectively, at some point she transfers her role in the family to broader scales.

No matter where she works, in any case, less attention will be paid both to child and husband.

## [Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

I think that woman should stay at home. She may have another job, more cultural. I think a woman would rather have a low-paid job and a man should have enough salary to support the family financially.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
All above-listed professions have one common feature - they do not require much time and pressure. Respectively, women are able to combine professional activity with housework. The most stressful from above-listed professions is the management of a small business, though it is considered that while managing a small business women have a free schedule and can take care oftheir families.

However, woman's employment immediately gains negative connotations when woman has to spend less time on the family because of her job. This verified by the majority ( $77 \%$ ) statement that it is better for a preschool aged child if the mother does not work. Besides, most of the respondents believe that women should have a part-time job after getting married and having children. (See table \#18)

| Table \#18 | Desirable schedule of work for woman N=1760 |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Full time | Part-time | Should stay <br> at home | DK / refused <br> to answer |
| Before getting married | $\mathbf{9 0 \%}$ | $4 \%$ | $2 \%$ | $4 \%$ |
| After getting married <br> until she has a child | $\mathbf{6 6 \%}$ | $24 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $4 \%$ |
| During pregnancy before <br> taking a maternal leave | $30 \%$ | $\mathbf{4 0 \%}$ | $26 \%$ | $4 \%$ |
| When a child is in pre-school age | $18 \%$ | $\mathbf{4 0 \%}$ | $37 \%$ | $4 \%$ |
| After the youngest child enters school | $39 \%$ | $\mathbf{4 0 \%}$ | $17 \%$ | $5 \%$ |

Both in Samegrelo and Kakheti focus groups, sceptical attitudes were expressed in terms of hiring a babysitter. In spite of the fact that some research respondents are not against hiring a babysitter, some of group participants thinks that women should not let a babysitter bring up children and such respondents stress domination of this opinion in society.

How can I trust someone to bring up my child? You should ask your daughter-in-law to stay home rather than work and bring up her children. This is how it happens here. This opinion is dominant. Children should be brought up by mother and not a babysitter.
[Samegrelo, rural, 36-60, secondary education]
Society thinks that mother should bring up children. Do not trust babysitters to bring up your children. [Kakheti, rural, 36-60, higher education]

Research results show that a career is considered more important for men than for women. However, rather many respondents believe that a career should not be more important than a family neither for woman nor for man (both - 17 percent and neither -32 percent) which once more indicates the particular significance of family for Georgian society. (See chart \#21)

$N=1760$ - Total Sample

Such an environment in Georgian families and traditional perceptions on man's function and woman's duty can be considered a preventive factor to woman's engagement in economic and political activities.

### 5.2.2.2. Woman's and Man's Employment - a Comparative Analysis

Within the scope of both qualitative and quantitative research, public perceptions and attitudes that provoke the low business activity of women, lower salary compared to men and their employment in lower positions were studied. The study was carried out by means of comparing existing perceptions in terms of woman's employment and man's employment.

As a result of the study, several factors have been identified which may become barriers to women's engagement in business activity. Perceptions of research respondents have their roots in stereotypical behaviour patterns of women and men as well as society's established gender roles. Implied are those social or cultural expectations that exist toward women and men in society.

According to one of such well-known statements, men are in greater need of a job in general and at the same time in need of a higher salary. As shown by research results, half of inquired respondents believe that generally, men need employment more than women and only three percent think that women need to have a job more. Forty eight percent of respondents think that men need a higher salary while only two percent declared that women need a higher salary. (See table \#19)

| Table \#19 | Job and high salary - <br> woman or man? (\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Man | Woman | Equally/no <br> difiference | DK / refused <br> to answer |
| In general, who needs to have <br> a job more - a woman or man? | $50 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $47 \%$ | $1 \%$ |
| Who needs to have a higher <br> salary - a woman or man? | $48 \%$ | $2 \%$ | $49 \%$ | $1 \%$ |

It is quite logical that as believed by a rather large part of respondents ( 45 percent), when jobs are scarce, the advantage of employment should be given to men. More men (53 percent) agree with this statement compared to women (38 percent). However, it is also worth noting here that a significant amount of inquired respondents do not share this opinion (11 percent - completely disagree, 39 percent - disagree). (See chart \#22)

## Chart \#22

When jobs are scarce, the advantage of employment should be given to men (\%)

$N=1760$ - Total Sample

Several factors that cause such public perceptions have been identified as a result of the research. These factors mostly relate to public perceptions on the general public functions of men and women and their roles in the family.

It can be concluded that in a broader sense, Georgian society thinks that the public function of a woman is bringing up new generations while a man's function is economic development of the society. Respectively, on a micro level, women fulfil this function by combining the roles of housewife and mother, while men carry out their own duty by means of taking responsibility for thelabor force and being the family breadwinner.

However, such a traditional attitude is not adequate in modern life as man's and woman's functions are not so strictly distributed - as a result of women's emancipation, women took responsibility for society's economic development and began working. At the same time, the desires of women and men are not appropriate for such stereotypes in modern reality - women want to work and do not see themselves only in a family.

Despite the fact that modern reality is not appropriate with traditional views, which regulated the functions of man and woman in society, Georgian public perceptions are still traditional and public morality, which defines what is appropriate and what is inappropriate, evaluates reality in a traditional perspective.

Respectively, arguments explaining why men need jobs and higher salaries more than women are related to these traditional views. Several factors were identified which explain such attitudes:

1. Man is the breadwinner and he must have a job and high salary
2. Woman can realize herself in a family while a career is a field of self-realization for man
3. Man and woman have different nature and skills - man is more successful outside the family

## Man-a Breadwinner

As shown by research results, men need jobs and high salaries more than women, as a man's main function is the financial support of his family. The vast majority of inquired respondents think that man should be the breadwinner in the ideal case ( 88 percent of respondents see man as a breadwinner).

This is verified by qualitative research results. While speaking about the distribution of functions in the family, focus group participants noted that man's main function is the financial support of his family. It was also noted that with the high level of unemployment in modern life, man loses this function, but it is perceived that this function certainly belongs to man.

I think that the financial support of the family is the responsibility of man, bringing up children is the responsibility of both and the rest is the responsibility of woman.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
Both spouses should support the family financially but more should be contributed by the man. Going shopping - man, laundry and cooking- woman, doing housework - woman, taking care of children equally. Man is less involved though he has to help the woman at least by taking the baby for a walk. [Kakheti, urban, 20-35, secondary education]

## Career - Field of Man's Self-Fulfilment

As shown by qualitative research results, work and career are considered as more important for man as woman can realize herself in a family, while man needs more than just a family. Besides, man cannot fully implement self-fulfilment in the family as housework is considered to be a woman's duty and inappropriate work for a man. Even if a man assists his spouse in housework, he is reviewed as the helper, respectively doing housework is not a way for him to achieve self-fulfilment. (See chart \#23)


## Different Nature and Skills of Women and Men

One of the most important arguments to prove that family is a woman's field while man has to look after career is the perception that man has greater potential to achieve success in a career.

As believed, men have more skills to be successful in a career, thus women should take care of the family while men work. It is also believed that the roles of a housewife for woman and breadwinner for man correspond with their skills. People think that men are good at work while women are good at housework and child rearing.

58 percent of inquired respondents declared that men make better business leaders than women. Besides, many respondents think that men fulfil duties at work better than women (36 percent). (See table \#20)

| Table \#20 | Better leader and worker - <br> man or woman? (\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Man | Woman | Equally/no <br> difiference | DK / refused <br> to answer |
| In general, who is a better <br> business leader, woman or man? | $58 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $33 \%$ | $4 \%$ |
| Who fulfils duties better at <br> work - woman or man? | $36 \%$ | $20 \%$ | $40 \%$ | $3 \%$ |

Some respondents also believe that men are usually better at any activity than women. 42 percent of inquired respondents agree with the statement and eight percent completely agree. (See table \#21)

| Table \#21 | Man's advantage in any activity (\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Completely <br> disagree | Disagree | Agree | Completely <br> agree | DK/refused <br> to answer |
| Men are usually better at <br> any activity than women | $6 \%$ | $38 \%$ | $42 \%$ | $8 \%$ | $6 \%$ |

Half of the respondents agree that a man can manage any type of organization better than a woman. Reviewing the results by gender shows that the number of men exceeds the number of women who give advantage to men - 65 percent of men think that a man is a better manager though it is worth noting that 37 percent of women also agree. (See chart \#24)

## Chart \#24

Man usually manages any organizatioin better than woman (\%)


N= 1760 - Total Sample

Another argument that explains the perception of why men need higher salaries is that men in general are more ambitious and will not agree to a low-paid job while woman may agree to a low salary for the same position- this statement is shared by a rather large part of respondents (62 percent). (See table \#22)

| Table \#22 | Men are more ambitious (\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Completely <br> disagree | Disagree | Agree | Completely <br> agree | DK/refused <br> to answer |
| In general, men are more ambitious <br> than women and that's why they will <br> not agree to a low-paid job | $5 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $51 \%$ | $11 \%$ | $8 \%$ |

This notion is verified by qualitative research results as well. Participants of focus groups also expressed an opinion that woman may agree to a low-paid job - different from men.

## Comments of female respondent:

Men will probably refuse to work on the same salary that is paid to women, that's why founders have to pay them more.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
This is the case when women prefer to work and agree to a lower salary.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]

## Objective Conditions and Reality

Research participants believe that environmental factors assist hiring men to higher ranking positions and paying them a higher salary. As believed, in Georgian reality it is easier for men to get a job ( 41 percent), highpaying salary (50 percent) and high ranking position (57 percent). (See table \#23)

| Table \#23 |  | Woman or man? (\%) N=1760 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Qualitative research results show that men are more socially active and have a broader circle of acquaintances which may help them get jobs and start their own businesses more successfully.

I would say that men have more acquaintances than women [...]. Men have more opportunity in this regard. [Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

In case of men and women with equal qualifications, 57 percent of respondents agree that men have a greater chance to get a high ranking position. (See chart \#25)

$N=1760$ - Total Sample

The same tendency is verified by the answers to the question respondents were asked to evaluate according to the following hypothetical scenario: if they had to make a final decision on choosing from female and male candidates with equal qualifications for the position of a high ranking manager, who would they choose? A significant amount of respondents ( 38 percent) think that they would give the advantage to male candidates. More men (49 percent) prefer another man as a high ranking manager. It is worth noting that a number of female respondents also give the advantage to male candidates ( 30 percent). Though a difference is not so crucial in this case - 28 percent of female respondents chose a female candidate for the position of high ranking manager. (See chart \#26)

In case there are male and female candidates with equal qualification, whom would you choose for the position of high rank manager? (\%)


N = 1760 - Total Sample

Several factors that explain preferences of female respondents about choosing either male or female employees for a high ranking position have been identified as a result of qualitative research. In some cases, respondents declared that men have better management skills. A contradictory argument against female bosses is that women are busy taking care of their families and cannot devote enough time to work.

I would choose a man. A woman would have to do housework and may not find enough time. Men have more freedom. [Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

Besides, it was noted that hiring a married woman may not be profitable for an employer as she will not spend extra time on work because of her family and she may also need to take maternity leave.

I think that employers pay attention to this aspect. You may want to work but employers pay attention to whether you are married or not, whether you have children or not. They often prefer to hire single women as employers think that she will have more spare time. Another issue is maternity leave - hiring a woman is more problematic - this is how they think.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
A relatively larger proportion of women choosing women for a high ranking manager position can be explained by the fact that for some women it may be more comfortable to have a subordinated woman than a subordinated man.

If both of them have a similar CV, I would choose a woman. I prefer to work with women. Women are more easy-going. I prefer to talk with women when I am at work.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
I personally feel more comfortable with a woman.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
The following question refers to this issue directly - how comfortable is it for a man to have a woman as his immediate boss? As shown by research results, it turns out that it is less important for a woman whether her boss is a man or woman. The difference in terms of comfort in case of female and male bosses did not appear significant for female respondents. Men appeared to be more sensitive regarding this issue. More men feel comfortable in case of having a man as an immediate boss. (See table \#24)

| Table \#24 | How comfortable would you feel if your immediate boss is...? N=1760 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Male respondents |  | Female respondents |  |
|  | Female boss | Male boss | Female boss | Male boss |
| Completely uncomfortable | 12\% | 2\% | 2\% | 2\% |
| Somewhat uncomfortable | 17\% | 4\% | 7\% | 10\% |
| Somewhat comfortable | 29\% | 35\% | 37\% | 37\% |
| Completely comfortable | 31\% | 49\% | 44\% | 40\% |
| DK/refused to answer | 12\% | 11\% | 9\% | 11\% |

These statements indicate that in Georgian reality, women have to make more effort and encounter more barriers compared to men. Besides, as shown by research results, inquired respondents think that women agree to less (salary or working conditions) compared to men, indicating women's low self-esteem.

### 5.2.2.3. Potentially Successful Business Sectors for Women and Necessary Skills

Within the scope of qualitative research, participants discussed business fields in which women have relatively more potential to achieve success. Focus group participants also discussed skills necessary for a business start-up.

Women's engagement in small business is acceptable for qualitative research respondents. As believed by them, suitable business fields for women are as follows:

- Beauty salon
- Grocery shop
- Apparel/second hand clothes shop
- Home appliance shop
- Trading with cosmetics
- Hotel
- Restaurant/café
- Farm/agro-business
- Private kindergarten
- Outside trading

While discussing different fields of trading, research participants noted that women knows more about certain types of products and are aware of what might be in greater demand (for example, home appliance objects, apparel, etc.). Considering the fact that such type of trading depends on gut feeling rather than special calculations, the skills of women are considered to be an advantage in terms of managing this type of business.

It is worth mentioning that acceptability of one or another activity for women is based on contemporary reality and behaviour patterns women see in their micro society. For example, women see other women around them who manage their own small business and achieve success in this activity. Respectively, such activity becomes acceptable and potentially feasible for them. It is also worth noting that in terms of making influence, examples from women's micro society have more potential than examples on a country or world level. Examples from their social environment make women feel that they can also implement similar business ideas while examples from further distances have less power to influence.

By the way we have two such successful women in Kvareli. Yes, their spouses give them a hand but they manage the whole business. These ladies drive Jeeps and have a hotel, store and restaurant.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]

It is noteworthy, that while women's engagement in small business is considered quite realistic, it was declared that in the case of a large business, men have more potential to be successful. Some respondents stressed the specifics of large business- you may have to resolve disputes with competitors which clearly is a man's prerogative. If a woman manages such a large business, she may need a man's assistance in similar situations.

### 5.3. Woman and Politics

The present subsection covers public attitudes toward women's engagement in politics and is based on both qualitative and quantitative data.

### 5.3.1. Interest in Politics and Civil/Political Activism

Public attitudes and views on certain spheres or issues typically stem from the frequency of public exposure to them, which by itself takes place because of interest in these spheres. Therefore, it was interesting to find out the extent to which research participants were interested in politics and how active they were socially and politically.

Generally speaking, a significant number of the interviewed stated that they were either very much interested or just interested in politics (42 percent). No big difference was noted between men and women - men are only slightly more interested in politics than women (43 percent of men and 41 percent of women) ${ }^{13}$. (See chart \#25)

| Table \#25 | Interest in politics N=1760 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Women | Men |
| Very interested | $6 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $6 \%$ |
| Interested | $36 \%$ | $35 \%$ | $37 \%$ |
| Not interested | $34 \%$ | $35 \%$ | $34 \%$ |
| Absolutely not interested | $23 \%$ | $24 \%$ | $22 \%$ |
| DK/refuse | $1 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $1 \%$ |
| Total | $100 \%$ | $100 \%$ | $100 \%$ |

Regarding civil and political activism of the interviewed, we may say that the level of activism is rather low. Watching/listening to political programs on a regular basis (53 percent) and regularly discussing political issues in an informal setting ( 34 percent) are the most frequent activities.

It should be noted that men are more active in all activities listed below; however the difference between active men and women is insignificant. (See Chart \#26)

[^6]| Table \#26 | Civil/Political Activism N=1760 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Women | Men |
| None | 37\% | 38\% | 35\% |
| Have you ever personally sent a letter to a politician, to a representative of a local, regional or national government | 3\% | 3\% | 3\% |
| Have you participated in meetings on political or educational issues | 5\% | 4\% | 7\% |
| Are you a committee leader or a member of a local organization (in religious, social, educational, cultural or political sphere) | 1\% | 1\% | 2\% |
| Have you sent a letter to a magazine/newspaper editor or have you expressed your opinion in the television/radio | 0\% | 1\% | 0\% |
| Have you addressed a group | 5\% | 3\% | 6\% |
| Have you asked a question at a public meeting | 4\% | 3\% | 5\% |
| Have you sued a company or an organization | 0\% | 0\% | 0\% |
| Have you contributed to any local or national organization (in religious, social, educational, cultural spheres) | 3\% | 3\% | 3\% |
| Do you attend business meetings on a regular basis | 3\% | 2\% | 4\% |
| Have you organized any meeting/gathering (old friends, relatives, people with common interests, etc.) | 5\% | 4\% | 6\% |
| Have you attended a rally/peaceful demonstration on any issue | 8\% | 6\% | 10\% |
| Have you signed a petition | 4\% | 3\% | 5\% |
| Have you expressed an opinion and gotten involved in an online discussion (for instance, in the forum, Facebook, blog) | 2\% | 2\% | 2\% |
| Did you watch/listen to political programs (news programs, analytical programs, political talk-shows) on a regular basis (once in a week or more) | 53\% | 53\% | 54\% |
| Have you discussed political issues in an informal setting with friends and acquaintances | 34\% | 34\% | 35\% |

### 5.3.2. Woman in Politics - Attitudes and Evaluations

### 5.3.2.1. Men and Women in Politics - a Comparative Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative data show that politics is viewed as a man's job. The Georgian public considers that women should only have limited, niche role in politics.

A majority of qualitative research participants consider that politics is more appropriate for men than for women (66 percent), while 61 percent consider that men are better political leaders than women. (See table \#27)

| Table \#27 | Men and Women in Politics (\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly <br> disagree | Disagree | Agree | Strongly <br> agree | DK/refused <br> to answer |
| Men are better political leaders <br> than women | 4 | 31 | 52 | 9 | 4 |
| Politics is more appropriate for men <br> than for women | 3 | 28 | 54 | 12 | 3 |

If seen in the gender context, data show that more men consider men to be better political leaders than women and that politics is more for men. However, it should be noted that a majority of women, though less than men, agree that men are better political leaders ( 56 percent) and that politics is more appropriate for men (56 percent). (See chart \#28)

| Table \#28 | Men and Women in Politics - Gender sample (\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Men are better political leaders than women |  | Politics is more appropriate for men than for women |  |
|  | Women | Men | Women | Men |
| Strongly disagree | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Disagree | 36 | 25 | 35 | 19 |
| Agree | 49 | 56 | 48 | 61 |
| Strongly agree | 7 | 13 | 8 | 16 |
| DK/refuse | 5 | 4 | 5 | 1 |

Qualitative research revealed that men can be more successful in politics and that the proportion of women and men in politics speaks for itself.

Mainly men are more successful in politics. Women are rare, only a couple of women are strong worldwide who have achieved something.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
It is interesting to analyse those factors that have caused such an attitude toward women's involvement in politics. The research identified several factors that help perceive men as superior in politics and make it less appropriate for women.

1. Woman's specific nature - a woman is perceived as a weak person compared to a man
2. Woman busy with household chores
3. The peculiarity of politics
4. Negative attitude of a family member (husband
5. A low possibility of voting for a woman candidate

## Woman's Specific Nature - <br> Perception of a Woman as a Weak Person Compared to a Man

Some arguments, that justify why politics is more appropriate for men, stem from the stereotypes about woman's nature. More than half of those interviewed (54 percent) agree that a female politician is weaker and is reluctant to take responsibilities. A large number of people (47 percent) consider that a woman is weak in nature and politics is not appropriate for her. These arguments are based on an understanding that a woman is weaker than a man and that she cannot deal with difficulties.

The focus group participants were thoroughly discussing what could be considered to be woman's weaknesses. It was noted that woman is gentler emotionally and unlike man takes every problem close to heart. This sensitivity is not viewed as a negative feature, on the contrary, it is perceived as a significant advantage of a woman's nature as it is associated with humanity, care and warmth. However, such feminine features are considered less useful for politics. It is believed that a politician should be less emotional and more firm. A woman's lack of mental abilities, firm character and willpower can also be viewed as woman's weaknesses.

> I also think so. Many men say that "a woman doesn't have brains," meaning that women think less. It is enough for a woman to do 10 things right and one thing wrong that a man will make that mistake a big deal and forget the rest. There are such kinds of men.

## [Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

Women are weak creatures; they think that since we were created from a man's rib we are weaker. [...] [weakness implies] intellectual weakness that we mentioned. I think it also includes physical strength, willpower. A man thinks that he can do more and take more risks, but I don't think so.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
A man, compared to a woman, rarely falls into depression. Thus, a woman takes problems more to heart while a man neutralizes them.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
I also don't think so; they think that we, women are more emotional and can make more bad decisions.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
A cool mind is required for governing a country, and I think that a man has a cooler mind than a woman.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
Arguments about the different nature of women and men are related to charisma as well. Some of those surveyed (44 percent) consider that a political leader should be charismatic, which normally is not a woman's virtue.

Fifty six percent of those surveyed consider that it will be difficult for a woman to withstand the pressure of politics. This argument can be in connection with a woman's weak character on the hand, but on the other hand may be related to an objective reality - a woman is busy with household chores, which is hard to imagine in combination with political activities. (See table 29)

| Table \#29 | Politics is appropriate for women - arguments (\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Agree | Strongly agree | DK/refused to answer |
| A female politician is weaker and is reluctant to take big responsibilities | 4 | 38 | 48 | 6 | 6 |
| A woman is weak in nature and politics is not her job | 5 | 44 | 42 | 5 | 2 |
| A woman will not be able to tolerate the pressure of a political job | 5 | 34 | 50 | 6 | 5 |
| A political leader should be charismatic which is rarely a woman's virtue | 4 | 40 | 39 | 5 | 12 |

When discussing differences between female politicians and male politicians it was noted that men are more socially active and their social contacts help them achieve success in politics.

To start with, men have more contacts. They meet each other at some parties, where they meet other politicians; this might be one of the reasons; such parties for women are rather awkward situations. He solves these issues differently and that is why men have more chances.

## [Kakheti, woman 20-35, higher education]

Although some of those surveyed consider that a woman's soft character is not the reason for her lack of firmness, however quite a large number ( 35 percent) considers that a female politician is gentler than a man and that is why she may be more yielding and less firm. If we assume that not being firm and making concessions are not considered a politician's best virtues, it turns out that women are considered to be relatively bad politicians. (See diagram \#27)


Interestingly, a large number of the interviewed does not agree that if a woman is a strong politician, she by all means loses her femininity. Only 18 percent of the interviewed agree with this opinion. However, the gender sample shows that men agree more with this notion than do women ( 22 percent and 15 percent). Consequently, some men may perceive female politiciansas less feminine, however, women do not agree. (See diagram \#28)


[^7]All arguments mentioned above imply that in the public perception, woman's different character reveals itself negatively in politics.

This does not concern politics in general but only those areas of politics where high-level meetings are held and important decisions are made. A woman's involvement in law enforcement or defence sectors is also less acceptable. Research findings show that the society is in favour of the exclusion of women from such areas of politics.

According to qualitative data, political spheres that are relevant for women are healthcare, culture, environment protection, diplomatic missions, and ambassadorial tasks. Women might play a positive role in conflict resolution, which is explained by a woman's diplomatic character. At the same time it is considered that women may bring forward issues that are less known to or less of a priority for men, while they are crucial for the whole society (for instance, social problems and women's rights).

## Woman's Involvement in the Family

Some arguments about politics not being appropriate for women are related to objective conditions that might prevent women from engaging in politics. For instance, 51 percent of those interviewed consider that it will be difficult for a woman to succeed in politics because of family chores. The objective condition is that a woman has a family that she is obliged to take care of. However, it should be noted that there is a stereotype behind this notion: family is a woman's priority and family, as a value, should be put above career. (See chart \#30)

| Table \#30 | Politics is not appropriate for a woman - arguments (\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly <br> disagree | Disagree | Agree | Strongly <br> agree | DK/refused <br> to answer |
| It will be dificult for a woman to be <br> successful in business because of <br> domestic chores | 5 | 39 | 46 | 5 | 4 |

Also, care for the family is a woman's exclusive responsibility and a man's involvement in family chores is minimal. This makes it difficult for women to find time for activities outside the family, including time for political activity.

Qualitative data show that according to the interviewed, politics requires more time and energy than other jobs. Therefore, it is more difficult to imagine a woman in politics than in other jobs; besides, it is associated with more barriers.

When you are in politics you are out the whole day, and you might not come home even at night. It doesn't matter how much we speak about men and women being equal, this is not the case nowadays. [...] I myself don't want, and am not going to impose this on others, to be out the whole day and run everywhere to solve people's problems. Because I won't be able to do this, this is more a man's job than a woman's.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
To my mind, they think that a woman should be with a child. Politics requires a lot of work; you have to work day and night. Nothing bad will go wrong if a man is not at home; however, this is not a case with a woman. A woman controls everything in the family.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

Do you know what? We need to agree on one thing - what is valuable for whom. For me, my family is valuable. I feel comfortable at home in the evening with my husband and children. Therefore, I don't want to spend the time I spend with my family somewhere doing something I cannot do well and being told by people why don't you stay at home and why do you go there.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
Interestingly enough, women interviewees who consider that it is permissible for a woman to devote a lot of time to career, relate this to a woman's family. Such behaviour of a woman is acceptable because she does it for her children's well-being. It should be noted that a woman's ambition to be successful in a career and aim to achieve self-satisfaction with her own career is not mentioned anywhere. Being successful in a career is directly linked to family's well-being - a woman's goal is to ensure her family's well-being by means of success rather than to be successful in the career itself.

Family means a lot. It means a lot for me to sleep with my children at night. Listening to their breathing is the most pleasant thing to me. But there were cases when you don't spend nights at home because of work. You miss them and it hurts when you know that children miss you, but when you look ahead and think that you can create a better future for your children, I think you can be content with doing such a job." [Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]

This notion is substantiated by data, which show that 23 percent of respondents consider that women should sacrifice family if she wants to achieve success in politics, while only 11 percent consider that men should sacrifice family to achieve success in politics. Thus, we can assume that men unlike women are believed to combine a family and a political career much easier.

This is explained by public perceptions about rights and responsibilities of women and men in the family as well as their social roles. In man's case, care for the family is about financial support, which requires a successful career. In woman's case, care for the family is about household chores, which requires her to stay at home. However, it should be noted that the majority of the interviewed does not agree with none of the statements, which indicates that family is a primary value and refusing it is unacceptable for both women and men. (See chart \#29)


## Peculiarity of Political Activity

Inappropriateness of political activities for women is explained by the peculiarity of political work by some of the interviewees. Fifty four percent of the interviewed consider that politics is a dirty business and is not appropriate for women. (See chart \#31)

| Table \#31 | Politics is inappropriate for women - arguments (\%) $\mathrm{N}=1760$ |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly <br> disagree | Disagree | Agree | Strongly <br> agree | DK/refused <br> to answer |
| Politics is a dirty business and is <br> thus inappropriate for a woman | 5 | 36 | 44 | 10 | 5 |

The qualitative research findings demonstrate that politicians are often criticized and obscene words are used against them. That is why politics is considered to be a rough business and thus inappropriate for women.

I agree that politics suits men better, because politics is a rough business.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

I don't have a desire [to go into politics] as I consider that when you go into politics you lose peace. Because it is impossible to go into politics and remain fully clean. Politics is a very dirty business and it doesn't matter how clean you are there is no way you can come out clean. That is why I think if a person is smart he/she must not go into politics.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
Also, it is considered that in order to get into politics and achieve success one needs to have patrons. Therefore, some women do not have an expectation that they will achieve anything in politics which effects negatively on their motivation.

Money plays a big role in politics, because if you don't have relevant funding it is extremely difficult to come into politics. This is the case nowadays. If you have a strong "back" then you have a big stimuli and success.
Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]

## Negative Attitudes of Family Members (Husband)

Negative attitudes of family members and especially of the husband can be barriers to women's involvement in politics. As it was mentioned in the focus group discussion, after marriage, husbands hamper their wives' activities outside the family because they prefer them to be busy with domestic chores. Here, we go back to a traditional opinion that family should be the main priority for a woman and that the wife should obey her husband's wishes.

She will have to stay at home if she is banned to do things. It doesn't matter who bans - a husband or a family member.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
I had to do with such an issue, when she was actively involved in politics and had a lot of chances but after she got married she quit the work because her husband likes when his wife meets him at home. The thing is also that most men, who support family financially, think that a woman should be at home. But if he doesn't earn that much he is fine if his wife works. [...] That woman was already in politics but gave up.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

It is believed that men can be jealous because female politicians will be surrounded by men. It is also considered that a female politician might not be acceptable for a man because he might find it difficult to get used to the fact that she is more successful than he is.

Nothing will come out; you will be above me, it is not acceptable! You above me?!
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]

It was also noted that a single woman might also face similar problems - from her parents for instance - with regard to her involvement in politics.

A single woman may also have problems in the family. Because of our mentality "you are a woman, what will people say." Many think that there is no place for women in politics and especially for single women. A single woman may also be blocked from doing what she was planning to do.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

## Low Probability of Voting for a Woman Candidate

The fact that women compared to men have lower chances to achieve success in politics can also be explained by the perception of the research participants, who consider that only a few will vote for a female candidate. Even though inquired respondents are not for the exclusion of women from politics and are positive in terms of engagement of women in certain spheres, it is still considered that generally men are more likely to have public support in politics compared to women.

This is determined by all of the factors discussed above: politics is considered inappropriate for women, women are weak and cannot take big responsibilities, women are sensitive and cannot be firm, women are less charismatic and generally, it is better if women spend time with the family.

She has chances but she will not win anyways because of the voters' mentality who think that a woman cannot do anything in politics.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

### 5.3.2.2. Women's Involvement in Politics - Perceived Positive and Negative Sides

A large number of those interviewed positively evaluate women's active involvement in social and political life. Half of the interviewed ( 51 percent) consider that the country will move forward if more women got involved in politics and public life. Also, half of the interviewed ( 50 percent) consider that the country will be better off if more women got involved in politics. However, quite a large number of interviewees found it difficult to answer these two statements. (DK/refused to answer - 22 percent). (See table \#32)

| Table \#32 | Women's involvement in politics (\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \begin{tabular}{l\|c|cc|}
\hline
\end{tabular} | Strongly <br> disagree | Disagree | Agree | Strongly <br> agree | DK/refused <br> to answer |
| A country will be better off if women <br> get more involved in politics and social <br> life | 3 | 25 | 44 | 7 | 22 |
| A country will be better off if more <br> women get involved in politics. | 3 | 25 | 43 | 7 | 22 |

Gender differences regarding women's engagement in politics is significant. Fewer men think that a country will be better off if more women get involved in politics. (See table \#33)

| Table \#33 | Women's involvement in politics - by gender (\%) N=1760 |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Qualitative research participants were talking about the positive aspects of women's involvement in politics. It is believed that woman may bring forward issues in politics that might be less known to or of less priority for a man, while they need to be debated and solved. Such issues may deal with social problems, human rights, women's rights, etc.

A woman can bring up an issue, which might not even come to a man's mind. There are issues which a man cannot notice.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
A woman takes things closer to heart and understands them. She feels the misfortune of a prisoner or a troubled person, takes it to heart. A man may act otherwise and think "who doesn't this happen to." A woman will think - if this happened to my son or to my husband.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
As it was noted above, public is not in favour of the exclusion of women from politics. However, women's involvement in every sphere of politics is not considered relevant. At the same time, the case is not the same with men - there are no spheres in politics where a man can be less successful than a woman. Thus, the political sphere for women is limited; men are capable of achieving success in any political sphere while only certain spheres are appropriate for women. Notably, these spheres do not include high-level positions in politics.

Both men and women give priority to a male presidential candidate. If both a man and a woman have the same virtues, 71 percent of men and 66 percent of women would vote for a male presidential candidate than a female. (See chart \#30).

Who do you imagine as a presidential candidate, a woman or a man? (\%) $\mathbf{N}=1760$

$N=1760$ - total sample

Interestingly, there is no large difference regarding this issue between rural and urban settlements of Georgia.

Interesting arguments were made about why a male is a better presidential candidate. Some interviewees name attributes that a presidential candidate should possess: "robust," "well-built," "strong." Although a president's physical strength does not mean anything in the contemporary world, on an associational level, a male president is able to better "protect" the country and give a greater sense of safety.
[A president] needs to be robust, well-built, athletic and when you see him you should feel that you are protected.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
I would refrain from being a president, but I give other positions to women. I see a man more as a president.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

### 5.3.2.3. Personal Motivation and Stimuli for Involvement in Politics

Women participants of the focus group discussion also discussed their personal motivators for involvement in politics.

It should be emphasized that if we compare women's readiness to engage in business with politics, their engagement in business will be considered much more realistic. While some focus group participants could see themselves in business and at least could imagine working in business, only a few could see themselves in politics. The fact that women have successful examples of other women starting small businesses helps them perceive business as more relevant. There are virtually no female politicians in their surroundings. Also, as mentioned above, involvement in politics has more drawbacks and is associated with more barriers than business.

Those interviewees, who did not want involvement in politics, explained their negative attitude with the following factors:

## 1. Lack of interest in politics

## 2. Lack of belief in her own strength

Political activism is associated with big responsibilities and "meeting public expectations." Some women are afraid to take big responsibilities and believe that they do not have the relevant skills (ambition, strength, firmness, endurance, etc.).

I'm not strong enough to move that work forward; I don't have a wish also.
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]
Here is the simplest explanation; l'm not an ambitious person.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
[It would have been a stimuli] if I believed I could really do what I would commit to. But I don't believe in it much. There is so much dirt in politics that I wouldn't be able to deal with it alone.
[Samegrolo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

## 3. Lack of relevant education

I know what my education is, I know what I was studying and it makes no sense. I will not disgrace myself as well as the people. I wouldn't go and run for elections, ask people to vote for me. If I had a relevant education and if I were confident in myself I wouldn't have given it a thought and would have done what needs to be done.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
4. Politics is considered inappropriate for women

I will never have a desire, I don't like female politicians. I consider that a man should be a politician. [Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]

Motivators of those who wish to get involved in politics are interesting. Some motivators were named by the interviewees; however, those who could not see themselves in politics where discussing those factors that might be motivators for women's engagement in politics in general. The following motivators for involvement in politics were identified:

## 1. A desire to solve basic local problems

## 2. Desire to fight injustice

Political activism is associated with big responsibilities and "meeting public expectations." Some women are afraid to take big responsibilities and believe that they do not have the relevant skills (ambition, strength, firmness, endurance, etc.).

Why would I wish to go into politics ... The only thing our Gamgebeli (Head of Municipality's Executive Body), a so called Gamgebeli, tries to get are votes. I'm 22 years old; I was born in 1988 on September 29th. The next day I was born my parents got divorced and my mother took me to Ateni the same day she left the maternity hospital. As people say since that very day the district does not have running water. [...] I want to change something in my village.

[^8]3. Support of family members

Family's support motivates a woman to go into politics.
I would have dared to do it if I had a strong supporter, my husband or my brother.
[Kakheti, village, 20-35, secondary education]
4. Woman's fighting spirit

Women consider that a big desire and a fighting spirit may be motivators for a woman to go into politics. It is perceived that there are only a few women with a fighting spirit who have potential to achieve success in politics.

### 5.3.3. Woman in Business and Political Activities a Comparative Analysis

The research findings show that is more acceptable for the woman's family, the general public, and the woman herself if she gets involved in business rather than in politics.

The research identified several factors that explain reasons why it is more acceptable for women to be in business.

1. A female politician is always in the spotlight

It is believed that a female politician is always in the spotlight - she meets people and politicians, she might be a guest on TV or radio programs, she might have to make a speech, etc. While in business a woman does not have to be in the spotlight; therefore being in business is more acceptable for the family and especially for the husband. Moreover, it was noted that female politicians are always surrounded by men, as men are the majority in politics. Therefore a husband might not like this; while in business a woman may not have any communication with men.
2. Woman is alone in politics
it is considered that in business, even when initiated by a woman, it is possible to involve other family members, including the husband. Political activity is an individual job where a woman is alone.

The whole family is involved in business while politics sounds different.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
3. Politics is more time-consuming than business

It is believed that politics requires a lot of effort. A female politician should devote a big portion of her time and energy to work, leaving little time for family. In business, a woman will be able to spend more time at home. Some businesses can be managed even from home. Therefore, business is considered to be optimal for women in terms of combining work with family.

## 4. Business is more profitable

It was noted that business is more profitable than politics. Therefore, a woman's family, including the husband, might be more willing to compromise and help a woman start a business as income generated from the business might be attractive for him; whereas this is not the case with woman's involvement in politics.

I think you cannot earn as much in politics as in business.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
5. Politics is a dirty business and it might negatively affect the family's image
as it was noted above, politics is viewed as a dirty business and there is a risk that involvement in politics might affect woman's and subsequently the family's image negatively. In business, the family's image is not threatened. Also, it was noted several times that woman's success in politics might be associated with her loose character. An unsubstantiated rumour may be spread in public that she achieved success in politics at the expense of her loose behaviour, which is not of course desirable for the family.

Many women don't go into politics because they are afraid of being tagged as a loose woman. This does really happen so; excuse me but if you don't go to bed with somebody you won't achieve success.
[Samegrlo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
6. Staring a business is easier than making a political career

It was noted that starting a business might be easier for women than getting into politics. It is believed that a business can be started without specific knowledge, while education is considered to be important in politics.

I would add that going into politics is very difficult and involves a lot more steps than starting your own business. i.e. education might not be required for business at all.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

## 7. It is much easier to succeed in business

It is believed that chances for a woman to achieve success in business (especially small business) are higher than in politics. We may stipulate that the existing reality helps form such perceptions women in their own micro society see successful women in small businesses, while the case is not the same with women and politics. Therefore, real-time examples in women's surroundings make business activities more acceptable for women than political activities.

I think that people are used to the fact the women for so many years have been starting and doing business and it is no longer surprising; they see that a business started by a woman is more successful than that started by a man. I see this and I know many cases.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

After analysing all above mentioned factors, it can be said that some women could imagine themselves in business and know what knowledge would help them launch a business. At the same time, a majority of women could not even imagine themselves in politics. Consequently, delivering certain knowledge to women through trainings might be optimal for business activities; however, regarding women's involvement in politics, it is required that they imagine themselves in business first and then make political activities realistic for them. Knowledge about political activities can be provided only after this consciousness is developed.

### 5.3.4. Woman's Self-Perception and Self-Esteem

Women's low self-esteem and lack of belief in their own strengths were named often during qualitative research as barriers to involvement in politics and business.

Not only objective factors (for instance, lack of knowledge or experience) and public attitudes (for instance, managers' reluctance to hire women for high-level positions) are barriers for women but also their selfperception and the belief that they cannot achieve the same success as men outside the family. Lack of ambition is also related to low self-esteem, which reportedly prevents women from being active.
[Women] don't want to be the first in work to be noticed ...
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
Because we consider ourselves weaker; otherwise you can work anywhere you want with your education.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
Georgian women have always had an inferiority complex, a fear that if I go they will laugh at me.
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]
They don't consider themselves that strong while they may turn out to be in reality, I think.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
Women believe in stereotypes and beliefs that exist in the society about women.
It can be assumed that women's self-perception to some extent is linked with their status and situation in the family discussed above.

When the opinion that a woman should work at home and it is not natural or desirable for her to work actively outside the home dominates, it definitely affects women's self-esteem.

A society that tells a woman how to live and what to strive for (she should be a good housewife and mother), and also demands from her to set aside her interests in order to comply with that ideal, helps create a feeling that women can be successful only in the family. That is why they have low self-esteem and low expectations of themselves outside the family.

Low self-esteem, as often mentioned, hampers women's engagement in politics and business.
Research participants noted that it is of crucial importance to have high self-esteem and belief in your abilities in order to get involved in politics or business. A woman's fighting spirit and determination are crucially important not only for her involvement in politics but also for overcoming barriers that may exist in case of her family's scepticism. However, it is considered that without the family's support only several can achieve anything, which once again underscores the role of the family as an influential social institution in Georgian society.

If the family won't support you to go into politics you'll have to either refuse or fight for it. When you have support then you are good to go.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
If you have a fighting spirit you can succeed, otherwise, you'll sit at home.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

Research participants also note that early marriage, when a woman is not yet professionally developed, can be a barrier to women's involvement in politics. It is believed that if a woman is active before marriage and is involved in various activities, the odds are that she will remain active even after marriage. Those women who get married without any work experience are less motivated to get involved in activities outside the family. Moreover, family responsibilities do not allow a married woman to devote time to a career. Some interviewees speak about women's attitudes and values - a married woman who has never worked has different priorities in life. She views family as the only place for self-realization and does not have the desire to try her hand in other areas of life.

Those who are used to it and were active before marriage stay active; [...] It is somewhat difficult to start something after you get married as you are concentrating on something else.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
I think that those who can't get established and are not active before marriage will remain the same. A person is free before marriage, she can go everywhere, do something; but when you go into your shell after marriage it means that you are not strong.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
Women should certainly have free choice between family and career. Some women might prefer to realize themselves in the family and devote their time to it. However, if a woman is not able to try her hand in other areas besides family, she might not have the desire to try activities other than domestic work. Consequently, it turns out that a woman does not have an opportunity to choose, as in her perception the only option she has in life is the family. Furthermore, society considers that a woman's major function is to be a good mother and a good housewife and thus promotes and rewards women's aspirations in this direction. In such a situation a woman normally tends to direct her efforts in this direction (to be a good mother and a housewife). Moreover, society punishes/criticizes women for not fulfilling this role and also does not reward or encourage them for fulfilling it well. This is because being a mother/housewife is viewed as a woman's fundamental function that she must fulfil by all means and is not considered a special achievement. Consequently, it can be said that social values create a certain pressure that both directly (when a woman wants to but can't realize herself outside the family) and indirectly (impacting a woman's consciousness by discouraging her from being active outside the family) has a negative impact on women's involvement in business and politics.

Interviewee self-esteem was also studied quantitatively by asking them to evaluate certain statements. Respondents were evaluating their satisfaction with life as well. Evaluation was made on a seven point scale where seven meant agree and one meant disagree.

An analysis of the average scores shows that both women and men evaluate their self-esteem and satisfaction with life below average. There is virtually no difference in number by gender. (See chart \#34)

| Table \#34 | Self-esteem and satisfaction with life (average score) |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Self-esteem (N=1760) | Woman | Man |  |
| I can achieve more in life | 4.7 | 4.9 |  |
| I know what I want to achieve in life and do everything for it | 4.7 | 4.9 |  |
| My opinion is quite important for people in my surroundings | 5.5 | 5.5 |  |
| I feel that people in my surroundings respect me | 5.8 | 5.8 |  |
| I consider that I don't have much to be proud of | 4.1 | 4.1 |  |
|  | Satisfaction with life (N=1760) | Woman | Man |
| My life is somewhat close to my ideal | 4.1 | 4.0 |  |
| My living conditions are great | 3.9 | 3.7 |  |
| 'm satisfied with my life | 4.3 | 4.1 |  |
| I have everything major l've wished for so far | 4.0 | 3.8 |  |
| I wouldn't have changed anything if I had to start a new life | 3.9 | 3.8 |  |

If we analyse percentages/frequencies of quantitative data on self-esteem and satisfaction with life, the gender difference will become more vivid. Although the difference between the genders is not significant, a general tendency is clear that women are slightly more satisfied with life while men have slightly higher selfesteem.

| Table \#35 |  | Self-esteem and satisfaction with life (\%) ( $\mathrm{N}=1760$ ) |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \# | Self-esteem | Agree (7.6 and 5 points) |  | Do not agree (3.2 and 1 points) |  | Neither agree nor disagree |  |
|  |  | Woman | Man | Woman | Man | Woman | Man |
| 1 | I can achieve more in life | 63 | 71 | 27 | 19 | 10 | 10 |
| 2 | I know what I want to achieve in life and do everything for it* | 63 | 69 | 25 | 19 | 13 | 12 |
| 3 | My opinion is quite important for people in my surroundings* | 85 | 87 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| 4 | I feel that people in my surroundings respect me* | 92 | 89 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 6 |
| 5 | I consider that I don't have much to be proud of | 52 | 52 | 39 | 34 | 7 | 11 |
| \# | Satisfaction with life | Agree |  | Do not agree |  | Neither agree nor disagree |  |
|  |  | Woman | Man | Woman | Man | Woman | Man |
| 1 | My life is somewhat close to my ideal* | 52 | 51 | 36 | 37 | 12 | 12 |
| 2 | My living conditions are great | 47 | 42 | 41 | 46 | 12 | 13 |
| 3 | I'm satisfied with my life* | 56 | 53 | 32 | 37 | 12 | 9 |
| 4 | I have everything major l've wished for so far * | 48 | 42 | 37 | 43 | 14 | 15 |
| 5 | I wouldn't have changed anything if I had to start a new life * | 44 | 38 | 43 | 46 | 13 | 15 |

*In case of these statements data are not statistically significant and it is not recommended to generalize the whole population.

Several assumptions can be made to explain the given data:
The slightly higher level of women's satisfaction with life can be explained with the fact that women are more satisfied with what they have and do not have ambition to achieve more. The public attitudes toward women that were discussed above helps make women less ambitious. While men are not satisfied with what they have and aspire for more (I can achieve more in life - men 71 percent, women - 63 percent; I know what I want to achieve in life and will do everything for it - men 69 percent, women - 63 percent).

Also, women's high satisfaction with life (l'm satisfied with life - women 56 percent, men - 53 percent; my living conditions are great - women 56 percent, men - 53 percent; So far, l've achieved everything major I wished for in life - women 48 percent, men 42 percent) can be explained by the traditional Georgian opinion according to which in Georgian society, women can realize themselves in the family while men, given nowadays the high unemployment rate, are limited in their opportunity to realize themselves in their traditional field - a career.

This discussion is supported by data about marital status. More married women consider that their life is close to their ideal one compared to single women (married - 59 percent, single - 41 percent). Also more married women are satisfied with their lives (married - 63 percent, single - 46 percent).

### 5.4. General Public Attitudes, Stereotypes and Beliefs

The following subchapter reviews public attitudes toward different issues that directly or indirectly relate to the perception of women's role and status in Georgian society and influence their everyday life or lifetime success. The results of quantitative as well as qualitative research are represented in the subchapter.

### 5.4.1. Freedom of Women and Men Social Activities and Private Life

As study results demonstrate, men are more free in Georgian society than women. "More freedom" of men and correspondingly, the limitations on women's freedom finds its expression in everyday life, lifestyle, life planning and other similar details. Men are considered as more free both inside and outside of the family.

For instance, according to the qualitative study results, in the opinion of female participants, it is acceptable for men to be in the street at night, whereas similar behaviour is less acceptable for women. It is common for men to have an active social life (for instance, frequent and lengthy feasts), while similar behaviour by women might cause negative comments in the community toward her.

It is considered that men unlike women are "forgiven" for more. For instance, society is more tolerant of men cheating, whereas women cheating on men is unacceptable.

## Comments of female respondents:

They should be equal but as I see by their behavior men turn out to be more free. [Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

Woman cannot make such decisions, she still asks her husband. I will not allow myself to make a decision unless I ask a man. It is similar in everything.

## [Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]

Have you seen a woman freely anywhere during nighttime? [...] if you go outside walking, people will say "what is she doing here at night". [Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education] There is one village in Samegrelo where it is shameful for a woman to go outside of her yard. It is massively like this in one village.

## [Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]

Does it suit me, for instance, to drink like a man for two days in a restaurant?! And isn't it forgiven to men? Sometimes my husband might not be able to call me, being there, but I call him and I know that he couldn't think of this. Because he is still a man and we know that men are forgiven for some things. But I would not do this. Will it be pretty, girls, if you see me sitting in a restaurant for example?
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
I don't understand and I cannot figure out why men are allowed to cheat before marriage or after marriage and women are not? I've heard from many women, so what, he's a man!
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, higher education]

It is interesting that woman pretending not to see man cheating might partly be considered woman's honour - women forgives men in order to maintain a family and be a good mother. This type of behaviour is further encouraged by the fact that society does not assess men cheating as particularly unacceptable behaviour, whereas women cheating on men are heavily judged.

What is forgiven to a man and might not seem as bad - is not forgiven to a woman, particularly if she has the ambition to be a good mother [...] Your husband might cheat on you, but you cannot cheat on him. You know why? You must be a role model for your children. [...] Mother's strength is also expressed in this. [Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]

The quantitative study confirms the same. According to the opinion of a majority of respondents, men are more free than women (1) in planning a private life, (2) in defining their future and (3) in choosing a profession. Herewith, it is generally considered that the rights of women and men are not equally protected in Georgia 52 percent of respondents share this opinion. In all four statements, there is no particular difference by gender. (See table \#36)

| Table \#36 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I agree with statement I |  | I agree with statement II |  | Both | None | Don't know |
| Women in Georgian society are more free in planning their private life than men | 18\% | 62\% | Men in Georgian society are more free in planning their private life than women | 17\% | 2\% | 2\% |
| Women in Georgian society are more free in defining their future than men | 18\% | 54\% | Men in Georgian society are more free in defining their future than women | 24\% | 2\% | 2\% |
| Women in Georgian society are more free in choosing a profession than men | 22\% | 40\% | Men in Georgian society are more free in choosing a profession than women | 33\% | 2\% | 3\% |
| Rights of women and men are equally protected in Georgia | 30\% | 52\% | Rights of women and men are not equally protected in Georgia | 13\% | 2\% | 4\% |
| $N=1760$ - Total sample |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Study results show that there are quite distinct behaviour models in accordance with which women are "required" to live in Georgian society. These models tackle everyday activities (for instance, women smoking cigarettes or consuming strong alcohol) as well as decisions in private life (for instance, living alone or getting married).

The existence of role models is in itself a common practice and which particular behaviour is and is not acceptable is perceived differently in different cultures. However, it is interesting that acceptable behaviour models are different for women and men in Georgian society.

As study results demonstrate, society's perceptions of acceptable or unacceptable activity for both women and men are different for different genders. Generally, it turned out that large amount of respondents consider almost all named activities unacceptable ("is not acceptable at any age"). Here as well it should be noted that either this or that activity is more unacceptable for women than for men. For instance:

A half of the population (50 percent) does not consider it acceptable for a woman to consume strong alcohol and only 10 percentdo not consider it acceptable for a man. Smoking a cigarette is unacceptable for a woman for 77 percent of respondents, and 41 percent of respondents say that smoking a cigarette is unacceptable for a man.

Living apart from parents before marriage and cohabitation with a partner out of wedlock is also more unacceptable for a woman than for a man ( 42 percent of women and 30 percent of men; 57 percent of women and 45 percent of men).

As for having sexual relations before marriage, in this case as well higher share of respondents consider similar activity unacceptable for a woman (68 percent) than for a man (31 percent). (See table \#37)

| Table \#37 |  |  |  | Acceptable age for activities for a man and a woman |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| From what age is it acceptable for a woman and a man...(\%) $\mathrm{N}=1760$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | Consuming strong alcohol |  | Smoking a cigarette |  | Living apart from parents before marriage |  | Having sexual relations before marriage |  | Getting married |  | Cohabit without marriage |  |
|  | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M |
| Is not acceptable at any age | 50 | 10 | 77 | 41 | 42 | 30 | 68 | 31 | 0 | 0 | 57 | 45 |
| Before 18 | 10 | 19 | 4 | 11 | 11 | 14 | 6 | 29 | 13 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| 19-25 | 28 | 61 | 8 | 40 | 31 | 43 | 10 | 29 | 84 | 74 | 15 | 27 |
| 26+ | 6 | 9 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 22 | 10 | 10 |
| Don't know / refuse to answer | 5 | 1 | 10 | 4 | 12 | 7 | 14 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 15 | 10 |

Woman giving birth to a baby without getting married is related to the issue of freedom and acceptable behaviour for a woman.

Study results show that a majority of the Georgian population does not consider it expedient for a woman to give birth to a baby as a single parent. The share of respondents that do not justify a woman's desire to give birth without getting married totals 62 percent. (See table \#38)

| Table \#38 | Woman as a single <br> parent (\%) <br> N=1760 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Women | Men |
| Justified | 25 | 27 | 22 |
| Not justified | 62 | 61 | 63 |
| Depends on circumstances | 11 | 10 | 11 |
| Don't know | 2 | 2 | 3 |

The attitudes of inhabitants of urban and rural settlements of Georgia have quite different perceptions regarding this issue. The attitude of residents of rural areas is more skeptical -76 percent of them do not justify the desire of a woman to give birth to a baby outside of wedlock, while the share of urban residents is comparatively smaller, however still quite large (50 percent).

| Table \#38.1 | Woman as a single parent - <br> by rural and urban <br> settlements (\%) N=1760 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Urban | Rural |
|  | 25 | 35 | 13 |
| Justified | 62 | 50 | 76 |
| Not justified | 11 | 12 | 9 |
| Depends on circumstances | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |

## Behaviour of a Woman and a Man outside the Family Social Activities at Leisure Time

In the framework of quantitative research, the behaviour of men and women in their leisure time in everyday life was studied. In particular, information on social activities that both women and men are occupied with during their free time was obtained. Study results show that both women and men are characterized by a low intensity of social activities. However, as expected men are more active outside the family than women.

As a result of the study, it turned out that women in comparison to men refer to such pleasurable spending of time as going to a restaurant, beer bar/"Sakhinkle" bar or café/bar less frequently. In terms of frequency of going to such places, the share of women who never refer to such activities is much higher than that of men. Going to clubs and discos is almost equally unpopular among women and men.

An almost equal share of women (40 percent) and men (44 percent) attend a feast with their relatives, friends or neighbours at least once a month. Nine percent of men almost always refer to the abovementioned activity and four percent of women. (See chart \#31)

## Chart \#31



Among the means for self-care and healthy lifestyle, the beauty salon is most frequently visited. Twenty eight percent of women and 32 percent of men visit a beauty salon at least once a month. (See chart \#32)

## Chart \#32

Self-care and healthy lifestyle


N=1760 - Total sample

Two percent of men almost always participate in sport games; however, it should be mentioned that unlike women whose absolute majority ( 99 percent) almost never refer to the abovementioned activity, in 19 percent of men, different frequency of activity is notable. As for attendance, it turned out that thirty one percent of men attend sporting events at least with some frequency whereas only five percent of women do the same.

An equal number of men and women go hiking, to excursions and picnics at least once a year. (See chart \#33)


Sporting activities and relaxing


Both men and women go to concerts, theatres and movie theatres with equal proportion at least once a year. With the analogical frequency, fewer men go to museums/exhibitions and galleries (three percent) than women (seven percent) (See chart \#34).

## Cultural activities



## $N=1760$ - Total sample

Hanging out with neighbours at 'Birzha'14 is more typical to men. Men (32 percent) reported that they almost always talk to neighbours at 'Birzha', whereas 61 percent of women do not refer to this activity at all. Visiting neighbours or friends is equally popular both among women and men. Both genders refer to this activity quite often - almost always (22-22 percent). (See chart \#35)

## Chart \#35

## Interaction and Communication



[^9]
### 5.4.2. Property Rights

According to the wide-spread opinion in Georgian society, most of the parents' property is given to a son and not to a daughter. Research confirms this spread opinion - quite a high number of respondents believe that a major part of the parents' property or even the whole property should be given to a son. A significant share of respondents supports equality and thinks that parents' property should be divided equally between the son and daughter. However, the number of people who believe that a major part of parents' property should be given to a daughter is very small.

There was no big difference noticed between different components of the parents' property. All types of property are considered as property of a son. The only exception refers to jewellery (daughter should be given a major part of it - eleven percent, the daughter should be given all of it - three percent) in comparison to other types of property where the tendency of preferring sons or equal division is detected (See table \#39).

| Table \#39 | How should parents' property be divided between son and daughter?(\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Parents' house | Land | Jewellery | Cash, car, other mobile property |
| Should be given completely to a son | 42 | 31 | 7 | 14 |
| Major part should be given to a son | 14 | 16 | 12 | 16 |
| Should be divided equally | 44 | 50 | 67 | 66 |
| Major part should be given to a daughter | 0 | 1 | 11 | 3 |
| Should be given completely to a daughter | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Don't know/refuse to answer | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |

Arguments explaining similar attitudes were voiced during qualitative research. Giving property to a son is a Georgian tradition based on the idea that family property should be given to a man which is compensated with dowry for a woman. At the same time, in case of marriage, the woman becomes the "owner" of a spouse's property that her husband inherits from his parents in accordance with custom. However, this "ownership" is more considered as a right to consume (live in the house, use things) and hardly implies its governance in case of divorce.

It should be mentioned that tradition of leaving a major part of the property to a son is so solid that even women do not consider it proper to dispute over their brothers' property.

## Comments of female respondent:

I think that the son should be given more, everything my father left belongs to his son. I would not take what my father left for him. I do not want my brother's property to be shared with me.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
I also think that my dowry given to me was my property.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
It depends on the condition and means of subsistence. If you have enough you can divide between both, if not, more should probably be given to a son.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
We sold our house in Gali, I have sister-in-law and we symbolically...my husband symbolically gave her $\$ 300$. She had no complaints. I would be very offended if she had and I as well do not want anything from my brother's house even if they sell it, I do not want even one Tetri.

## [Samegrelo, urban, 36-50, higher education]

I have a house in a village and a flat in a city and it happened somehow that I have it in the my daughter's name. It does not matter whose name it is in, but my son asked me several times why it is in Salome's name? Therefore he thinks that he has a house in a village, and that both belong to him. Now, I have never said at home that it all belongs to a son, but I guess he still thinks that it still belongs to him.
[Samegrelo, urban, 36-50, higher education]
Dividing property, unfortunately it was in Georgia that when a daughter is married and leaves for her new home, that is where her property is. Whether it is bedroom furniture, a dowry or others - whatever was sent to her but now as I notice...everything was given to a son: house, land or whatever it was.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]

An interesting opinion was voiced during the focus groups related to attitudes existing toward daughters in a Georgian family. As study results demonstrate, there is some type of alienation from daughters in terms of not perceiving them as a steady part of a family as they will get married and leave the home. There were such statements voiced referring to daughters, such as "daughter is another's," "daughter will leave anyway," and "daughter is having another's child," which confirms the above mentioned. Furthermore, there is an opinion that what parents do for their daughter is considered to be a contribution to the family she will move in with after marriage.

What is forgiven to a man and might not seem as bad - is not forgiven to a woman, particularly if she has the ambition to be a good mother [...] Your husband might cheat on you, but you cannot cheat on him. You know why? You must be a role model for your children. [...] Mother's strength is also expressed in this. [Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]

At the same time there is an opinion that a man's parents should accept their son's spouse as their own daughter, which could be considered "compensation" for alienating a daughter from her own family.

### 5.4.3. Right of Education

As study results demonstrate, Georgian society tends to support equality in the right of education. A majority of respondents ( 72 percent) do not share the opinion that "university education is more important for a boy than for a girl". However, some share of the population (26 percent) thinks that men need higher education more. (See chart \#36)


More respondents (79 percent) think that secondary education is necessary for both a girl and a boy. Correspondingly, fewer (20 percent) think that secondary education is more important for a boy than for a girl. (See chart \#37)

$N=1760$ - Total sample

Qualitative research implied an in-depth study of factors that might explain similar opinions. One of the named arguments for more importance of education for a boy was related to a man's breadwinner role. It is considered that an adult male must take on the function of financially ensuring a family's success; consequently education is more necessary for him because it is a prerequisite to finding a job.

However, there are quite interesting results of one more extra question: respondents were asked about a hypothetical situation which sounds as follows: please imagine that a family has two children - a boy and a girl, and they can afford to pay the fee for higher education for only one of them. If it were you, who would you pay for?

On the above-mentioned question 44 percent of respondents answer that they would pay fee for a boy, 22 percent considers it more proper to pay for a girl. It should be noted that making such a decision is not an easy task for a parent.Respondents found it difficult to answer this question -indicated by a high rate of refuse to answer (don't know/refuse to answer - 22 percent). (See chart \#38)

## Chart \#38

Would you pay higher educatin fee for a girl or for a boy? (\%)

$N=1760$ - Total sample

## Comments of female respondent:

In my case they paid for my brother, they said he is still a boy, man and has more opportunities. Back then I thought that this is how it was necessary but now when I think back, this was not a correct decision.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]
In this case parents are egoists, the son stays with them and they think that a daughter will get married, so her husband will teach her if he wants to.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education]

Interestingly, some respondents who consider higher education more important for a boy were noting that they would pay for a girl. This attitude was explained in the qualitative research - there is an opinion that a boy is more active by character and he might be able to independently finance his own education, whereas a girl will not manage to find the necessary amount for education without parents' financial support.

There was also an opinion voiced that education for a girl is important in order to marry her "profitably."

### 5.4.4. "Gender Equality" - Perceived Meaning and Attitudes

Quantitative as well as qualitative research implied a study of the essence that gender equality carries for Georgian society.

Despite the fact that 21 percent of respondents found it difficult to answer the question "in your opinion what does gender equality mean/what is it associated with", for 63 percent gender equality is associated with equal rights for men and women. Every tenth respondent relates the gender equality issue to equal rights in the family.

In quite a few cases, some male respondents perceive gender equality as a "senseless obsession" and "exaggerated problem." (See table \#40)

| Table \#40 | „Gender equality ${ }^{\text {c (\%) }}$ (\% $=1760$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Female | Male | All |
| It is associated with equal rights for men and women | 67.0\% | 60.0\% | 63.8\% |
| I don't know/hard to answer | 20.1\% | 22.6\% | 21.3\% |
| It is associated with equal rights in the family | 9.5\% | 10.2\% | 9.8\% |
| It is associated with highlighting women's rights | 2.5\% | 4.7\% | 3.5\% |
| It is associated with the activity of less feminine women | 0.2\% | 0.8\% | 0.5\% |
| It is associated with the activity of men's rights | 0.1\% | 0.7\% | 0.4\% |
| It is associated with feminism | 0.5\% | 0.0\% | 0.3\% |
| It is a senseless obsession/exaggerated problem | 0.0\% | 0.7\% | 0.3\% |
| It is associated with liberal democracy | 0.0\% | 0.3\% | 0.1\% |

As for the qualitative study results, for focus group participants gender equality implies equal rights for men and women. However, it is considered that in these terms, there is no gender equality in Georgia.

Equalizing women and men in terms of rights, even in terms of equal say in the family, equal expression of opinion, no discrimination of women and men at work. [Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, higher education] The lion's whelp is a lion, be it male or female. We should have equal rights.
[Kakheti, rural, 36-50, higher education]
Equal rights of women and men in the family and everywhere else in the society.
[Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]
I have an association that it is not like this nowadays. In essence it should be equal in everything.
[Samgrelo, rural, 20-35, secondary education]
There are many families in Georgia where women become victims of violence because they have no right to express their opinions and men do not give them the opportunity to have a say, to express their opinions which men would then consider.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
Gender equality means equal rights for women and men, when both women and men are equally involved in societal and political life. Not only in the wider society but in the family as well they equally make decisions, have equal rights and obligations, and responsibilities are divided equally.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]

It is interesting and considerable that as qualitative study results demonstrate, "gender equality" might carry a negative connotation. For some respondents, these words are associated with overactivity and in some cases aggressive activity of women.

It might be surprising, but this word gender annoys me and I have argued many times with my friends despite the fact that I think that women's rights should be protected, they should be more respected vis-à-vis men's and so on. We are equal as said in the Bible "one soul one flesh," but still in terms of tradition the word gender annoys me and reminds me of aggressive women.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
Generally there is gender equality in our surroundings. It is not catastrophically worrying for us. When we watch Muslim countries on TV, we can see that they are in greater need. We do not want to completely fall into feminism, we, Georgian women, are living very normally, we are not limited.
[Kakheti, rural, 36-50, higher education]
It was also noted that men might have a negative attitude toward "gender equality." It is considered that in some men it may cause irony, a cynical attitude and even aggression.

It is important that while talking about gender equality, some female research participants noted that there is no necessity for equality between women and men in everything, especially in cases relating to Georgian traditional perceptions on the functions and obligations of men and women. In this case, some argue that women and men are naturally different and there is no need to reject this difference. Here we are probably dealing with a misunderstanding of gender equality - some understand gender equality not as a provision of equal opportunities and rights for women and men, but as mixing traditional functions of men and women and establishing inappropriate female and male behaviour models.

However, it should be mentioned that some women do not wish equality with men at all. They think that a man is primary, that he should stand before a woman and that a woman must obey him. This obedience is compensated by man's role as protector and carer for woman. Correspondingly, it turns out that a woman is obliged to obey a man and "stand behind his back" in return for his protection and care. It is interesting that whilst expressing similar opinions, some of the research participants were using wide-spread religious attitudes as arguments.

I hold back and [think that] men's opinion should be respected, as they were created earlier and thus they are primary.
[Kakheti, rural, 36-50, higher education]
Man should be one step ahead, he should be a protector.
[Kakheti, urban, 36-50, higher education]
We still have some esteem towards men, everyone needs a strong back.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
However, I hereby note that I do not want us to have equal rights in everything. I do not want him to do for instance something at home, things that I am supposed to be doing. I prefer to do it myself. Furthermore I do not want to get involved in his business and do his job or him to do mine.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
Whether we want this or not and no matter how much we talk here, men will always be primary [...] At the end this is how it is - that a man is the head of the family as written in the Bible. We cannot change this no matter how much we talk.
[Kakheti, urban, 20-35, higher education]
My husband is still a husband and a head and I want to stand behind him and have him standing ahead of me. I don't know why, I don't know what to call this. This is the way I want.
[Samegrelo, urban, 36-50, higher education]
I have a 4 year old boy, Andria and 2 year old girl, Ana. [Both of them were going to drink water] And my boy referred to me and asked to drink water first and I told him - 'your sister is a girl and younger than you.' And Andria asked me in return: why, in the church boys go first and get Eucharist first. So there is something internal, right? I never had this conversation before that this is his... but he says that it is. Where is it coming from?
[Samegrelo, urban, 36-50, higher education]

### 5.4.5. Legislative Initiatives - <br> Man's Parental Leave and a Quota-Based System

In the framework of research, the population's attitudes toward several legislative issues were assessed. More specifically, attitudes toward men's paternal leave and a quota-based system were studied.

## Man's Parental Leave

Study results show that the majority of Georgian population is not aware of the existence of a law which gives men a right to parental leave ( 69 percent - no, 22 percent - don't know). Herewith, the majority of respondents ( 46 percent) do not consider the existence of this law necessary. In these terms there is no difference noted between the attitudes of female and male respondents - 47 percent of male respondents and 46 percent of female respondents do not consider it necessary to regulate the issue of men's parental leave by law. (See table \#41)

| Table \#41 |  | Man's Parental Leave (\%) N=1760 |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Is there such law? | Is it necessary to have such law? |  |
| Yes | 10 | 43 |  |
| No | 69 | 46 |  |
| DK | 22 | 10 |  |

Research participants were also assessed by the extent of their support for a law according to which giving parental leave both for women and men would be compulsory. An absolute majority of respondents consider it necessary to oblige the employer to give parental leave to women. Only 41 percent consider parental leave for men necessary. (See table \#42)

| Table \#42 | It is compulsory for an employer to give parental leave (\%) $\mathrm{N}=1760$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | For women | For men |
| Yes | 94 | 41 |
| No | 3 | 50 |
| DK / refuse to answer | 3 | 9 |

## Quota-based Systems

Research participants were expressing their opinions on different legislative initiatives implementation, which ensures gender balance in some countries.

A majority of research participants (67 percent) support a quota-based system, according to which a certain number of women must be present in parliament. Two thirds of respondents ( 65 percent) support a quota-based system according to which a certain number of women must be present in a political party. Many respondents (63 percent) also support a quota-based system according to which a certain number of women must be present in high executive positions. Every three out of four respondents positively assess the existence of such laws that ensure an equal salary for women and men holding the same position.

It should be mentioned that in all above mentioned initiatives, more women than men express a positive opinion.

Based on study results it can be said that generally women's involvement in different activities is positively considered and that the exclusion of women is not considered proper. However, it is important to note that in terms of involvement, correspondingly to the formulation of the sentence, it relates to a certain number of women and not an equal proportion. (See table \#43)

| Table \#43 <br> Legislation regulating gender balance $\mathbf{N = 1 7 6 0}$ |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Do you support a quota-based system according to which: | Yes | NoDK / refused <br> to answer |  |
| A certain number of women must be present in parliament? | $67 \%$ | $21 \%$ | $12 \%$ |
| A certain number of women must be present in a political party? | $65 \%$ | $20 \%$ | $14 \%$ |
| A certain number of women must be present in high executive positions? | $63 \%$ | $23 \%$ | $14 \%$ |
| Are you for laws which ensure an equal salary for women and men holding the same position? | $77 \%$ | $10 \%$ | $13 \%$ |

### 5.4.6. Changes in Perception

Participants of qualitative research discussed changes which took place in society's perception of women's and men's functions.

In terms of positive changes, research participants discussed the increasing freedom of women in modernity. Despite the numerous abovementioned problems, it was noted that nowadays, a woman has more possibility to express her opinion. It was mentioned that in young families, women express their opinions more freely.

They do not feel as tense as before, now you can have your own say.
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]
It has relatively changed, women have more rights in going out and having their say loudly.
[Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]
If before you did not have a right to object, now at least you have a right to express an opinion.
[Samegrelo, rural, 20-35, higher education]
If I dared what my children can dare with my husband now l'd go crazy. There was understanding, conversation, distance and now these children are so close to husbands. That is what a husband should be like, they are very loving.
[Samegrelo, rural, 36-50, higher education]
It was also noted that in modernity in comparison to old times there are more cases when men are doing family chores or split responsibilities of bringing up children. It is true that these types of man's activities have no systemic character but in comparison to prior times change is taking place.

Back then preparing meal was probably unimaginable for men. Except being Tamada, there was nothing allowed for men, I guess, also taking care of children, a lot has changed. Young men of today's generation adjusted to this, I do not know whether respect and attention to their wives or family condition brought this forth.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]

Whilst talking about changes it was noted that different social activities of women are now more acceptable. Some group participants mentioned about women drivers, fewer limits for dressing style, and acceptance of women smoking.

Back then, a woman driver was associated with a whore but not today. Back then women in trousers were some kind of...but not today. Everybody is wearing trousers, also in terms of smoking cigarettes.
[Samegrelo, rural, 36-50, secondary education]
Husbands put trousers on their wives, it is good, they became adjusted, wives started driving, good, adjusted. Now husbands sit next to their wives so that women can drive and they can drink.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
When I saw a woman smoking in my childhood-oh my god, how...this was something surprising...but now...
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]
It was noted that women combining the role of breadwinner or in some cases completely taking this role, in some sense encouraged an increase in their freedom. Although it is still considered that in today's society, men are more free than women, focus group participants noted that financial independence (in some cases men dependent on them) gave them more freedom. However, it should be mentioned that an employed woman is not as free as an employed man and society does not consider it correct for an employed woman to behave as freely as a man.

Women were more strengthened by difficulties. Our mode of life gave them more strength.
[Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]
It should be noted that whilst some women positively assess existing changes and consider that more change is necessary for equalizing women's and men's opportunities, some women also see a negative side to the changes. In some cases, changes are perceived as a threat to Georgian traditional values which form the basis of Georgian society and define national identity.

Civilization has entered but [...] there was more honesty before than today.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
Freedom and independence should not be understood as unbridleness, it should not turn into immorality and lack of culture.
[Kakheti, urban, 36-50, higher education]
If it depended on me this is how I would change, men should be employed and women should be at home. If they want for their own pleasure, they can go and work. [...] Now women are obliged to work whether they want to or not. If this changed it would be better, on the contrary, men should be breadwinners.
[Samegrelo, urban, 20-35, secondary education]
I had a boyfriend at school, at university, and before getting married and we were going to the cinema and everything but I never kissed these boyfriends. [I was telling my colleague] if I were kissed by all five and saw them now I would feel ashamed. I was told do you think you will have a daughter-in-law who had not been kissed? I can't assure that but this is what I don't like. They are so much into each other, almost like wife and husband and do not think that this might end and they will start over.
[Samegrelo, urban, 36-50, higher education]

During quantitative research it was possible to detect the changes that are taking place in perceptions and attitudes of new and older generations.

It is particularly interesting that evaluating data by age shows no significant differences between different age groups.

In terms of conservative opinions, the age group over 55 should be underlined. People of this age have more patriarchal opinions when compared to younger respondents.

18-24 year olds are more distinct with their less conservative opinions. However it should be mentioned that their attitudes are not significantly different from those in other age groups. For instance:

Representatives of the 18-24 old age group are not distinguished from others in terms of assessing the acceptance of different activities for women. A minor change is noticeable in evaluating sexual relations before marriage, however, without significant difference. (See table \#44)

| Table \#44 | Not acceptable for women (\%) N=1760 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { 18-24 } \\ \text { age group } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 25-34 } \\ & \text { age group } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35-44 \\ \text { age group } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 45-54 \\ \text { age group } \end{gathered}$ | $55-64$ age group | 65+ age group |
| Consuming strong alcohol | 45 | 43 | 45 | 47 | 62 | 63 |
| Smoking a cigarette | 76 | 73 | 73 | 76 | 82 | 84 |
| Living apart from parents before marriage | 36 | 38 | 40 | 42 | 47 | 52 |
| Having sexual relations before marriage | 60 | 67 | 62 | 70 | 71 | 75 |
| Cohabitation out of wedlock | 48 | 54 | 54 | 55 | 66 | 65 |

Although majority of respondents think that the most important role for a woman is taking care of her family, 86 percent of 18-24 year olds think so whereas 91 percent or more of respondents in other age groups share this opinion. More 18-24 olds, in comparison to other age groups, do not share the opinion that being a housewife is just as fulfilling for a woman as working for pay. A majority (57 percent) of 18-24 year old respondents do not agree with this statement whereas a lower number of other age group representatives do not share this opinion (from 36 to 45 percent).

A smaller share of 18-24 year olds share the opinion that a woman should be more occupied with bringing up her children rather than a professional career ( 48 percent), whereas 58 percent or more of respondents in other age groups agree with the abovementioned statement.

As for considering a man as breadwinner, there is no difference noticed in terms of age. Also, all age groups agree that employment is good but a woman wants family and children most.

In terms of preference for a son in the family, there is no difference noted. Just as other age groups, 18-24 year olds prefer a son.

Half or more of the representatives of all the age groups think that men can manage any organization better than women. In these terms, the 18-24 age group is not distinct. However, fewer 18-24 year olds (40 percent) share the opinion that men are generally better in all kinds of professional activities than women (18-24-40 percent; 25-34-46 percent; 35-44-54 percent; 45-54-51 percent; 55-64-48 percent; $65+-56$ percent).

In the 18-24 age range, 55 percent of representatives agree with the statement men are better political leaders than women whereas sixty percent or more of the population older than this age group shares this opinion. However there is only a five percent difference. All age groups see the male as a presidential candidate and the 18-24 age group is not distinguished in these terms.

### 5.5. Respondents' Demographic Profile and General Characteristics

The following subchapter reviews the demographic data of participant respondents participating in the research. Information on religious attitudes of respondents is also represented in the subchapter. Results of quantitative research are represented in the subchapter.

In the framework of quantitative research, 54 percent of inquired respondents are female and 46 percent are male. Their distribution according to age is almost equal.

The amount of respondents with higher education is $34 \%$. while 34 percent have complete secondary education. The share of the population with incomplete secondary education is no higher than five percent in the country. (See graph \#50)

## Chart \#50

Education of population by gender

$N=1760$ - Total sample

Most residents in Georgia (88 percent) are Georgians, with a five percent share each belonging to Armenians and Azeris. Those assessing the material-financial condition of their family with the extreme option from the suggested statements - "money for food is hardly enough" totalled 38 percent. The condition of 32 percent of the population is relatively better -those who state that "we have enough money for food, but we have to save or take money on loan to buy apparel and shoes" (See table \#48)

| Table \#48 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Female | Male | Total |
| We can hardly buy food | 39\% | 36\% | 38\% |
| We have enough money for food but we have to save or take money on loan to buy apparel and shoes | 33\% | 31\% | 32\% |
| We have enough money for food, apparel and shoes but in order to buy good clothes, mobile phones, vacuum-cleaners and other home appliances, we have to save or take money on loan | 20\% | 22\% | 21\% |
| We have enough money for food, apparel and shoes, but in order to buy a car or apartment, we have to save or take money on loan | 7\% | 9\% | 8\% |
| We can afford to buy whatever we want anytime | 0\% | 1\% | 1\% |
| I don't know/hard to answer | 2\% | 1\% | 2\% |
| $N=1760-$ Total sample |  |  |  |

## Attitudes toward Religion

Respondents' attitudes and behaviour toward religion was also studied in the research.
As study results demonstrate, the majority of the population is orthodox Christian ( 87 percent).While eight percent are Muslim, 11 percent are male among Muslims and five percent are female. No share of other religious populations exceeds one percent.

The share of women and men attending religious services only on holidays is 28 percent. The share attending at least once a month is 25 percent and 20 percent attend at least once a week. The share of those who practically never attend religious services represents 10 percent.

Despite the frequency of going to church, an absolute majority of the population consider themselves to be believers ( 95 percent) but it should hereby be mentioned that 68 percent have no confessor.

Of the 53 percentof respondents who have a confessor state that they always share and follow their advice while 42 percent share and try to follow advice but sometimes they cannot.

A high share of the population ( 65 percent) thinks that according to their religion, women and men are equal, and 30 percent state that men and women are not equal according to their religion.

## 6. Main Conclusions

The study clearly showed that traditional views on gender roles remain strong: a woman's main function is to take care of and raise children and take care of the household - in other words household chores; while a man's function is to support the family financially. Although 30 percent of women support families financially, the public does not consider this scenario to be ideal. If finances allow, it is better for women to stay at home or take an easier job - "more appropriate work for a woman" - if necessary. Also, a woman should be obedient to her husband and let him have leading positions.

The public believes that the above listed gender functions are a natural continuation of the essence of woman and man. For instance, since a woman can deliver and raise children, she is better suited to a teaching role, busy bringing up children both inside and outside the home. Men, by contrast, are more active and have a fighting spirit, so they are better suited for political positions and other positions requiring leadership and decision-making skills. The fact that a majority of those surveyed consider that it is inconceivable and unacceptable for men to attend a child's birth is also associated with a woman's function to deliver a baby. Also, almost everyone agrees with the notion that an employer must give maternity leave to a woman, while only 40 percent think the same about men. Since the nature of a man does not correspond with bringing up children, especially new-borns, men's maternity leave is not required.

A double moral standard is still strong in the society - what can be pardoned for a man cannot be pardoned for a woman. Women's behaviour is controlled by men; moreover, it is controlled more by the whole society than by men.

Largely, this research replicates the findings of previous studies. All of them suggest that Georgia is still a masculine, patriarchal country where men occupy a dominant position. Research reveals that men justify this dominant position more than women. Women know that they have a subordinate role and that they have to make concessions; for instance, by tolerating domestic violence and infidelity. Eventually such an arrangement leads to stress and negative emotions. As a strategy to deal with the situation, i.e. a coping strategy, women choose to justify the situation they are in and take pride in it, considering that Georgian women are more tolerant and enduring than women from other countries. Moreover, society demands that a woman tolerate
her husband's insult in order to preserve the family and to be a tolerant, gentle, obedient person devoted to her family. This is reinforced by the perception that divorce is family dissolution.

At a glance, an index showing that women are slightly more satisfied with life than men is inconsistent with this data. Allegedly, women are a) less ambitious and have lower self-esteem and b) managing to realize traditional gender functions in the family while men do not because of the existing economic situation - a high unemployment level.

One interesting result of research shows that the number of those who support gender quotas in Parliament, in political parties, and in high level positions is a high 65 percent. We believe that the wording of the question might be a reason. The interviewees interpreted the question - "are you in favour of a quota system according to which a certain number of women must be" differently with regards to a certain number: the existing 10 percent in Parliament is a certain number.

A majority of those interviewed knew the meaning of gender equality, although this knowledge does not translate into public support. Even though a majority of focus group participants articulated support for gender equality, multiple analyses of the research findings (opinions of focus group participants and the quantitative data) show that a certain number of women are in favour of a traditional distribution of gender roles.

Those interviewed consider that a man is a better business leader than a woman, generally speaking, men are much better at any work and, politics is a man's business first of all. They see a woman in politics, however, in areas most relevant to a woman's nature such as in healthcare and culture. Both qualitative and quantitative data show that women are not motivated to become actively involved in politics. Women see themselves more in business than in politics.

The present research data is consistent with earlier qualitative and quantitative studies conducted in Georgia. For instance, research on domestic violence published in 2010 (Chitashvili et al, 2010) ${ }^{15}$ shows that a woman should be submissive to her husband, tolerate violence from a husband or a partner, and that divorce is viewed as a tragedy or as family dissolution. Research conducted in 2008 (Javakhishvili, 2008) ${ }^{16}$ shows that virtues acceptable for a woman are: kindness, faithfulness to the family, gentleness and passiveness, while a man should be both active and the family breadwinner. CEDAW research in Georgia (Zardiashvili et al., 2011) ${ }^{17}$ shows that an overwhelming majority of the Georgian population has heard about gender equality, however 60 percent consider that gender equality is not achieved in Georgia. 40 percent of those surveyed were in favour of the quota system.

[^10]


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Chitashvili, Javakhishvili, Arutinov, Chachanidze (2010). National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Georgia. Tbilisi, UNFPA.
    2 Javakhishvili, $N$ (2008). Mating Preferences in Choosing a Future Partner. Does Georgia repeat the same worldwide trend? Cognition, Brain, an Interdisciplinary Journal. Volume XII, No 4, pp. 509-520.

    3 Javakhishvili, N (2008). Mating Preferences in Choosing a Future Partner. Does Georgia repeat the same worldwide trend? Cognition, Brain, an Interdisciplinary Journal. Volume XII, No 4, pp. 509-520

[^1]:    ${ }^{4}$ The information provided in the chapter is based on the following document: United Nations Joint Programme in Georgia, TOR - The Public Perception Study on Gender Issues in Politics and Business, 2012. Most recent information about study issues is added by ACT.

[^2]:    ${ }^{5}$ UNDP Gender Inequality Index
    ${ }^{6}$ Ministry of Economic Development of Georgia, Women and Men in Georgia: Statistical Booklet (Tbilisi2008), 55. Parliament of Georgia, www.parliament.gov.ge (cited 02 April, 2011)

[^3]:    ${ }^{7}$ National Statistics Office of Georgia, Woman and Man in Georgia, Statistical publication, Tbilisi, 2013
    ${ }^{8}$ Geostat, http://geostat.ge/?action=page\&p_id=145\&lang=geo, (cited 02 April, 2011)
    ${ }^{9}$ Ministry of Economic Development of Georgia, State Department of Statistics, Woman and Man in Georgia, Statistical publication 2005 Tbilisi, 54-55.
    ${ }^{10}$ Zardiashvili, Javakhishvili, Delemenchuk, Abramishvili, Kuprava-Shervashidze, 2011. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women Implementation Study in Georgia, Part 1, Tbilisi.

[^4]:    ${ }^{11}$ It is worth noting that the attitudes and perceptions regarding the image of a Georgian Women were not largely different in the focus-groups held in Samegrelo and Kakheti. The data in both regions was quite similar.

[^5]:    ${ }^{12}$ The question regarding employment of the respondent sounded as follows: Do you have a job? This can be a full-time or part-time job, you may be employed officially or unofficially or may be self-employed; what is important is that this activity should have monetary income. It is worth considering that this definition implies hired employment, non-agricultural self-employment and only the type of agricultural employment which brings substantial monetary income. The definition does not encompass agricultural self-employment which brings in kind income.

[^6]:    ${ }^{13}$ The data by genderis not statistically significant. It is not recommended to generalize the data to the whole population.

[^7]:    N=1760 - Total Sample

[^8]:    [Kakheti, rural, 20-35, secondary education]

[^9]:    14 'Birzha' is a place in a neighbourhood where neighbours gather when having free time.

[^10]:    ${ }^{15}$ Chitashvili, Javakhishvili, Arutinov, Chachanidze (2010). National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Georgia. Tbilisi, UNFPA.
    ${ }^{16}$ Javakhishvili, $N$ (2008). Mating Preferences in Choosing a Future Partner. Does Georgia repeat the same worldwide trend? Cognition, Brain, an Interdisciplinary Journal. Volume XII, No 4, pp. 509-520
    ${ }^{17}$ Zardiashvili, Javakhishvili, Delemenchuk, Abramishvili, Kuprava-Sharvashidze (2011). Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women. CEDAW implementation research in Georgia. Part 1, Tbilisi.

