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**THE STUDY OF GEORGIAN
YOUTH'S AWARENESS, PERCEPTIONS
AND ATTITUDES
OF GENDER EQUALITY**

გენდერული თანასწორობის შესახებ
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The Study of Georgian Youth's Awareness, Perceptions and Attitudes of Gender Equality

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INTRODUCTION

During the last fifteen years, Georgia has gone through many changes, including attempts of transformation and a reevaluation of the concept of gender equality. We focus on gender as a social construct which defines and differentiates the roles, rights, responsibilities and obligations of women and men (Scott, 1986; Butler 1990). This approach will help us to better understand the ways in which gender is embedded and recreated. Gender is a fluid concept and often changes over time, as well as from one culture to another. The meaning of gender contains not only the qualities that characterize men and women, but also the models of behavior, thinking, and action that society and culture establish for men and women.

According to Wharton (2004), gender is a kind of central organizing principle of social life in every culture. Gender relations determine how equally men and women use, have access to, and control resources (Magnus 2003). It is argued that equal rights and opportunities for and between women and men are crucial to economic and human growth (World Bank, 2002).

A great effort by civil society and the involvement of the international community have lead to a number of initiatives in Georgia to address the issue of gender equality which were later transformed into legislative framework. For example, in 2006, the state adopted the Law against Domestic Violence, (Sabadashvili 2006), while in 2010 it passed the Gender Equality Law which envisages ensuring women's safety, equality on the job market, and supporting women's involvement in politics. (Duban 2010). In addition, the work of local and international community's has been also pronounced with regard to raising awareness of gender issues through educational activities (Rusetsky, H. et al 2007; Zhghenti, N., et al. 2012). However, despite these changes and efforts, gender equality still continues to be a far reaching goal for Georgia, and this fact is well demonstrated in the international indexes. According to the Global Gender Gap Index of

2011, Georgia occupies the 86th place among 135 countries (Bendeliani, N. 2012).

In the era of globalization and internalization, youth usually become a progressive force for social change and transformation of cultural meanings in society. In recent years, Georgian youth have been exposed to democratic and modern concepts that were not at hand to the older generation during their adulthood. These circumstances lead to the hypothesis that, despite the overall low performance of gender equality, the country's youth are expected to hold more liberal attitudes and beliefs towards gender equality on at least some gender issues. There are numerous studies explicating young people's attitudes and perceptions towards gender roles and gender equality across the world. These studies acknowledge the importance of different factors like gender, age, education, type of settlement, religion etc. that have significant impact on constructing gender sensitive or insensitive attitudes (La Font 2010). It is obvious that gender relations are embedded in all the social processes of everyday life and, therefore, our research aimed to unfold these relations through looking at young Georgian people's (aged 16-25) attitudes, perceptions and beliefs towards gender equality.

The aim of this study was to explore the nature of gender attitudes and beliefs among Georgian youth. Specifically, this study focuses on three intersecting themes: (1) attitudes towards gender roles at home (2) attitudes towards women's careers (3) attitudes towards sexuality. These themes form gender beliefs, which in turn are a significant component of the gender system.

We hypothesized that in Georgia both young men and women might see their positions through the same patriarchal lens without questioning the cultural models that sustain their gender beliefs. To explore this hypothesis, we examined the nature of prevailing gender beliefs that allowed our study participants to make inferences about how they communicate their gender attitudes and perceptions.

Further, based on our theoretical framework, in particular, on Na-

rayan's (1997) and Chatterjee's (1989) concepts of Modern vs Traditional, we hypothesized the encounter between modern culture and traditional gender beliefs that claim to be authentic and local.

In the following chapters we present on the one hand a quantitative analysis of attitudes and perceptions of Georgian youth obtained from quantitative data sets (Caucasus Barometer 2010, 2011; World Value Survey 1996, 2008). So far, descriptive statistics have demonstrated that young people have traditional views on a range of issues related to gender roles in family and society. This correlates with actual practice in the country, the youngsters' backgrounds, socio-economic status, and situation. Further inferential analysis presented in this paper provides comparisons on marital status, education, employment, gender attitudes and views among youngsters within gender and urban and rural population. On the other hand, we demonstrate data obtained from qualitative analyses – 15 focus group discussions with young Georgian men and women in three cities of Georgia (Tbilisi, Zugdidi and Telavi) – revealing that young Georgian study participants see their roles and obligations through the patriarchal lens. Very few of them question the cultural models that sustain their gender beliefs. Overall, the findings obtained from the study show that mostly young people support the traditional division of household labor, where men are decision-makers and breadwinners and women are expected to take care of all the family members and household chores. They confine women within the private domain and assume childcare to be women's paramount responsibility, making it arduous for women to be in politics. The idea of women's sexual autonomy is also ignored in conditions of prevailing sexual constraints.

We believe that this publication is a valuable contribution to the existing scholarship and could serve as a significant point of reference for the future elaboration of a gender equality policy in Georgia.

CHAPTER I LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This research on young people's attitudes and beliefs towards gender in Georgia focuses on three intersecting themes: (1) attitudes towards gender roles at home; (2) attitudes towards women's careers; (3) attitudes towards sexuality. For this reason, this chapter explicates the relevant theoretical concepts of gender, gender equality, *gender beliefs*, sexuality and family. Furthermore, this chapter examines the debate pertaining to modern/global vs. traditional/local dichotomy, which in turn aims to explain *gender beliefs* that sustain young Georgian people's gender attitudes. Finally, we review the empirical literature based on international and local contexts. Firstly, we explore the literature on young people's gender attitudes and perceptions in both developed and developing countries and discuss factors that empirical research has identified. The international literature suggests that the changing socio-political context has given rise to the shifts in gender roles and expectations in society (Burnhill & McPherson, 1983; Tinklin et al., 2005). Secondly, we examine literature pertaining to the state of gender equality in Georgia. Our research aims to reveal the *gender beliefs* of young people considering the 'democratization' process and legal reforms that appear to endow gender-equity.

Gender as an Analytic Category

In order to understand *gender beliefs* that sustain gender attitudes and perceptions in the local context, it is indispensable to explicate the meaning of *gender as an analytic category*. Gender first appeared among American feminists who used gender to insist on the social character of distinctions based on sex and who rejected biological determinism. Joan Scott (1986) in her article *Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis* looks at two main approaches used by

feminist historians. The first one falls into the category of 'descriptive' approach and invokes the existence of phenomena without interpreting, whereas the second is causal and seeks an understanding of the nature of phenomena and reasons for its emergence in its form. Joan Scott (1986) sites different usages of gender, including its simplest usage when 'gender' is a synonym for 'women' and hence, sounds more neutral and poses no 'critical threat.' The second usage of gender suggests that information about women is necessarily looked at along with information about men and, hence, seems problematic because it indicates that women are part of the men's world. The third usage of gender rejects biological determinism and proposes gender as a cultural construction designating appropriate roles for men and women. Thus, "gender is a social category imposed on a sexed body (Stott, 1986)."

Joan Scott (1986) looks at the concept of 'gender' and tries to understand different theoretical explanations of gender. First and foremost, she starts with theories of patriarchy, which views the subordination of women as the male "need" to dominate the female, and finds several explanations of patriarchy. Firstly, she defines male domination "as the effect of men's desire to transcend their alienation from the means of the reproduction of the species." The solution could come with the transformations in reproductive technology, which has the potential to eliminate the "need for women's bodies as the agents of species reproduction." Hence, if for some of them reproduction is the key to patriarchy, for others it is sexuality. It views sexual objectification as the primary process of the subjection of women. In this case, the solution lies in consciousness-raising, which should lead women to recognizing their common identity which they can turn into political action. There are some limitations to this perspective, such as the fact that this theory rests on the physical differences while ignoring the social or cultural construction of gender. (Joan Scott, 1986).

The second theoretical explanations are made by Marxist feminists who view family, households, and sexuality as products of changing modes of production. The solution lies in the eradication of the

sexual division of labor, which should end male domination. Though Marx and Engels deemed property relation as the basis of marriage, “its chief grievance for women was the hypocritical sex relationship (Brown, 1987).” Joan Scott (1986) sites a number of criticisms of Marxist feminism. Firstly, she finds it problematic to agree that economic systems fully determine gender relationships because “the subordination of women pre-dates capitalism and continues under socialism.” Moreover, according to Scott (1986), within Marxism, the concept of “gender has long been treated as the by-product of changing economic structures and gender has had no independent analytic status of its own.”

Thirdly, Joan Scott looks at the psychoanalytic theory of gender, which includes both Anglo-American school and French school based on structuralist and post-structuralist readings of Freud and Lacan. These approaches focus on the early stages of child development in order to find clues to the formation of a subject’s gender identity. Scott (1986) argues that this perspective limits the concept of gender to family and household experience by relying on relatively small structures of interaction to produce gender identity and, hence, misses out the consideration of other social systems of economy, politics and power (Scott, 1986).

Finally, Scott (1986) offers her perspective and focuses on gender as an analytic category, which is a useful unit for understanding gender attitudes and gender roles. She highlights four elements of gender as a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes. First, culturally available symbols that evoke multiple representations; second, normative concepts that set forth interpretations of the meanings of the symbols; third, the notion of politics as well as references to social institutions and organizations; and the fourth aspect of gender is subjective identity. To sum up, ‘man’ and ‘woman’ are assumed as empty and overflowing categories that can be filled and affected by social relations.

Gender Beliefs

In this work, inter-subjectively shared cultural beliefs about gender are referred to as *Gender beliefs*. They allow people to surmise the historical conditions and patriarchal political interests that promote and sustain the unequal gender system (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Munck et al., 2002). *Gender beliefs* comprise rules and norms for enacting the social structure of difference and gender inequality. *Gender beliefs* allow people to make inferences about how they use these beliefs to reason and communicate their gender attitudes and perceptions. Social relational contexts, where these gender beliefs are played out, shape the way the individuals enact their gender roles. Moreover, these contexts influence how the individuals view each other's performance in the given situation. According to Ridgeway and Correll (2004), social relational contexts are a salient arena in which "the basic rules of the gender system are at play."

The literature suggests that widely held gender beliefs exist in contemporary Georgia (Kachkachishvili, 2014; Sumbadze, 2012). Contemporary gender beliefs consider women to be chiefly responsible for household chores. Similarly, child care is viewed as "women's work;" men are seen as the main decision makers, whereas women are expected to be obedient and docile (Kachkachishvili, 2014). These hegemonic gender beliefs, which are projected and disseminated through the media and normative images of the family, shape understandings of men and women who are likely to expect others to hold these same beliefs (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Since people's sense of what others expect of them affects their behavior and gender attitudes, gender beliefs become a key component of the gender system (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

Our hypothesis is that in Georgia both young men and women might see their positions through the same patriarchal lens without questioning the cultural models that sustain their gendered beliefs.

Gender Equality in the Context of Modern/Global vs Traditional/Local Debate

The fundamental definition of *gender equality* can be developed with reference to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979). The concept of gender equality may imply the full equality of men and women to enjoy ‘equal opportunities’ and ‘rights’ in various fields, including education, employment, politics, etc. According to the definition provided by the International Labor Organization (2000), gender equality is equality between men and women which “entails the concept that all human beings, both men and women, are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices. Gender equality means that the different behavior, aspirations and needs of women and men are considered, valued and favored equally. It does not mean that women and men have to become the same, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female.” (ILO, 2000)

The importance of gender equality is highlighted by its inclusion as one of the eight Millennium Development goals. In addition, the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995) proposed gender mainstreaming as a key strategy to reducing gender inequality (Gender Equality and Equity, 2000). In order to monitor the progress in achieving gender equality, Kabeer (2010) highlights three indicators: (a) closing the gender gap in education at all levels; (b) increasing women’s share of wage employment in the non-agricultural sector; (c) increasing the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments. Based on the indicators suggested by Kabeer (2010), we underline three essential indicators of gender equality: education, employment and political participation. Kabeer (2010) argues that access to education can bring about changes in women’s lives. These indicators affect a change in power relationships within and outside the household. For instance, educated women participate in

a wider range of decisions than uneducated ones. Moreover, Kabeer (2010) argues that educated women are better able to deal with violent husbands and, hence, are less likely to suffer from domestic violence. When it comes to employment, a solid body of knowledge suggests that paid work can increase women's agency, however, there are counter-arguments also. The author illustrates cases from the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Mexico and Kenya, where women's participation in wage employment has led to greater independence in household decision-making. Finally, the third indicator moves the focus of empowerment into the arena of politics, and suggests that women as a half of the population are entitled to at least half of the seats in the parliament.

In their study, Inglehart, Norris and Welzel (2004) demonstrate the close link between gender equality and the process of cultural change and democratization. Since women comprise half the population of most societies, "if the majority doesn't have full political rights, that society is not democratic (Inglehart, Norris, Welzel, 2004)." On the basis of the analysis of data from 65 societies worldwide, Inglehart, Norris and Welzel (2004) argue that the growing emphasis on gender equality is a significant factor of democratization, however, gender equality is not a mere "consequence of democratization," rather it is a part of a broader cultural change that transforms many aspects of industrialized societies, which in turn facilitates the spread of democracy. Further, they hypothesize cultural explanations, saying that in traditional societies, women are reluctant to run for office and do not attract sufficient support to win. Inglehart, Norris and Welzel (2004) develop a theory suggesting that the process of modernization fosters democratization and a rise in women's participation in public life. Inglehart and Norris (2003) argue that firstly, richer, post-industrial societies have more egalitarian attitudes than poorer, agrarian and industrial ones; secondly, intergenerational differences are more pronounced in postindustrial societies and less pronounced in agrarian societies. Despite the relative link between gender equality and democracy, neither variable seems to be a direct cause of the other.

Instead, both seem to reflect an underlying cultural shift linked with economic development (Inglehart, Norris, Welzel, 2004).

Many third world countries are under pressure to alter their local gender system in order to participate in global politics and economy (Connell et al., 2005). This process of transformation, pertaining to women's education, employment and political participation, triggers the resistance of local men. Men's reluctance towards women's emancipation is explained in two ways: first, in a traditional society, where men are expected to be the main breadwinners, socio-economic hardships make it arduous for men to live up to societal expectations, which results in a challenging of their masculinities. The second reason concerning both men and women reveals that the government attempts to appear modern and politically correct in terms of gender equality and the concurrent upsurge of nationalist sentiments after independence fosters the reverence for tradition, which involves the rejection of foreign ideas about gender and sexuality (LaFont, 2010). A similar dichotomy of traditional-local and modern-global is pointed out in Partha Chatterjee's (1989) article, in which he argues that, on the one hand, the conservative position rests on the deployment of "tradition" which masks patriarchy within and places women under the sign of a privatized tradition that must be defended against the corruption of "decadent western culture." However, modern groups may reject conservative traditional culture, but still collaborate with patriarchy by re-inventing tradition to produce new forms of gender oppression.

The modern construction of gender and sexuality are viewed as an indirect promotion of western permissive values which are contrary to both the local culture and Orthodox Christian ethical principles (Narayan, 1997). These essentialist constructions of culture, norms and practices apropos of women are often represented as of paramount importance to the task of "resisting westernization" and "preserving national culture (Narayan, 1997)." Based on Chatterjee (1989) and Narayan's (1997) arguments ***we hypothesize the existence of a direct encounter between modern culture and traditional gender beliefs that claim to be authentic and local.***

Given the wide-ranging changes in society, some scholars explored what young people themselves think about the roles of men and women in society and how it shapes their own future expectations of work and family roles (Tinklin et al., 2005). Tinklin et al. (2005) in their article depict that, in general, young people hold modern, rather than traditional views on the roles of men and women in work and in the family. However, another study on Namibian young people's gender attitudes argues that, despite the vast number of reforms, young people are far from gender equality due to the importance of morality and tradition in their lives (LaFont, 2010) although attitudes and beliefs towards gender equality and sexuality vary depending on sex, ethnicity, education and residence (LaFont, 2010).

Sexuality

One of the intersecting themes that our research focuses on is young people's attitude towards sexuality. This study aims to unravel how respondents' gender beliefs are related to their attitudes towards sexuality. The intersections of gender and sexuality, in particular how women's sexualities are disciplined and controlled in patriarchal and hetero-normative ways, has been a focus of a number of recent studies (Boyd, 2010; Crowley & Kitchin, 2008; Gaetano, 2008). Relatively high gender equality is associated with more casual sex, more sex partners per capita and greater approval of premarital sex (Baumeister, R. F. & Mendoza, J.P., 2011). Moreover, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) argue that the change of people's basic values and beliefs affects their sexual behavior, too.

In order to view young people's attitudes towards sexuality in the context of modern vs traditional dichotomy and identify its nature, we look at Zygmunt Bauman's (1998) description of modern and postmodern uses of sex. He discusses sex, eroticism and love and draws contesting boundaries between them. Eroticism fills a sexual act with surplus value. It begins with reproduction, but in order to freely manipulate surplus capacity for sexuality, eroticism needs to

transcend reproduction. Hence, the reproductive function of sex creates constant incurable tension between the two. Bauman (1998) argues that throughout the modern era two strategies were dominant. The first strategy reinforced limits imposed by the reproductive functions of sex upon erotic imagination. This strategy was promoted and supported by the state and the Church. The second strategy delinks eroticism from sex and links it with love. Both strategies assumed that surplus sexual energy needed a functional justification. According to Bauman (1998), these strategies stemmed from the assumption that human eroticism can easily become havoc and therefore it needs outside, authoritative powers to control its limits in order to avert its “destructive potential.” Contrary to these strategies, the late modern and postmodern eroticism refutes both sexual reproduction and love and reclaims desire that desires desire (Bauman, 1998).

Family as an Analytic Category

Another useful analytic category for understanding how gender attitudes and gender roles are informed is the Family. It is interesting to note that in the 19th century social scientists looked at the origins of family and different accounts of ‘how it all began,’ including evolutionary accounts of Spencer and then Engels’ interpretation of The Family as a move from ‘primitive promiscuity and incest toward monogamy.’ Hence, for evolutionary thinkers the family was a moral precondition for the success of capitalist society, though it had not been universal and omnipresent. Thus, the modern family is an achievement of some kind of order by men who fought relatively confused female-oriented ‘natural’ social bonds, established their own ‘order’ and have become agents of social bonds. There is the Victorian interpretation of The Family as ‘a moral and ideological unit that appears in particular social orders’. At the same time Victorian thinkers emphasized the link between the family and the modern state. However, Malinowski refuted these approaches and considered family as a universal human institution. Malinowski distinguishes three features of

the family: (a) a bounded set of people nurturing children (b) a place where the rearing of children could be performed and (c) a particular set of emotions- affection, love (Collier, Rosaldo, Yanagisako, 1995).

Collier et al. (1995) challenged the notion of The Family as a concrete institution fulfilling universal needs, and revealed it as an ideological construct associated with the modern state. For instance, love and affection, which is assumed as one of the main functions of The Family are not always motivated by selfless altruism, but rather by self-interest, which in turn suggests that there are larger systems of constructs of which the Family is a part (Collier, Rosaldo, Yanagisako, 1995).

Gender Division of Household Labor

The performance of household labor is highly shaped by what people think about the appropriate gender roles. Bianchi et al. (2000) distinguish three theoretical approaches to discuss gender division of domestic labor: (1) the time availability approach; (2) the relative resources approach; (3) gender role attitudes approach. The *time availability approach* attempts to find a link between women's employment time and their housework time and/or compare it to men's housework time (Ross, 1987; Shelton, 1990; Lee, 2004). The *relative resources approach* focuses on an exchange-based view and suggests that the spouse with the greater economic income will try to negotiate less involvement in housework. Moreover, this perspective assumes that the relative absence of differences in income of spouses allows more equal division of household labor (Ross, 1987; Brayfield, 1992). Third, some scholars explain the gender division of household labor by the *gender role attitudes approach*. This perspective suggests that people with more egalitarian gender attitudes should demonstrate a more equal division of household labor than those with conservative gender attitudes (Presser, 1994). Feminist scholars criticized relative resources and time availability approaches and argued that gender division of labor is not merely a result of rational arrangement, but something irrational rooted in patriarchal socialization.

Existing Research on Young People's Attitudes towards Gender Equality

In this section we explore the literature on young people's gender attitudes in both developed and developing countries. The factors that empirical research has identified helped us to analyze and support our findings. There is a wide range of studies explicating young people's attitudes and perceptions towards gender roles and gender equality across the world. The studies can be divided into two main categories: (1) research that focuses on attitudes towards gender equality in education, employment, politics and family and (2) studies that depict attitudes towards gender roles and sexuality. Existing studies make use of both qualitative and quantitative methodology: (a) Gender indicators entail quantitative indicators based on statistical and/or quantifiable data that provide percentages of women and men in parliament, wage rates, school/university enrolment, which in turn captures gender equality in politics, education and employment, (b) Gender indicators can refer to 'qualitative methods' and look at young people's experiences, perceptions and attitudes or impact of a particular policy.

An ethnographic study conducted in Puerto Rica (Asencio, 1999) focused on gender-based social constructs such as 'machos' and 'sluts' which perpetuate gender-role conformity. The results revealed that definitions of masculinity, which encompass concepts such as dominance, toughness, or male honor, are highly correlated with violence against women (Asencio, 1999). Moreover, men reacted more strongly than women to gender-role deviations and were more likely to punish those considered 'deviants'. There is an interesting masculine dualism of predator and protector expatiated in the study, which entails classification of females as either 'good'-Madonna and deserving of protection or 'bad'-'whore' and deserving of exploitation. Hence, a male must control and protect 'his' females (wife, daughter, girlfriend) from other predatory males, while simultaneously he attempts to seduce other females. It should be noted that the Ma-

donna/Whore dichotomy is based on traditional conceptions of both female sexuality and gender-role behavior.

Actually, a large number of studies based on young people have depicted significant gender differences in the sex-role attitudes of young people. Quarm's (1983) work suggests that men are likely to be more traditional than women. A study by Lewis and Clift (2001) explored young people's attitudes towards gender issues and sexual relationships in Estonia. The results revealed that participants associated men with lower levels of emotionality, expressiveness and caring, as well as with having a stronger interest in sex, more irresponsible behaviors, and feeling the need to earn. Women were viewed as weaker, emotional, communicative, caring, more interested in relationships/romance, more delicate, vulnerable and dependent. (Lewis et al., 2001)

Pulerwitz and Barker (2008) in their article described development and psychometric evaluation of the GEM (Gender-equitable men) scale to measure attitudes towards gender norms among young men. The scale is based on a social constructivist perspective of gender identity that assumes that specific cultural settings encourage certain models of manhood and masculinity. Pulerwitz and Barker (2008) identified several domains for the scale: a) domestic work and caring for children; b) sexuality and sexual relationships c) reproductive health and disease prevention, d) intimate partner violence, e) homosexuality and close relationships with other men. Alternative means of studying gender attitudes includes Aronson's (2003) work which incorporates several stages a) examination of perceptions of women's attitudes toward gender opportunities, obstacles and discrimination and b) analysis by considering young women's attitudes toward feminism and the impact of race, class and life experience on their attitudes. On the other hand, a study (Lafond, 2010) on gender attitudes, sexuality and tradition among Namibian youth focuses on four intersecting themes: 1) attitudes towards traditional practices related to gender, such as men as the dominative person in household and polygamy; (2) sexual rights, including those relating to controversial issues such as homosexuality

and reproductive rights; (3) sexual transgressions, such as rape and sexual abuse; and (4) attitudes towards and knowledge of sexual behaviors such as masturbation and oral sex.

A study of Egyptian adolescents aged 16-19, which explores gender-role attitudes with respect to family, includes the attitudes towards decision-making in the household, responsibilities for performing domestic tasks and desirable qualities in a spouse (Mensch, Ibrahim, Lee, 2003). The research aimed to explore whether young people in contemporary Egypt adhere to the traditional gender-role distribution. Firstly, respondents were asked to list the most important qualities that they would search for when choosing a spouse. The findings reveal that the most statistically significant gender-based differences are related to “achieved” characteristics. Girls prefer a husband who has a strong character, who is good-natured, who will treat them well, and who is wealthy or has a good job. Boys, in contrast, are more likely to seek a wife who is “virtuous,” religious, well mannered, and who comes from a good family.’ These differences are paralleled by the different expectations adolescents express with regard to decision-making roles and responsibilities within marriage, namely, that men are providers; women are nurturers. The results showed that neither boys nor girls depicted egalitarian gender-role attitudes, however, girls were more likely to express less traditional attitudes. (Mensch, Ibrahim, Lee, 2003)

Factors Influencing Young People’s Gender Sensitive Attitudes

A number of international studies have examined young people’s attitudes and perceptions regarding gender roles and gender equality. These studies acknowledge the importance of factors such as gender, age, education, the type of settlement, and religion, which significantly impact the construction of gender sensitive or insensitive attitudes.

Age and Settlement Type

The influence of socio-demographic factors, such as *age* and *settlement type*, on gender attitudes was observed in a study conducted in Namibia (LaFont 2010) with 15- to 20-year-olds. The results revealed that the youngest respondents (16-year-olds) were more likely than the older respondents (20-year-olds) to choose answers supporting gender equality and sexual rights (LaFont 2010). Results from this study also suggested that urban/rural settlement was a relevant variable in the analysis of gender attitudes. For example, living in a privileged urban environment (e.g., having better access to technology and being exposed to various cosmopolitan ideas, attitudes, and opinions) is one of the most significant factors influencing ideas about gender equality and sexual rights in Namibia (LaFont2010).

Gender Roles within the Family and Parental Influences on Young Adults' Attitudes Towards Gender Equality

Gender attitudes may also be constructed in the *family* context during childhood and adolescence. Liao and Yang (1995) proposed two major theoretical perspectives to explain the development of gender-specific attitudes. According to social-learning theory, people acquire gender-specific attitudes by copying and modeling similar people, particularly their same-sex parent. For example, daughters whose mothers were employed were more likely to be independent and also work outside the home when they became older than those daughters whose mothers were not employed. According to situational theory, women's gender-role orientations are the result of personal experiences. Moen et al. (1997) consider both social-learning and situational theory to be relevant.

Moen et al. (1997) investigated inter-generational transmission of two types of gender attitudes - gender role ideology and work role identity over the 30-year period of social change. Considering the gender revolution and extensive societal shifts in gender norms in

the second half of the 20th century, they seek to explore whether and how the adult daughters have been influenced by their mothers' earlier attitudes and behaviors or whether their own gender role revolution is different or similar to that of their mothers'. One of the questions they seek to find out is if daughters have developed their own ideas about women's roles and set up their own work role identity while growing up. The findings of the study revealed that mothers play a significant role in their daughters' lives, they impact considerably the next generation, though for the next generation their own experiences matter even more while shaping their own attitudes and expectations with regard to gender role and work role identity.

There are an ample number of works on family and its changing structure. Namely, Hare-Mustin (1988) expatiates on the family structure, its change, and gender role distribution in the family. The author argues that in traditional societies where family structure has been hierarchical and male-oriented, family organization was based on the segmentation of work by age and gender (Caldwell & Caldwell, 1987) and the segmentation of tasks supports the belief that different family members are inherently suited for work of different kinds. This means that adults hate doing "children's jobs" and men hate doing "women's jobs." The status differences between female and male, young and old, are revealed by the fact that the dislike of certain jobs is not reciprocal. The differences between husbands and wives in traditional societies are supported by both sex and age (Caldwell & Caldwell, 1987; Hare-Mustin, 1987).

The idea of separate spheres for men and women, which was widely accepted by the latter part of the 19th century, is built on the segmentation of work in traditional societies. Hare-Mustin (1988) looks at the explanatory cause of the current gender role division, namely, in the USA and China. Separate spheres have been a major social strain in American life (Bellah et al. 1985). However, in modern life, women take on both work and family roles and the idea of separate spheres for men's and women's activities and interests is no longer viable. As research in China and the United States has revealed, women

continue in their pre-industrial family role doing work which has no exchange value in the marketplace even when they enter the paid labor force.

Under the category of the social-learning theory falls Cunningham's (2001) study, which assesses parental influences on young adults' attitudes towards gendered family roles and housework allocation. The analysis provided evidence that parental modeling and maternal attitudes play an important role in the formation of young adults' attitudes towards gender roles and that early childhood factors are important for learning about gender. The results of this study also showed that young adults' attitudes are by no means determined by parental factors. One very significant finding in this analysis was the strong influence of the mothers' gender role attitudes during the children's early years on the children's ideal division of household labor, measured when the children were 18 years old. The findings presented by this study demonstrated that the parental division of labor during the children's adolescence had a significant effect on the children's interpretation of the way stereotypically female household tasks should be divided between women and men. A higher level of participation in housework by fathers was associated with greater support among the children for men's participation in stereotypically female housework. The adolescents expressed attitudes which supported a similar behavioral pattern, controlling for numerous other potential causal factors. It appeared that the fathers' participation in household tasks during the years when children are likely to be responsible for a greater proportion of the domestic labor is important. (Cunningham, 2001)

Another noteworthy work, which looks at the impact of parents' gender on their children's attitudes to gender equality was done by Evertsson (2006). The paper focuses on Swedish boys' and girls' gender attitudes and explores the reproduction of gender in Swedish households. The case of Sweden is particularly important when it comes to the question of egalitarianism, since Sweden in 1995 was recognized as the most gender equal country in the world by the

United Nations. The results showed that, commonly, girls do most of the family-care work while boys are engaged in outdoor work, which testifies that housework is still gendered among Swedish children. Throughout the analysis, considerable attention is paid to the mothers' education level. It has been emphasized under different sections of the analysis that highly educated mothers have an overall positive impact on the attitude towards gender equality in the family for children. It has been revealed that the numbers of tasks girls are engaged in decreases if the mother is well educated. The results also showed that daughters on the whole help out more as compared to sons, though parents who act gender atypically have children who more often perform gender atypical tasks in the household. For example, sons are more motivated to do housework when they observe their fathers spending more time helping out in the home. (Evertsson, 2006)

Gender Dimensions of the Public Sphere: Education and Employment

Education may be a significant factor influencing young people's gender attitudes; therefore, this issue should be carefully examined. Tallichet and Willits (1986) investigated liberal shifts in the gender-role attitudes of 294 young women. Interestingly, women's attitudes as adolescents were associated with their parents' level of education. Initially surveyed in 1970 as high school students and then interviewed again ten years later, the attitudes of these young women became progressively more modern, which is a trend that the authors' associated with higher education, given that women who attained higher levels of education were more likely to express less traditional gender-role attitudes than those who did not. This shift in gender-role attitudes was positively related to the women's level of education, employment and income (Tallichet and Willits 1986). Regarding gender differences in gender-role attitudes, Hyde (2005) proposed the Gender Similarities Hypothesis, which argues that males and females

are similar on most, but not all, psychological variables, including their moral reasoning, relationship attitudes, and job attribute preferences. Hyde argued that men and women, as well as boys and girls, hold more similar than different values.

The final report of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) on *Gender Equality in Education, Employment and Entrepreneurship: Final Report to the MCM 2012* discusses in detail gender equality in spheres of education, employment and entrepreneurship. Firstly, the report looks at Education and its gender dimensions. Although in most countries primary education is universal, girls are less likely to start education in Western, Eastern and Middle Africa and Southern Asia. Generally, in developing countries, when family cannot afford education for children, if it is the only choice, they often choose to educate their sons, not daughters, also resulting in their early marriages. Moreover, the selection of subjects and professions is highly gendered and from early age children become familiar with stereotypic roles, such as female teachers or nurses and male engineers.

Secondly, the report focuses on employment and its gender dimension. Women are more likely to come across difficulties in finding the first job; they earn less and are more likely to work part-time. Also, they are under-represented in senior positions, such as managers and company board members. In all countries, women are burdened with unpaid work of household tasks and childcare. To reconcile the conflict between family and work life, women often choose part time jobs at the expense of a long-term successful career.

Finally, the report illustrates the intersections of entrepreneurship and gender worldwide. In all countries women are seriously under-represented in entrepreneurship. Mostly, they name better life-work balance and economic necessity for starting their own business. Women's businesses are often smaller and associated with less sales, profit and labor productivity as they often start with limited management experience and sacrifice less time to their business. Apart

from this, women are less likely to get loans for financing their own business; they are charged higher interest rates and asked for more guarantees either because of shorter credit histories or lender's prejudices.

Religion and Gender Attitudes

Another set of studies looks at the *religious factor*, as it is considered to be one of the most important shapers of gender attitudes (Brinkerhoff, 1984). The matter is that the connection between religion and gender is a pertinent issue and a number of studies confirm that there is a correlation between religiosity and one's gender attitudes and sexual behavior (Odimegwu, 2005; Thornton & Camburn, 1989; Brinkerhoff and MacKie, 1984). It should be mentioned that there are different ways defining religiosity, namely, religious affiliation, attendance at religious services, value of religion and religious practices (Odimegwu, 2005). There are multiple and opposing points of view about the religious dimensions most influencing gender. The matter is that, on the one hand, some authors found religious affiliation to be the most important predictor of gender conservatism, while others reported religious practice to be more highly correlated with it and some found frequent attendance at religious services to be associated with more conservative attitudes (Odimegwu, 2005). Thus, to be more precise, the degree of commitment to religious organizations may be more important as a determinant of young people's gender attitudes and behavior than religious affiliation. Thus, youngsters who attend religious services frequently, and who are committed to the church, are probably more likely than others to develop attitudes and behavior towards gender emancipation and sexuality that are consistent with their religious doctrines. In such a way, those young people who are more exposed to religious influence through greater involvement should have more traditional gender attitudes (Thornton & Camburn, 1989; Brinkerhoff & MacKie).

Religious values are the source of moral proscriptions for many indi-

viduals and, hence, the teachings of the churches are likely to play a role in the formation of individual attitudes, values and behavior. For instance, Kangara (2004) explores the ways in which the Church seeks social control over its parishioners, which leads to restrictive measures governing adolescent sexuality. The non-conformist parishioners were banned from direct access to church services and therefore excluded. However, the extent to which religion influences individuals' attitudes towards gender emancipation and sexual behavior depends on the specific doctrines of the church/parishes and on the degree of engagement and commitment of individuals to the religious institutions. In such a way, according to some studies, there is a correlation between gender attitudes/sexual behavior and religious commitment, but it does not confirm that religion is the only factor that affects youngsters' gender attitudes (Odimegwu, 2005).

The influence of various socio-demographic factors on gender attitudes is observed in one of the studies conducted in Southeast Asia (Yoshida, 2011). It was assumed that various socio-demographic variables would have an effect on attitudes, for instance women would be less supportive towards gender inequality than men; education could enlighten people and encourage support towards equality, but on the other hand, it is possible for education to increase inequality by emphasizing individual talent or effort in social accomplishment (Kane1995). Due to meeting many different people, urbanized respondents would be more supportive towards gender equality than rural; elderly people would be more conservative than young. Marital status and religion could also have an effect, with Muslims considered as generally patriarchal. Results show that Muslims from different backgrounds differ in attitudes towards gender equality, the same way in which non-Muslims do. The factors that influence gender perception vary from one country to another, even from one region of a country to another. Whether the impact of religion is more negative or more positive greatly depends on the different socio-demographic backgrounds (Yoshida, 2011).

Gender Equality in Georgia

This section aims to unravel the state of gender equality in Georgia. Since young Georgian people's experiences are largely shaped by the factors derived from the local specificity, we provide the context for our research on young people's gender attitudes in Georgia. After achieving independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, Georgia has experienced rapid economic, political and social change and, over the last two decades, has been taking steps towards democratization through political and economic development. However, the country still belongs to traditional/closed societies, with a traditional culture, where patriarchal norms are dominant and it is accepted to think that women, due to their gender role, should be engaged in household chores and child raising and that they are not required to be active in social and political life (Japaridze, 2012).

Even during the period of the Soviet Union, the declared "liberation" of and support for women through giving them equal rights (like the right to work) was in reality a double workload on top of women's traditional obligations within their households. Consequently, after the collapse of the soviet system, this formal equality vanished and the vulnerability of women became greatly prominent. As a result of events such as civil wars, the collapse of the economy, inflation, unemployment, corruption, armed conflict and the de facto loss of one fifth of the country families, Georgia also lost the notion of the man as a breadwinner, and many women became the only earners. Self-employed women mostly engaged in informal economic activity and did not benefit from their education and qualifications (Chitashvili et al., 2010).

Discussions around gender inequality and women's empowerment in Georgia started in 1994, when Georgia ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Gaprindashvili et al.,). Afterwards, at the Beijing Conference in 1995, Georgia joined the countries which were working on the elaboration of action plans for improving the conditions of women, and in 2002 Georgia joined the additional decree of CEDAW (Japaridze et al.,

2006). Moreover, Georgia ratified the “Millennium Development in Georgia” (2007) document, according to which the Georgian government was obliged to take responsibility for eliminating the gender gap in employment and ensuring equal access for women’s enrollment in politics, both of which are to be fulfilled by the year 2015.

In 2006, the state adopted the Law Against Domestic Violence (Sabadashvili, 2007), while in 2010 it passed the Gender Equality Law (Duban, 2010) which envisages ensuring women’s safety, equality on the job market, and supporting women’s involvement in politics. The adoption process of the above-mentioned laws has undergone long and thorough preparatory processes and considered the participation of local non-governmental and international donor organizations. It is worth mentioning that, despite the official adoption of Laws on Domestic Violence and on Gender equality, many parliament members and representatives of governmental bodies made incomprehensible jokes about the meanings of these laws because they failed to understand their great importance (Chitashvili et al., 2010).

In order to criminalize domestic violence, certain amendments were made to the Criminal Code of Georgia in 2012 regarding the responsibilities on domestic violence considering the punishment by a term of one hundred to two hundred hours of useful public service by restriction of freedom for a term of one year or by imprisonment for up to one year.

In addition to a number of legislative changes over the last decade, the main focus of the non-governmental women’s institutions in Georgia (approximately 12% of all the NGOs in Georgia) was to increase gender awareness in Georgian women through educational activities (Rusetsky 2007). According to the ‘Assessment of Work and Working Structure of Non-Governmental Women’s Institutions in Georgia’ (Zghenty 2013), the most widely covered topics during last five years are domestic violence, women’s legal and social rights, women’s participation in social, political and civic life, women’s employment and professional development, and gender stereotypes.

However, Georgia still ranks low in terms of gender equality (Bendeliani 2012). The nationwide survey on Domestic Violence against Women in Georgia (Chitashvili et al. 2010) explores the causes and consequences of domestic violence, as well as the perceptions and attitudes of Georgian women about domestic violence. Responses to this survey revealed that one out of every eleven married women has been a victim of physical abuse, and 34.7% have been injured multiple times (most were in the 45- to 49-year-old age group). Responses also revealed that 50.7% of women believed that a good wife should obey her husband even when she does not agree with his decisions and that 45% believed that a man must clearly show his wife/partner that he is the head of the family.

The Gender and Generation Wave 2 Report of 2009 (Badurashvili et al. 2009) provided a clear picture of how gender roles were distributed within families in Georgia. This study showed that 25% of men in families were solely responsible for the allocation of financial resources and that women typically received an allowance from their male partners. Compared with the Gender and Generation Survey conducted in 2006, the data from 2009 showed that male domination with regard to budgeting household finances had decreased by 4.1 points, but was still not below 20%. However, 59% of families responded that household budgeting was a responsibility that was equally shared by both partners. In addition to traditional attitudes, the authors of the report discussed equality regarding the scarce financial resources that are available for most Georgian families. The limited household budget is mainly used for basic necessities, without considering the individual needs of either the female or male partner. According to the Gender Asymmetry Index results, the highest level of inequality in Georgian families was evident when each partner engaged in paid work. Additionally, more women considered their male partners' opinions regarding the time they spent engaged in paid work. The Gender Asymmetry Index revealed that the main factors affecting women's autonomy regarding the time spent at work were settlement type, number of children, and level of education. In rural areas, the probability that men participated in the decision-

making regarding their female partners' employment was higher than in urban areas. Having a large number of children also increases the probability that a man will interfere with his female partner's employment. In contrast, the more educated a woman is, the less likely it is that her male partner will be able to interfere with her employment. Another important issue emphasised in this study was the gender gap with regard to housework. Results showed that women had the largest share of housework, with men's overall share not exceeding 24% (including traditional male chores, such as household repairs). In contrast, men were primarily responsible for paying bills (54.7%) and were more active with regard to shopping for food (30.9%) and organizing joint social activities (22.4), yet their share of cooking, cleaning and washing barely reached 1.5%. No significant differences were found between generations with regard to gender attitudes. According to the "Generations and Values" study (Sumbadze 2011), 62% of young people in the 18- to 24-year-old age group agreed with the statement that decisions in the family should be made according to men's wishes, 66.7% agree with this statement in the second age group (40- to 50-year-olds), and 77.5% agree with this statement from the third age group (60- to 70-year-olds).

Women in Georgia are politically passive, which is manifested in the fact that the Georgian executive and legislative bodies are primarily composed of men (Bagratia 2012). This low representation of women in decision-making positions is directly connected with the severity of gender inequality that is evident in the country. After the 1st October Parliamentary elections, women obtained 18 mandates, which is 12% of the total number of parliamentary mandates. This outcome was a precedent in Georgian parliamentary history (Bagratia 2012). Despite the fact that the government and women's organizations spare no expense when supporting the development of gender equality in Georgia, the country's undesirable position in international indices and its poor representation of gender equality in national surveys compels us to examine the attitudes and perceptions regarding equality issues that are held by young Georgian people.

CHAPTER II

CHALLENGES FOR ACHIEVING GENDER EQUALITY IN GEORGIA

Introduction

While working on the literature, the problem of limited and scarce studies in Georgia on gender equality, gender policy and youth gender consciousness raised the necessity of gathering more background information about the local context. In order to fulfill the following assignment, it was decided to obtain the necessary information about the Georgian context from in-depth interviews with individuals who are experts in the gender equality field – professors in gender studies, activists and independent scholars working on gender and gender equality issues in Georgia.

In order to gather information regarding gender equality issues in Georgia, eight prominent women’s rights activists were selected according to their visibility and work with regards to gender. The expert interviews were exploratory, aiming to gain insight into the experts’ perceptions and understandings of gender related issues in Georgia. Each interview followed a pre-prepared open-ended discussion guide and was recorded on an audio recorder. The open-ended questions encouraged the respondents to provide more information, express their feelings, attitudes and to present their understanding of the subject, giving an opportunity to better access the experts’ true understandings and opinions on gender and the gender equality issue. Each interview lasted approximately 60 minutes. All the eight interviews were transcribed and analyzed. The analysis of the expert interviews stimulated the development of additional points for the following study.

Therefore, this section aims to explore the current situation regarding gender equality and the forms in which gender equality is manifested in Georgia. At first, this section shows how gender experts

working on the issues of gender equality and LGBT rights understand and evaluate the current situation in Georgia in terms of gender equality. Secondly, it demonstrates how they explore the possible ways in which different domains intersect with each other and inform gender issues. Finally, this section examines expert opinions apropos of the problems and challenges to the social transformation and implementation of gender policies. These opinions varied depending on the issue and were sometimes heterogeneous. These variances were taken into account during the analysis and some possible explanations were provided. The relevant literature and theoretical explanations have been incorporated into the findings gained from the expert interviews.

The experts stated that gender equality is about “rights, rather than about the sameness of men and women.” They pointed out the “mis-understanding” of gender equality in society where it is perceived that gender equality necessarily means that “women become like men.” The misconception of gender equality has taken a variety of forms. According to the narratives of experts, gender equality is perceived in society as “men’s oppression by women,” “hatred of men,” “matriarchy,” “deconstruction of all gender roles, which is against nature,” “something not national, local or traditional and imposed by the West.” These misconceptions stemmed from the lack of information or from misinformation. According to the experts, media, politicians and NGO workers, who are incompetent in the matters of gender, contribute to the social reproduction of gender stereotypes.

They further argue that the understanding of feminism in society is even worse and more negative than that of gender equality. Feminism is something unknown, hardly talked about, or discussed constructively in public. The fact that media, educational institutions, activists and politicians do not talk about nor explain adequately the unfamiliar and new concept of feminism to the public leaves society no other choice but to create its own images and stereotypes of feminism which are often based on total misconceptions. The most

widespread stereotypes about feminists are the following:

‘Feminists are deemed as women who hate men and who fight against them. A second stereotype is that they are lesbians and radicals.’ (Expert T.)

‘Gender equality is more politically correct than feminism. Those who have heard about gender equality know that it’s about equality, yet they don’t have any idea what feminism is about and have an aggressive and negative attitude towards it.’ (Expert I.)

According to the interviewed experts, the awareness of gender equality and understanding of it is highly unsatisfactory, and feminism is even more ‘unacceptable’ and ‘strange’ to society than gender equality. One of the experts referred to the dynamics of women’s organizations in Georgia in order to explain social awareness of ‘gender equality’ as compared to feminism: ***‘Feminism is more obscure to society because this is a term which appeared only recently, while gender equality and women’s issues have been known about since the 1990s with the emergence of NGOs working on these issues.’*** (Expert I.)

One of the widespread misconceptions deems feminism as something imposed from the West and a threat to local traditions and Georgian-ness by the taking away of national and traditional identities. Georgian feminists had to challenge the widely assumed opinion that claims that issues of gender equality are western impositions. Hence, they attempted to create a counter-narrative to prove the very Georgian-ness of feminism by referring to the past in two ways. Firstly, they depict 19th century Georgian female writers as feminists fighting for women’s rights, attainment of education and the right to vote. This reference aims to show that feminism is not something imposed from the West, alien to the Georgian culture, but that its roots can be traced down throughout Georgian history. In this way, contemporary Georgian feminists have attempted to uncover the subaltern history (or ‘herstories’) of forgotten heroines.

Secondly, Georgian feminists explain the current insensitive attitudes towards gender equality by referring to soviet history when the myth of a supposedly progressive, gender equal society was created to compete with the West. The soviet gender discourse showed the soviet government successfully overcoming gender inequality, while the problem still existed in the West (Sumbadze, 2008). In the words of one expert:

‘Since soviet times, the image of western-bourgeois feminists was negative. Moreover, it’s something not ‘Georgian.’ Yet I recently discovered that Barbare Jorjadze had written a two page long feminist manifesto in the 19th century and that she was one of many such women sharing their values and ideas... It’s important to show that this is not something imposed by the West, as we can draw examples from our own history. Till now I thought that the right to vote was granted to women in Georgia without women fighting for it, but I just discovered in an old newspaper that Georgian women demanded their right to vote, too.’ (Expert T.)

Experts point out the dichotomy ‘Western vs local’ which is used by mainstream patriarchal forces as a tool to criticize feminism. However, these forces fight not simply against Western imposition, but against the ‘herstory’ of Georgia. The struggle of Georgian women for their rights is invisible. It is ‘his-story’ that dominates the minds of people, who are unable to see 19th century feminist writers, educators, or activists because their story is not ‘His-story.’ For instance, a content analysis of school textbooks in Georgia revealed that in the 8th grade history textbook it makes out that no women participated in the historical process (Khomeriki, et al., 2012). This is a history of men, filled with war, where men are depicted as kings, soldiers, decision-makers or rebels who make history, while the ‘passive,’ even insignificant, roles are assigned to women. In such a way, reclaiming ‘Her-story’ is an alternative way for feminists to fight the dominant patriarchal ‘Histories,’ which erase women’s actions from their pages.

The current situation in terms of gender equality in Georgia

The experts perceive that gender inequality is prevalent in contemporary Georgia. Some of them argue that gender discrimination is visible on the surface, however, others state further that it is visible only to those who are sensitive enough to notice, and otherwise this problem remains implicit. As one of the experts noted: ***'the laws are gender sensitive and formal education is also not a problem for women in Georgia.'*** (Expert I). This creates a false impression with regard to gender equality- presenting the situation as satisfactory, while it is not. The neglect and invisibility of women's concerns and gender issues is due to a number of factors. Firstly, the reason may lie in the language or misuse of terms describing social and political injustices. Very often, instead of the term 'oppression,' we use the term 'discrimination' in order to express injustice. Cudd and Anderson (2004) distinguish these two terms, which may elucidate the 'invisibility of gender discrimination' in society. By 'discrimination' they are referring to conscious actions and policies excluding some groups and confining them to inferior positions. Discrimination is a part of oppression, which in turn "often exists in the absence of overt discrimination" (Cudd & Anderson, 2004). Cudd and Anderson (2004) argue that oppression implies a vast and deep injustice which is often unconscious and invisible and encountered by people in ordinary interactions, such as media and cultural interaction, whereas discrimination itself is an individualist concept insofar as it entails an identifiable victim of the discrimination and the agent who consciously perpetuates injustice. This theory can explain the invisibility of discrimination among Georgians: we are frequently dealing with oppression which is covert discrimination. Further explanations of the invisibility of the problem can be found in Okin's writings. According to Okin (1994), the dichotomy between the public (political and economic) and private (domestic and personal) is considered valid and only public issues are deemed as an appropriate sphere for theories of justice or

politics. Hence, “family is regarded as an inappropriate context for justice since love, altruism, or shared interests are assumed to hold sway within it...It is sometimes taken for granted that it is a realm of hierarchy and injustice” (Okin, 1994). This could explain the negligence of gender issues as something irrelevant and serious (read ‘public’) by Georgian society. The public/private dichotomy has serious implications for women as it takes for granted the inequalities of resources and power within the household. Moreover, it ignores the work performed by women, since only the work done for pay in the public sphere is considered as work (Okin, 1994). The limitation of this theory is that the gender oppression of women is not restricted only to the private domain (household), but rather continues to manifest itself in the public realm.

Multiple meanings of gender equality have been revealed during interviews with experts, at many levels, and we can discern various forms and spaces where gender inequality is evident. The concept of gender in/equality perhaps generates misconceptions among Georgians because it comes across as being abstract. However, one may be confronted by various forms of gender oppression on a daily basis which are implicit manifestations of gender inequality. The experts also identify several social and political actors and institutions responsible for gender injustice and for hindering the overcoming of discrimination.

In recent years the Georgian government has made progressive steps towards achieving gender equality. Georgia signed the CEDAW in 1994; in 2004 the government formed the Gender Equality Advisory Council under the Speaker of the Parliament of Georgia; in 2006 the Georgian parliament adopted the Law on Fighting against Human Trafficking and the Law on Elimination of Domestic Violence, Protection and Assistance of Domestic Violence Victims; further, in 2010, the Law on Gender Equality entered into force. Thus, since the 1990s the government has attempted to create an adequate gender equality legislature. However, all these efforts are to no avail if they are not put into practice.

‘The laws and gender committee has no practical implication and exist only on paper...For instance, a gender analysis of school books was indicated in all action plans, but the Ministry of Education has not done anything in this regard as yet. Whatever was done was done by NGOs and on their own initiative.’(Expert I.)

‘I don’t see any difference between the situation before the gender equality law was adopted in 2010 and after.’ (Expert I.)

‘Although the adoption of laws on gender equality has not brought any substantial change, experts recognize the importance of adequate legislature and insist on further amendments to ‘gender neutral’ laws. They acknowledge the perplexity of the issue and state: ‘It looks like a chicken and egg dilemma, should we first work on society’s awareness-raising or first create gender sensitive legislature and then everything else?’ (Expert T.)

The government is held accountable by the experts for taking sensible and prompt action against inequality. While they recognized that the government has attempted to bring change through the adoption of laws such as gender equality and domestic violence, they criticized the implementation of these policies and the lack of mechanisms to bring them into practice. This hindrance and failure to bring real change in terms of gender equality makes feminists doubt the government’s real intentions. They consider the government’s actions to be hypocritical, which merely aims at showing to the West their efforts and progressiveness, while actually not being interested in the issue or not taking it seriously enough. The reality does not illustrate any substantial change in this regard. In the words of experts affiliated with the Independent Feminist Group:

‘The government took responsibility in front of the West and western institutions and that’s why there remains simply no other way left. However, in reality the government is not interested in or ready to solve the problem.’ (Expert T.)

‘The government should indicate to the public directly the problem and its importance.’ (Expert T.)

The experts noted that the law is not enough because its implementation is not guaranteed and practical mechanisms to eliminate gender equality are lacking. For instance, the introduction of the law on domestic violence was definitely a positive step, but its implementation is still a question. In the case of domestic violence, women are compelled to go through formal procedures and deal with the local police who are part of the same patriarchal society and often lack gender sensitivity. Therefore, there is a risk for women coming under a double threat such as facing domestic violence and of then becoming a victim of verbal abuse by policemen after filing a complaint.

‘It takes a woman a lot to decide to file a complaint in case of domestic violence, and when she finally calls the police, instead of support she gets insensitive policemen.’ (Expert I.)

‘On 8th of March, the Independent Feminists Group organized a protest demonstration demanding women’s rights. One of the slogans was ‘We want rights, not flowers.’ A police car was passing by and when the occupants saw us, they stopped and said: ‘change your sex and your rights will be protected.’ (Expert T.)

‘My neighbor was a victim of domestic violence and she called the police. Her father-in law is a policeman, too, so when the police came, they convinced her to stay at home and keep quiet.’ (Expert M.)

These quotations illustrate how women are discouraged from lodging complaints of domestic violence or abuse in the name of their protection. The literature offers some explanations for the inadequate response of the police to gender-based violence and particularly to domestic violence. As noted before, our police come from the same patriarchal society and their behavior follows traditional discriminative values such as expecting women to obey the men in their families and to tolerate domestic violence or sacrifice their self-interest for the sake and the welfare of their family. However, they never ask why the same

thought for the family's welfare did not cross the mind of the culprit. Moreover, the attributes of "good" and "bad" women are deeply rooted in their minds. A "good" woman is one who bears suffering and does not complain, while a "bad" woman is one who argues, and who values her own desires and individuality (Bhattacharya, 2013).

The hindrance to an effective response to domestic violence is not restricted only to the patriarchal mindset of insensitive policemen and concerned authorities, but instead has a complex nature rooted in socio-economic problems. The silence of domestic violence victims can be determined by both the malfunctioning of the legislature, namely, law on domestic violence and labor code, and the victims' socio-economically disadvantaged position. Actually, the expert interviews suggest that these two problems intersect each other and make it more non-viable for victims to escape the violence

'[When experiencing domestic violence] a girl cannot file a case because on the one hand she is afraid that the family will not accept her if she has to return home and on the other hand, she cannot go independently, because if she has a child, there is no one to leave the child with. They may also, in such a case, have difficulty finding a job.' (Expert M.)

Thus, among the many reasons of the silence of domestic violence victims, experts distinguished the fact of women's economic dependency on the husband and a lack of social support systems. According to Okin (1994), this implies that women have less "bargaining power" within marriage and, in case of divorce her economic status deteriorates even further, whereas the average divorcing man's economic status improves. Further, an internalization of oppression can be sited as another explanation which implies that victimhood becomes an identity and makes it difficult for the victim to imagine her life beyond this adopted violence (Young, 2004).

Gender inequality manifests itself in the form of violence against women, which may include rape, sexual harassment, domestic violence, or something else. However, the experts emphasized only do-

mestic violence from the above-mentioned forms of violence. They consider domestic violence as the most pertinent issue, which consists of physical, sexual and psychological violence. This suggests that experts/feminists need to extend the problem of gender violence beyond domestic violence and include in their rhetoric all established structures of gender-based violence. Gender violence is an inevitable outcome of gender inequality and discriminative values and relationships. It is necessary to show how widespread a problem is, which many women may think is their individual problem. It is indispensable to convey what the links between gender based violence and gender inequality are.

Another manifestation of gender inequality is noticeable through prescribed gender roles, which is visible in both the public and private realms. In the private realm, at home, the gender roles are strictly divided among men and women. In the words of an interviewed expert: *“some girls still think that if a husband washes the dishes, he is not a man.”* The gender division of roles in the public sphere is demonstrated by the lack of female political leaders. Women are poorly represented in the power structure. Their participation in the decision-making bodies and their visibility is also a paramount problem. The experts also complain that the recommendations at the policy level are ineffective. For example, the Venice Commission recommended that the list of political parties should include two female members for every 10 members. However, all political parties, with the exception of two showed no interest in applying these recommendations, and those women who ran could not get enough support from voters. Experts think that this is a dangerous tendency, because in the future some political parties may say that these kinds of recommendation are ineffective at catching the attention of voters.

‘In politics, women are the main force during the pre-election period to mobilize the electorate and they perform all the ‘dirty work’, but when it comes to the division of power, a large number of people and even politicians think that women cannot be decision-makers, nobody will vote for a woman, etc.’ (Expert N.)

The experts argue that the solution to this problem lies in the introduction of quotas: ***'The experience of other countries shows that quotas work. Why should we start from zero when there are the experiences and examples of European countries showing that quotas improve the situation?'*** (Expert E.)

The experts also blame society itself, which is patriarchal and reproduces gender segregation by its unwritten laws and norms. ***'The values which are cherished and the fact that according to surveys, the Church, police and army have the greatest trust within society, emphasize that gender equality is an enemy of this, a society which trusts the most patriarchal institutions...that propagate power and masculinity.'*** (Expert, K.)

Further, the experts often name the “backwardness” of Georgian society as one of the reasons for gender inequality: ***'I think when it comes to gender equality, we are still at the level the USA was at 40-50 years ago.'*** (Expert E.)

The experts concluded that the solution lies in awareness-raising. One noted: ***'The whole of society needs a lot of training in this matter.'*** (Expert M.) The role of education was emphasized as a vital player in the process of fighting gender inequality. According to the experts, there are very few professors who can really talk about sensitive issues such as gender with their students. Instead, education at schools and universities reproduces the stereotypes and misconceptions regarding gender issues. The pertinent problems of gender discrimination cannot be conveyed if even schoolteachers are unaware of the problem: ***'Schoolteachers do not know the difference between gender and sex. We had a trial test and only a few teachers knew the right answer.'*** (Expert I.)

The experts hold NGOs accountable for the invisibility of gender discrimination, pointing to the NGOs' lack of effective communicative skills and insufficient work at the grassroots level. As one of the experts stated, ***'There is no visibility of the problem. It creates a lot of trouble because when feminists and NGOs organize protest demos***

regarding gender discrimination, people cannot see the problem! (Expert II.). The lack of information and communication necessitates the creation of a new language, an effective medium to convey the problem to the public in an understandable way. This entails work at the grassroots level to raise awareness and, in the case of protest demonstrations, inform people of the issues the protest is about.

Another hindrance to social change is the approach NGO's employ in their work. The experts suggest that NGOs need to enhance their working style at the base level. NGO activists working on women's issues do not consider themselves feminists. It is largely defined by their conformity, which in turn is an obstacle to any transformation with regard to challenging patriarchal gender norms and roles: ***'Activists from NGOs working since the 90s on women's issues do not identify themselves as feminists and say that 'I'm working on women's issues, but I'm not a feminist'... These activists actually worked a lot when it came to the adoption of the legislation about 'domestic violence,' but they have done nothing towards deconstructing stereotypes because they do not identify themselves as feminists.'*** (Expert T.)

The government adopted some significant laws regarding gender equality and NGOs are working on it, yet as one of the experts noted, ***'It has been almost ten years since we started working on gender issues, but we can't feel any changes in society.'*** (Expert I.) The question arises as to why that should be. What are the hindrances preventing progressive change from sweeping away the old order?

Interviews with the experts suggested that it is difficult to juxtapose the attitudes of youth with those of the elderly towards gender equality. The experts do not consider the young as a homogenous group, and distinguish two dominant discourses with regards to gender depending on the youth's worldviews, such as conservative and liberal:

'Those with liberal worldviews are more gender sensitive, but those under the influence of traditional religious-nationalist discourses are even more conservative than their parents' generation.' (Expert T.)

In the words of one expert: ***'This reflects the existing two tendencies in Georgian society overall.'*** (Expert T.) Thus, according to the experts, young people's worldviews are polarized, as is the discourse in society.

On the one hand, those experts who did not discern different groups of youth and viewed them as a homogenous group refuted the fact of the youth's progressiveness compare to the elder generation with regard to gender equality: ***'There is not a big difference between young people's and the elderly's attitudes towards gender equality.'*** (Expert I.) On the other hand, those experts who distinguished several groups of youth depending on their worldviews acknowledged that young people influenced by certain ideologies and goals such as "liberal, career oriented, not brainwashed by the Church," are far more open to social transformation including gender equality: ***'Those young people who are more focused on their careers are considered to be more open and liberal.'*** (Expert K.)

The expert interviews indicated the polarization of youth: modern and conservative. Some of the experts further split the category of conservative youth: traditional and religious. Therefore, in the words of one expert, we have three types of youth: traditional, religious (which are conservative) and liberal/modern: ***'The first category derives its understanding of gender roles from the traditions; the second, from religion; and the third group of youth are the leading force, they live an active life in the city and are involved in everyday activities.'*** (Expert K.)

Liberal and modern youth in turn can be divided into 'real' and 'superficial' liberals. The experts claim that, among the liberal youth, being in favor of gender equality has acquired a meaning of progressiveness and they cannot fully practice it in their everyday life. ***'Among youth nowadays, it's not cool to be a sexist, but it stays only at the level of image.'*** (Expert M.)

'This [modern/liberal] group shows that they are sensitive, but actually it's just for show.' (Expert K.)

The expert interviews suggest that the liberal youth's theory of progressiveness and gender equality does not line up with their daily practice.

Conclusion

The interviews with experts revealed some pertinent gender issues. The awareness of gender equality and its understanding is highly unsatisfactory, but feminism is even more unacceptable and strange to society than gender equality. The reasons for such misconception and misuse of feminism and gender equality has several explanations. One of the widest-spread misconceptions deems feminism as something imposed from the West and threatening to local traditions and Georgian-ness by the taking away of national and traditional identities. The experts, in order to challenge this widely perceived opinion, have created their own counter-narratives in order to prove the 'Georgian-ness' of feminism. They suggest that it is difficult to juxtapose the attitudes of young and elderly people towards gender equality. The experts don't consider youth as a homogenous group and distinguish two dominant discourses with regard to gender, depending on the youth's worldviews, such as conservative and liberal.

Further, the experts discern various forms and spaces where gender inequality takes place. Firstly, most of the experts view the government as responsible for taking sensible and prompt actions against inequality. Despite the government's progressive steps towards achieving gender equality, its efforts are of no avail if they are not put into practice. Secondly, gender inequality manifests itself in the form of violence against women, namely, domestic violence. The experts emphasized the problems and obstacles in preventing and responding to domestic violence. The hindrances entail the local policemen's insensitivity and patriarchal mindset, socio-economic problems and lack of practical mechanisms in legislature. Another manifestation of gender inequality, according to the experts, is visible through the

prescription of gender roles leading to the lack of female political leaders. Finally, the experts noted the malfunctioning of those NGOs working on women's issues. According to the experts, the solution to the problem lies in raising the awareness of the public which can be accomplished through media, educational institutions, NGOs and the government.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The aim of the proposed study was to a) identify and evaluate current perceptions, attitudes, and awareness of Georgian youth in relation to gender and gender equality in Georgia; b) to explore the disparities of the perceptions, attitudes, and awareness in the scope of traditional/local to modern/global frame according to different age and sex groups - teenagers vs young adults, male vs female, urban vs suburban;

To meet the above-mentioned goals and objectives, qualitative and quantitative methods of social research were applied. The project implementation was divided into two phases. At the first phase literature search and secondary data analyses was conducted. The second phase implied conducting fieldwork in three cities of Georgia (Tbilisi, Zugdidi and Telavi).

PHASE 1

Literature review

In order to develop a comprehensive theoretical background and to create the first draft of a categorization framework for modern/global and traditional/local attitudes and perceptions, a literature review of existing empirical studies was conducted. It aimed to provide the background for the topic of research and its justification. First and foremost, a set of useful articles and books was identified which were then scanned efficiently, according to relevance. Consequently, after the meticulous selection of existing literature, the bibliography was finalized. When the selected bibliography was broad enough to ensure the inclusion of all relevant materials, the team began to review the literature, looking at the issues connected with theory, concepts, methodology and both qualitative and quantitative research. The guiding concept defining the literature review was in accordance with the research issue and the addressed questions.

In the literature review, firstly, relevant concepts were defined and the meaning and importance of gender equality was explicated. Further, the research on young people's attitudes and perceptions about gender equality, involving indicators at the macro and micro level, was reviewed. The team members analyzed various studies explicating young people's attitudes and perceptions towards gender roles and gender equality across the world. Finally, the gender equality policies and studies were analyzed in Georgia. A number of instruments concerning gender and their possible effects were reviewed. Based on the literature review, the meaning of gender equality was conceptualized.

Secondary data analysis

The secondary data analysis was based on existing data sets (Caucasus Barometer 2010, 2011; World Value Survey 1996, 2008) for studying the perceptions, attitudes, and awareness of Georgian youth towards gender and gender equality. In the first part of the analysis, descriptive statistics were collected in order to reveal a comparative perspective on gender distribution in education and employment, as well as on gender-determined views. As for the second part of the analysis, inferential statistics was gathered to identify reasons for the revealed trends in the first part of the data analysis.

The first part of the secondary data analysis – situational analysis - was conducted by processing data from the World Value Survey 1996 (WVS), the World Value Survey (WVS) 2008 and the Caucasus Barometer (CB) 2010, 2011. Firstly, the original questionnaires were obtained from these surveys. Then, gender sensitive questions were selected and synchronized. Finally, questions that were repeated in at least two of the databases were selected for more detailed descriptive analysis. Cross tabulation in SPSS was used to examine the extent of the transformations in the young people's perspectives. In each data set, the data for the target age group (18- 25) for this survey

were separated from the rest of the sample and activated during all statistical operations. Where gender sensitive questions were cross-tabbed with the gender variables, a chi-square test was conducted. Additionally, several demographic variables were processed. Aside from examining gender distribution in education and employment, the gender attitudes explored were as follows: the preferred gender of a child, gender distribution in education and employment, gender roles in families and in a society, and women's private lives- including their sexual freedom.

The aim of the second part of the data analysis was to understand the determinants of the previously revealed gender attitudes in the target youth. To accomplish this goal, a dataset from the Caucasus Barometer was used. The year of 2010 was chosen for the analysis, given that it was the only year that included comparatively complete data on gender attitudes and views and socio-demographic indicators. These data allowed us to examine the relationships between the relevant explanatory and dependent variables.

The dependent variables were taken from responses to the different categories of gender views. Attitudes concerning the preferred gender of a child, whether men have more of a right to education and work, gender roles in the family, and some aspects of women's personal lives were examined as separate categories with regard to the independent variables. Some variables from within the categories were merged to form a single variable. Views on gender distribution in education and employment were merged and then used as a total score of gender attitude towards gender distribution in education and employment. This was also done with the responses to the following three questions in the category of women's private lives: from what age should women be allowed to have sex before marriage; from what age should women be allowed to have a relationship with a man outside of a marriage; and from what age should women be allowed to live separately from their families. The total score from these three variables was used to reflect the gender view of women's private lives. This score revealed an overall pattern of gender atti-

tudes on views in the same category. All of the other variables within the categories were used in their original forms.

The independent variables for the socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics were identified based on a literature review and the Georgian context analysis. Namely, the effects of factors such as gender, the type of settlement, religion, education, and employment were measured for each category of gender attitudes and views. Depending on the type of variable, chi-square analyses were conducted to determine any significant differences in the response patterns. These analyses were followed by the measure of association in order to measure the relative strength of the relationship between two variables. In contrast, the multiple regression models were constructed using specific variables.

PHASE II

Developing research tools

The third stage of the project included planning and conducting focus groups with Georgian youngsters aged 16-19 and 20-25 in three cities of Georgia – Tbilisi, Telavi and Zugdidi -as part of the fieldwork. The first step towards achieving this aim was the preparation and development of a research tool –a focus group guide. The guide was based on the information obtained from literature analysis, secondary data processing and expert interviews. The data derived, particularly from the expert interviews, highlighted the issues that needed to be addressed during the discussions with the youngsters. As a result, the following issues were included in the unstructured focus group guide: gender equality, feminism, male and female roles, rights, equality, significance of education and career, family and distribution of domestic tasks, family violence, women’s sexual freedom, and the influence of religious institutions on the existing attitudes and traditions.

The guide, made up of eight discussion topics and twenty questions, was tested by means of two pilot focus groups. The purpose of the

pilot study was to:

1. Improve the interview guide;
2. Determine the wording of certain questions;
3. Remove unnecessary questions;
4. Add those topics that the youngsters will touch upon during the discussion and that were important for studying the above issues;
5. Get an approximate idea of the issues they felt comfortable discussing and the issues they tended to try to avoid.

The two pilot focus groups (one made up of only female and the other of only male participants) were conducted with the participants selected in Tbilisi. The participants were selected based on pre-determined criteria. The focus group was sexually segregated in order to obtain maximally sincere and truthful views and attitudes from the participants with respect to the discussed issues. The segregation of groups on the basis of sex increased the likelihood that the participants, when answering sensitive questions, would not be influenced by the feeling of respect or the desire to be more likeable in the eyes of the opposite sex.

The focus group was selected based on two criteria – age (16-25) and place of residence. Four out of the ten participants lived in the downtown area of the city, three of them lived at some distance from the downtown and three of them lived in the outlying areas of the city. The information obtained from the pilot study was processed on the basis of detailed analysis and transcription. The pilot study showed that the selected participants' attitude was more gender-sensitive than insensitive. This can be explained, on the one hand by the fact that the respondents lived in a city and living in a city, according to the literature analysis and secondary data (see Section on Secondary Data), is one of the significant factors in the formation of gender-sensitive attitude, and, on the other hand, by the fact that most of the selected students studied at or had graduated from the faculty

of humanities and social sciences and had been taught gender studies as part of their curriculum. The pilot focus group highlighted the necessity of adding one important criterion to the selection process - selecting students (aged 20-25) from as many different faculties as possible, so that the groups participating in the focus group discussions were maximally heterogeneous.

The pilot focus group discussions revealed the questions that the participants found hard to answer or in some cases – to understand.

It was evident that during the pilot discussions the youngsters did not feel comfortable answering personal questions and found it easier to talk about issues that concerned other people. Accordingly, the guide of the focus group was fundamentally changed on the basis of the pilot study results. The revised guide did not include questions, but rather offered participants various gender-sensitive or insensitive/stereotypical situations for discussion. The discussion guide consisted of four main topics: a) Gender roles of men and women in the family and distribution of domestic tasks; b) Equality between men and women with respect to employment; c) Stereotypes/stereotypical views of society on the rights and duties of men and women and d) Sexual rights. Four or five different situations were described for each topic. The participants were asked to discuss or argue about those situations.

Fieldwork

For the main field research, 96 youngsters (aged 20-25) and 24 teenagers (aged 16-19) were selected in three large cities of Georgia – Tbilisi, Telavi and Zugdidi.

Aside from the capital city Tbilisi, the regional cities were selected according to the number of organizations working on gender-related issues in them - Zugdidi has one of the highest number of organizations and Telavi one of the lowest in Georgia. Five focus group interviews were conducted in each city. The focus group population was broken

down according to age (in order to compare two different age groups: teens and young adults 16-19 vs 20-26) and sex (boys and girls - in order to get comparable data regarding the respondents gender).The focus group discussions were guided by the discussion guide.

Each focus group consisted of eight participants (four girls and four boys) and was attended by young people with different interests, social and educational backgrounds. The recruiters followed predetermined selection criteria in recruiting young people with a view to setting up diverse rather than homogenous groups. The average duration of each focus group was 100 minutes. Each participant of the focus group received GEL 10 as an incentive for taking part in the project. All focus group data were transcribed, combined, summarized and used as a basis for the analysis presented here.

Analyses

Focus group interviews collected within the framework of this research project were analyzed using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo. After creating a new project in the software, the documents containing the transcript of each focus group discussion were imported to NVivo. Following that, a new classification with two attributes was created and linked to the above-mentioned documents. As a result, on the one hand, the values named 'Tbilisi,' 'Telavi' and 'Zugdidi' were assigned to the attribute of Location, and on the other hand, the values defined as '16-19' or '20-25' were assigned to the attribute of Age. Since the focus groups consisted of both male and female respondents, for the purposes of comprehensive analysis it was decided to code the qualitative data conveying female and male perspectives in separate nodes, although within the same project. Thus, the views expressed by men and women on the same subject fell into different nodes which mirrored each other (e.g. Parent node –'Roles in Family,' Child node –'Men should never do the housework' were created for both male and female respondents).

It was understood that in the case of qualitative data, a very accurate review and summary would be needed. Therefore, the gathered data was read several times. After the coding process had been completed, the prevalence of codes was summarized, the similarities and differences in related codes were discussed across distinct original sources/contexts, and the relationship between one or more codes was compared. In the end, with the help of matrix queries, it was possible to compare the attitudes of focus group participants towards different issues related to family, career/occupation and sexuality based on respondents' location, age and gender.

CHAPTER IV

GENDER ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS AMONG YOUTH IN GEORGIA – QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter explores gender-role attitudes and views among youth aged 18-25 in Georgia. During the last fifteen years, the country has gone through many changes, including the attempts of transformation and reevaluation of gender-related concepts. However, gender equality still seems to be a far reaching goal in the given reality (Japaridze 2012).

Many international studies (LaFont 2010; Lewis and Clift 2001) demonstrate that young people represent a progressive force in social change and in the transformation of social and cultural meanings that lead to more liberal attitudes towards gender roles. It is estimated that a number of factors, including gender, education, the type of settlement, employment and religion, influence the understanding of gender equality and gender roles in families and in society. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is: a) to determine whether young people in Georgia have more liberal attitudes regarding a range of gender issues; and b) to examine the determinants of the revealed gender attitudes. For this reason, quantitative analysis was conducted from available dataset - the Caucasus Barometer and EU survey. The data sets include a range of questions on gender determined attitudes and stereotypes. The data analysis was conducted on two levels: Situational analysis and Analysis of determining factors.

Situational analysis was done to determine whether young people these days have liberal attitudes regarding a range of gender issues. While, as was mentioned in previous chapters, it has been a while since international and local programs on gender issues were launched and implemented in Georgia, naturally, the young generation has been exposed to new ideas and concepts regarding gender roles in family and society. Therefore, at this stage it was hypothesized

that young women and men these days would hold more liberal attitudes than the older generation and young people in the 1990s had. For this reason in-time-perspective analysis was done which provided comparative descriptive statistics on gender views and attitudes since 1996. Comparison in years allowed the opportunity to see whether there are any differences in views and attitudes among young people of different generations. As the data analysis showed that there were no differences in gender views since 1996, the next level of the analysis - analysis of determining factor - was planned in order to detect reasons and causes for the revealed trends.

An analysis of determining factors was done to explain the trends and patterns revealed in the in-time-perspective analysis. In particular, data from 2010 was used to explore determinants of revealed gender views. The dataset of 2010 was chosen as it is the only data so far allowing examination of a range of critical issues that are not included in other datasets. In addition to this, the year of 2010 represents a good reference period to see whether implemented gender-related programs and policies resulted in any changes in the perceptions of the young generation. The analysis of determining factors, which was done through inferential statistical analysis, examined a number of variables affecting gender-determined views. The results represented a good foundation to the further qualitative research that you can find in the next chapter.

Situational Analysis – Gender Determined Attitudes

The results of the in-time-perspective data analysis highlight the following major tendency: no significant changes have been detected in gender distribution in education and employment or in the gender views and attitudes of Georgian youth since 1996. Traditional attitudes regarding the preference to have a son, gender distribution in education and employment, family gender roles, and restrictions on women's personal lives, including their sexual freedom, still prevail

among today's youth in Georgia. In particular, the majority shared the belief in masculine superiority.

Education and Employment. To begin with gender distribution of youth in *education*, the descriptive analysis shows that the majority of female and male respondents 18- to 25-years-old had completed a secondary education, while relatively fewer respondents had obtained higher education (World Value Survey, 1996; World Value Survey 2008; Caucasus Barometer, 2010; Caucasus Barometer, 2011). The data demonstrates similar trends for the both genders. An exception can be found in the year of 2008 when the majority of young men (57%) had secondary education yet a significant number of young women (43%) held degree from higher education. A high rate of youth without tertiary education can be seen in all given years. This was expected for this group (18- to 25-years-old) given that many were students and had not yet completed their higher education in the period of being interviewed. Chi-square tests were conducted to determine if there are significant differences in the pattern of responses for gender categories. Statistically significant differences was revealed in the case of the data analysis from 1996 ($p < 0.05$) and 2008 ($p < 0.05$). As for the results from the years of 2010 and 2011 ($p > 0.05$), only general trends can be discussed.

Table#1: Gender distribution in education according to years

YEAR	MULTIPLE CHOICE RESPONSES	MALE		FEMALE	
		count	% ¹	count	%
1996 (WV3)	NONE	0	0	1	0
	PRIMERY EDUCATION	50	20	29	13
	SECONDARY EDUCATION	162	66	147	66
	HIGHER EDUCATION (without degree)	11	5	8	4
	HIGHER EDUCATION (with degree)	22	9	39	17
Total (469)		245	100	224	100
2008 (WV5)	NONE	0	0	0	0
	PRIMERY EDUCATION	11	10	6	6
	SECONDARY EDUCATION	57	52	38	35
	HIGHER EDUCATION (without degree)	9	8	18	17
	HIGHER EDUCATION (with degree)	32	29	47	43
Total (218)		109	100	109	100
2010 (CB2010)	NONE	1	1	2	2
	PRIMERY EDUCATION	9	9	12	10
	SECONDARY EDUCATION	68	66	78	67
	HIGHER EDUCATION (with degree)	25	24	24	21
Total (N=236)		103	100	116	100
2011 (CB2011)	NONE	1	1	2	1
	PRIMERY EDUCATION	19	17	23	14
	SECONDARY EDUCATION	68	61	94	59
	HIGHER EDUCATION (with degree)	23	24	39	21
Total (N=271)		111	100	160	100

A high rate of *unemployed youth* was detected in the data (World Value Survey 2008; Caucasus Barometer, 2010; Caucasus Barometer

1 In some of the tables in the given chapter (on quantitative analysis) percent columns did not include all the figures that contribute to the total of 100%. Answer categories such as “interview errors”, “refuse to answer”, “break off”, “legal skip” were not included in the tables. Therefore, in some cases all the present figures did not receive totals of 100%.

2011)². For the same reason as it was noted, in the case of gender distribution in education, that the majority³ without jobs was predictable. Considering the age of the target group, the majority of respondents were expected to be students. However, the revealed results are still notable as they give an overview on the primary activity of the young people. The results in all given years are statistically significant (see table 2: 2008, p=.000; 2010, p=.003; 2011, p=.000)

Table 2 shows that in 2008, in the male group, while the majority (55%) were unemployed, 21% were students. The rest were distributed among the categories of full-time (14%) and part-time (4%) job and the category of self-employed. The same trend is revealed in the case of young women. Namely, 39% were unemployed and 32% were students. In addition to this, 17% identified themselves as housewives who did not work. As for employment categories, 10% of women respondents were found to be employed full-time and 3% had part-time jobs. In 2010, while 73% of men and 57% women were unemployed, significantly less young men (27%) and women (12%) had jobs. In 2011, the table shows that 42% did not have jobs, 22% were students and 20% were employed. On the contrary 30% of women reported being unemployed, another 30% said that their primary activity was as a housewife and 24% were students. Similar to other cases, employment categories had minor rates. Overall, there is a clear trend that in the categories of full-time and part-time employment as well as the category of self-employed, young women are less represented than young men. It is also interesting to note that women are slightly more represented in the category of student than men.

2 Employment data in year of 1996 was not available for the target age group (18-to 25-years-old)

Table#2: Gender distribution in employment/primary activity according to years

YEAR	QUESTION	MULTIPLE CHOICE RESPONSES				
		MALE		FEMALE		
		count	%	count	%	
2008 (WV5)	Employment status	Student	23	21	35	32
		Housewife	0	0	18	17
		Unemployed	60	55	42	39
		Full-time employee	15	14	11	10
		Part-time employee	4	4	3	3
		Self-employed	7	6	0	0
Total (N=218)		109	100	109	100	
2010 (CB2010)	Do you have a job?	No	82	73	108	57
		Yes	30	27	14	12
Total (N=236)		112	100	122	100	
2011 (CB2011)	Primary activity/ situation	Student	23	21	39	24
		Housewife	0	0	49	31
		Unemployed	47	42	48	30
		Have a job	25	23	16	10
		Self-employed	13	12	5	3
		Total		111	100	160

Although the data of 2010 did not contain questions on primary activity, it did question the type of unemployment which allowed exploring in more detail the type of unemployed young women and men. Table 3 shows that the majority of both men (46%) and women (17%) are looking for a job. Students are represented by 15% of male and 10% of female respondents. The remaining categories have the lowest percentage in the male group. As for women, similar to the student category, 11% stated that they are housewives. The rest are found in the lowest percentages in the remaining categories. The revealed results are statistically significant ($p=0.00$)

Table#3: Type of Unemployment in 2010 (CB2010)

QUESTIONS	RESPONSES	MALE	FEMALE	
Type of Unemploy- ment	DK	Count	0	1
		% within Gender	0	1
		% of Total	0	0,4
	Unemployed (looking for a job)	Count	52	40
		% within Gender	46	17
		% of Total	22	17
	Unemployed and interested (NOT looking for a job)	Count	3	8
		% within Gender	3	3
		% of Total	1	3
	Unemployed and NOT interested (NOT looking for a job)	Count	1	5
		% within Gender	1	2
		% of Total	%	2
	Student	Count	17	24
		% within Gender	15	10
		% of Total	7	10
	Housewife	Count	0	25
		% within Gender	0	11
		% of Total	0	11
Other	Count	6	3	
	% within Gender	5	1	
	% of Total	3	1	
Total	Count	112	122	
	% within Gender	100	100	

Gender views on gender distribution in education and employment. Table 4 gives information on young people's opinions on women's and men's representation in education and employment. When respondents were asked whether tertiary education is more important for boys than girls, the vast majority disagreed in all given years. Namely, the youth perceived education as equally important for both genders. Moreover, it is also notable that the rate of those who disagreed is increasing over the years. In 1996, 64 % of young people disagreed with the statement; in 2008, 69% and in 2010, 73%.

There is a different situation in the case of employment. Respondents were asked whether they agree or disagree with the statement that *when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job*. In 1996, 63% agreed, 26% disagreed and 11.1% neither agreed nor disagreed. In 2008, more rates are detected in the later categories and less in the category of “agree”. In other words, while still a majority, fewer respondents approved the statement in 2008. As for the year of 2010, 56% of young people were in favour of the statement. Those who were disapproving (5%) and those who were uncertain about the question were in minority (22% and 30% respectively). In general, it is clear that the majority believed that men should have more right to a job when there is a high rate of unemployment. Moreover, there are no differences in the responses of men in different years.

Table#4: Gender views on gender distribution in education and employment

YEARS	QUESTIONS	RESPONCES	COUNT	%
1996 (WV3)	University in more important for a boy	agree	157	34
		disagree	302	64
	Total (N=469)		459	100
	When jobs are scarce a man should have more right to a job	agree	294	63
		neither	52	11
		disagree	121	26
Total (N=469)		467	100	
<hr/>				
2008 (WV5)	University in more important for a boy	agree	62	28
		disagree	151	69
	Total (N=218)		213	100
	When jobs are scarce a man should have more right to a job	agree	100	46
		neither	47	22
		disagree	66	30
Total (N=218)		213	100	

		DK	17	7
	University in more important for a boy	agree	10	4
2010		disagree	173	73
(CB2010)	Total (N=236)		200	100
		DK	18	8
	When jobs are scarce a man should have more right to a job	agree	11	56
		disagree	132	5
	Total (N=236)		161	100

Gender Views on Preferred Gender of a Child. Table 5 provides data on respondents' preferences on preferred gender of a child. Traditional preferences for male children were detected. There are similar trends in the responses of youth from the data of 1996 and 2010. The vast majority (56% in 1996; 55% in 2010) preferred to have a son if they were to have only one child. In both years, after the son preference, the majority (25% and 38% respectively) reported that the child's sex was irrelevant. A preference for a daughter was found in a great minority in both years. As we see, after 14 years, the young generation still held a preference for a son over a daughter.

Table#5: Response rate on “preferred gender of a child”

YEAR	QUESTION	RESPONSES	COUNT	%
1996 (WV3)	Preferred gender of a child	A boy	261	56
		A girl	89	19
		Doesn't matter	116	25
		DK	3	0,6
	Total		469	100
2010 (CB2010)	Preferred gender of a child	A boy	129	55
		A girl	15	6
		Doesn't matter	89	38
		Total	236	100

Gender Views on Gender Roles in a Family. Descriptive statistics re-

vealed gender stereotypes on most of the questions on gender roles in a family in all the given years (see Table 6). To begin from the year of 1996, it can be seen that young people saw gender roles in a strictly traditional way. Being a housewife is equalled to a job outside the family and is seen as much an accomplishment as a full-time job could be. While 74% of young people agreed with the statement that “Being a housewife is as fulfilling as working,” only 20% expressed disagreement on the issue. On the questions, such as if both spouses should work and if a working woman is able to care as much as housewives do, most young people responded positively. Namely, 79% of the respondents see no problem when both husband and wife are employed in a family. Similarly, a great majority (86%) believed that employment does not affect the quality of relationship that a mother should have with her children. This means that a working woman was not perceived negatively. Conversely, it is interesting to note that when it came to income, the majority of respondents (50%) said that if a wife is the major breadwinner in a family, this would lead to problems in a relationship. Unfortunately, as there is no similar data in other years so it is not possible to make equivalent comparisons. Only the dataset from 2008 suggests the same question on housewives which is identical to the one presented in the data of 1996. As can be seen, in this case as well the majority see being a housewife as fulfilling as any other type of work (e.g. professional occupation, full-time/part-time job, etc.) could be. That said, it should be noted that, in comparison to 1996, in 2008 there is less disparity between those who agree (50%) and those who disagree (32%). Despite the fact that there is only one question that is reiterated in 1996 and 2008, the comparison still shows that there are no differences in gender perception.

In 2010, there are three questions on decision-making and breadwinning in a family. It is shown that 69% of young people name a man as a decision-maker in a family, 29% believe that power should be distributed equally, and only 1,3% think that a woman should be the one who “governs” a family. As for breadwinners, a great majority

said that a man is a major wage earner and this is the way it should be. Namely, 84% of the respondents believed that in most Georgian families, breadwinners are men and only 14% reported that men and women earn equally in families. Almost the same rates are detected when asked “Who *should be* a breadwinner in a family?” In both cases, a great minority of youth consider women as breadwinners in a family. This is completely in line with the results of 1996 where most respondents answered negatively on the question of wives having a greater income.

While there are different questions in given years, gender determined views on decision-making and bread-winning in a family could serve as indicators that since 1996 little has changed in terms of understanding of gender roles in a family.

Table#6: Gender Views on Gender Roles in a family (according to years)

YEAR	QUESTION	RESPONCES	COUNT	%
1996 (WVS3)	Being a housewife is as fulfilling as working	agree	346	74
		disagree	95	20
		Total	441(469)	100
	Can a working mother have a same warm and caring relationship with her kid as a non-working mother has?	agree	372	79
		disagree	82	18
		Total	454(469)	100
	Should both wife and husband work?	agree	403	86
		disagree	59	13
		Total	562(469)	100
	If a wife has more income than a husband, in most cases there are problems in a relationship	agree	234	50
		disagree	207	44
		Total	44 (469)	100
2008 (WVS5)	Being a housewife is as fulfilling as working	agree	108	50
		disagree	69	32
		Total	177(218)	100

		DK	2	1
2010 (CB2010)	Who is a breadwinner in a majority's families?	a man	197	84
		a woman	3	1
		equally	34	14
		Total	236	100
	Who should be the breadwinner in a family?	a man	83,5	84
		a woman	1,3	1
		equally	14,4	15
		Total	236	100
	Who should be the decision maker in a family?	a man	162	69
		a woman	3	1,3
		equally	68	29
		Total	233(236)	100

Gender views on Gender Differences in Leadership. Table 7 gives information on three different questions, two of which are repeated in subsequent years. The first question is about men being better political leaders. The majority of the respondents in 1996 and in 2008 approve the statement. In 1996, 73% over 23% reported that men are better political leaders. As for 2008, to the same question, 67% of young people expressed agreement and 28% disagreement with the statement. In the same year when respondents asked about whether men make better executive leaders, a great majority again approved (67% over 28%). The last results are from the data of 2011, when a large number of youth said that they would not vote for a woman in presidential elections. As we see, in general, a manager is still seen as an exceptionally masculine role.

Table#7: Gender views on gender roles in leadership (according to years)

YEAR	QUESTIONS	RESPONSES	COUNT	%
1996 (WVS3)	Men are better political leaders	agree	341	73
		disagree	109	23
		Total	450(469)	100
2008 (WVS5)	Men are better political leaders	agree	145	67
		disagree	60	28
		Total	205(218)	100
2011 (CB2011)	Would you vote for a women candidate in presidential elections?	DK	35	13
		yes	177	65
		no	56	21
		Total	271(268)	100

Gender Views on Women’s Private Lives and Sexual Freedom. In data from the Caucasus Barometer 2010, respondents were also asked about their opinions on women’s personal lives. The questions referred to the acceptable age for a woman a) to live separately from her family b) to have a sexual relationship before marriage and c) to cohabit with men without marriage. The vast majority of young people could not justify a woman having sexual relationship before/without marriage or to live separately from her family (see table 8). The highest rate (87%) in the category of “at no age” was detected in a question related to women having sex before marriage. This means that women’s sexual freedom is considered exceptionally negatively. Then comes the question on women cohabiting with men without marriage. 78% reported that it is not acceptable at any age for a woman to have a relationship with a man outside marriage. On the third question, the majority (53%) were also negative about a woman living separately from her family.

Critically, there were no inter-generational differences between the responses of young people and respondents aged 26 to 35 and older

than 36, as all of the respondents completely agreed on this matter. In addition to this, the results also demonstrated that the amount of the majority is increasing with the increase of age groups.

Table#8: Response rate of questions on “women’s private life and sexual freedom”

YEAR	QUESTIONS	RESPONCES	AGE					
			18-25		26-35		36+	
			count	%	count	%	count	%
2010 (N=2089)	At what age it is acceptable for a woman to live separately from her family?	at no age	111	53	172	61	934	69
		18-25	90	43	101	36	375	28
		26+	7	3	8	3	43	3
		Total	208	100	281	100	1352	100
	At what age it is acceptable for a woman to have sexual relationship before marriage?	at no age	180	87	249	88	1281	94
		18-25	25	12	27	10	72	5
		26+	3	1	6	2	14	1
		Total	208	100	282	100	1367	100
	At what age it is acceptable for a woman to cohabit with men without marriage?	at no age	153	78	218	79	1166	86
		18-25	24	12	36	13	75	6
		26+	20	10	21	8	112	8
		Total	197	100	275	100	1353	100

Factors Influencing Gender Determined Attitudes of Youth

To explain the patterns of gender attitudes among Georgian youth, the following variables were examined: gender, settlement type, religion, education and employment. The results showed that the explored issues were perceived differently with regard to the selected predictor variables. Gender was the only determinant regarding the opinions on preferred gender of a child and gender distribution in

education and employment. The type of settlement was related to views regarding family gender roles and was a predictor of attitudes and views regarding women’s private lives. Additionally, education level was identified as another possible explanation for gender-determined views regarding women’s sexual freedom and private lives.

Gender distribution in education and employment. As was shown above, gender distribution in education in target groups does not give complete data on whether the sample youth would have an eventual university degree. On the contrary, the results regarding the primary activity of young people revealed a group of housewives in the category of women in years of 2010 and 2011. For the study purposes, women’s distribution within different activities was further examined and compared. In particular, chi-square tests were conducted for most of the gender views and also the predictor variables (those that were used in other cases) in order to see if there are any determinants for a young woman to be a student, employed or a housewife. This revealed trends related to being a housewife. Among all the generated results, the only statistically significant relationship was detected on the independent variable of “Rate of attendance at religious services” ($p=.014$).

Table#9: Relationship between Rate of Attendance at Religious Services and Women’s Primary Activity in 2010

	Women Primary Activity (type of unemployment)				χ^2	p
	Unemployed	student	housewife	other		
Rate of attendance at religious services	% ⁴	%	%	%	29.333	.014
More than once a week	55	9	36	0		
Once a week	42	53	0	5		
At least once a month	48	23	26	3		
Only on special holidays	41	27	27	5		
Less often	81	0	19	0		

4 The given percents in all further tables (including Table 9) are within the categories of independent variables

As we see in Table 9, the majority of those who attend religious ceremonies more than once a week are unemployed women (55%). 36% of this category is constituted from housewives and only 9% are students. As for those who devote one day in a week to a religious occasion, we can see that 53% are students and 42% are unemployed women. In the next category 48% who do not work, 23% are students and 26% are housewives. 41% of women attend religious ceremonies only on special holidays. Students and housewives (27%) are equally distributed within this category. The last two are about the respondents who spent less often or never. While the majority of the former are unemployed, most housewives are presented in the category who attended less often. Although the test of significance shows that this relationship is not due to chance, the test of measure of association showed that the variables are moderately associated with each other (.31). The latter means that knowing that a woman is attending religious ceremonies gives moderate confidence in guessing her primary activity. The variable is not a very strong predictor.

The next table (see Table 10) provides similar data but in 2011. In comparison to Table 9, these results include categories of employment as well. In addition to this, it was revealed that more than one predictor had statistically significant results. It has been detected that type of settlement ($p=.000$), education (.000) and religion (.005) are significantly related to the dependent variable. Here, variable on religion is defined as importance of it in a daily life. On the other variables related to religion there were no statistically significant results detected.

TABLE #10: Relationship between Rate of Attendance at Religious Services and Women's Primary Activity in 2011

	Student	Housewife	Unemployed	Employed	Self-employed	Other	χ^2	p
Type of Settlement	%	%	%	%	%	%	34.120	.000
Capital	40	15	27	13	5	0		
Urban	18	27	35	16	2	2		
Rural	12	54	30	0	2	2		
Education	%	%	%	%	%	%	68.687	.000
No Primary	0	50	50	0	0	0		
Primary	5	55	32	0	0	9		
Secondary	36	32	23	7	1	0		
Higher	8	15	46	23	8	0		
Importance of Religion in Daily Life	%	%	%	%	%	%	40.312	.005
Not at all important	0	50	25	0	0	25		
Not very important	0	100	0	0	0	0		
Rather important	23	38	26	8	3	1		
Very important	27	20	36	13	4	0		

To begin with the type of settlement, the table shows that the majority of young women living in the capital are students (40%), followed by unemployed women (27%) and housewives (15%). In contrast, a large number of women in rural areas are housewives (54%) and unemployed (30%). Only 12% represent students. In urban areas the majority are unemployed (35%) and 27% are housewives. It is interesting to note that employed young women are more presented in the capital and urban areas than in rural places. Within the comparison of the capital and urban areas we see that those who live in urban places are more employed than those who are in the capital.

In the case of education, the table demonstrates that the highest number of housewives (55%) is presented in the category of primary education. This means that, in the period of being interviewed, the target group had only a primary education. Also, in the category of “no primary education,” housewives (50%) and unemployed women (50%) are equally presented. The majority who indicated secondary education were students (36%). In the same category, 32% are housewives and 23% are unemployed. The results show a large number of young women who completed tertiary education are unemployed. The last variable shows that, in the first three categories – those for whom religion is not at all important, not very important and rather important – the majority represents housewives. As for the young women for whom religion is very important they are presented under the category of unemployed.

When the strength of the relationships between independent variables and the dependent variable was calculated, the following was revealed: a) relationship between the type of settlement and the dependent variable is moderate (.32) b) the relationship between education and the dependent variable is moderate (.32) c) the relationship between education and the dependent variable is also moderate (.32) and d) the relationship between religion and the dependent variable is relatively or weakly moderate (.25).

The next table (Table 11) examines the relationship between independent variables and gender-determined views concerning education and employment. The statements - whether university degree is more important for a boy than a girl and whether men should have more right to a job or not – were approved/disapproved by survey participants. In the beginning, a number of predictors were correlated and chi-square tests were conducted separately for each predictor in relation to the dependent variables. This was done in order to create a list of independent variables the effect of which was further tested in a multiple-regression model. Chi-square tests revealed statistically significant results on the gender and employment predictors. In particular, tables 11 and 12 show that opinions on men having more right

to education and employment are determined by gender. In the first case, 68% of men agree with the statement and 42% disagree. On the contrary, 58% of young women disagree with the idea that boys should be more privileged in terms of education. 32% of women approved the issue. As for employed and unemployed young people, different trends are revealed. Among those who were unemployed, 71% of young people agreed with the statement and 86% disagreed. As for those who were employed (30%) believed that priority should be given to men and 15% of the respondents having jobs showed a negative attitude to the issue. As for the second dependent variable – men having more right to a job – the table shows that 63% of young men agreed, while 37% disagreed. In the women’s group, the results are just the opposite. The majority (63%) believes that the statement is not right. 37% represent those young women who agreed with the statement. Similar to other cases, the strength of association between variables was moderate.

TABLE #11: A university degree is more important for a boy

	agree	disagree	χ^2	p
Gender	%	%	9.554	.002
Men	68	42		
Women	32	58		
Type of Settlement	%	%	2.959	.228
Capital	21	20		
Urban	23	36		
Rural	57	45		
Education	%	%	5.810	.121
No Primary	0	3		
Primary	20	6		
Secondary	64	74		
Higher	16	17		
Importance of Religion in Daily Life	%	%	8.627	.125
Not at all important	2	1		
Not very important	7	5		

Rather important	52	41		
Very important	36	53		
Rate of attendance at religious services	%	%	12.559	.084
Every day	0	0		
More than once a week	5	9		
Once a week	14	17		
At least once a month	23	26		
Only on special holidays	27	25		
Less often	14	17		
Never	14	0		
Frequency of fasting	%	%	5.511	.490
Always	7	9		
Often	0	8		
Sometimes	14	15		
Rarely	25	17		
Never	55	50		
Employment	%	%	5.533	.019
No	71	86		
Yes	30	15		

TABLE #12: Men have more right to a job

	agree	disagree	χ^2	P
Gender	%	%	13.684	.000
Men	63	37		
Women	37	63		
Type of Settlement	%	%	1.553	.462
Capital	19	22		
Urban	29	35		
Rural	52	43		
Education	%	%	4.999	.183
No Primary	2	3		
Primary	14	5		
Secondary	61	77		
Higher	22	15		
Importance of Religion in Daily Life	%	%		

Not at all important	1	1	2.340	.800
Not very important	6	5		
Rather important	41	43		
Very important	52	49		
Rate of attendance at religious services	%	%	9.889	.197
Every day	0	0		
More than once a week	7	8		
Once a week	14	18		
At least once a month	23	29		
Only on special holidays	22	26		
Less often	20	14		
Never	12	4		
Frequency of fasting	%	%	8.051	.328
Always	5	11		
Often	5	8		
Sometimes	12	16		
Rarely	22	17		
Never	55	47		
Employment	%	%	1.146	.284
No	78	84		
Yes	22	16		

To further simplify the perception of the data, a new variable was generated as a result of the two mentioned dependent variables: the variable on “*Total “disagree” Responses on Questions about Gender Attitudes regarding Education and Employment*” clarified the overall score of the gender determined perception of whether men have more rights to education and a job (*se table 13*). The new variable revealed how many times in total each respondent answered “disagree” to the two questions. As there were two questions, the maximum number of times equals 2 and the minimum 0 (this is when we have 0 total responses on the answer of “disagree”). This also allowed a regression model to be made where the effect of multiple independent variables were tested. The model in Table 14 includes a list of explanatory variables which gave statistically significant results in single correlation tables.

Table#13: Total “disagree” Responses on Questions about Men Having More Rights to Job/Education (CB2010)

QUESTION	# of RESPONSES	COUNT	%
	0	24	10
Total “disagree” Responses on Questions about Men Having More Rights to Job/Edu.	1	67	28
	2	112	48
	Total	203	86
Missing	System	33	14
Total		236	100

In Table 14 the regression model made some of the independent variables to reduce in meaning so that their effect was indirect. On the other hand we can see statistically significant results only in gender. The model demonstrates that the gender attitudes regarding male and female involvement in education and employment could be explained by gender ($p=.000$). None of the other predictors provided statistically significant results. According to the model, young women had more liberal attitudes than young men. In particular, more women than men disagreed with the view that men had more right to be enrolled in tertiary education or to have a job.

TABLE #14: Effect of Independent Variables on Gender Views on Men Having More Right to Education and Job

Model	B	Coefficients ^a			t	Sig.
		Non-standard-		Standardized		
		ized Coefficients	Beta	Coefficients		
1	(Constant)	.999	.230		4.342	.000
	Years of formal education completed	.021	.017	.086	1.205	.230
	Dumm_women	.407	.100	.293	4.087	.000
	Dumm_employed	-.240	.127	-.132	-1.888	.060
	Dumm_capital	-.077	.119	-.045	-.647	.518
	Dumm_never attended religious ceremony	.112	.113	.069	.992	.322
	Dumm_never fasted	.011	.101	.008	.113	.910

a. Dependent Variable: Total “disagree” Responses on Questions about Men Having More Rights to Job/Edu

Preferred Gender of a Child. To explain the pattern of the young respondents favouring sons, the following variables were examined: gender, the type of settlement, education and religion. Chi-square tests were conducted to determine any significant differences in the response pattern for the categories of independent variables. Table 15 shows that the preferred gender of child for respondents was contingent on their own gender ($p < 0.05$). Although the majority of men (71%) claimed to prefer a boy, a high number of women (50%) felt that the gender of their child was unimportant. Only 10% of women and 2% of men preferred to have a daughter. The remaining respondents reported that they did not know. Other variables were not statistically significant.

TABLE #15: Gender Views on Preferred Gender of a Child in regard to Independent Variables

	Preferred Gender of a Child				χ^2	P
	DK	a girl	a boy	Doesn't matter		
Gender	%	%	%	%	27.335	.000
Men	2	2	71.4	25		
Women	0.8	10	39.3	50		
Type of Settlement	%	%	%	%	11.278	0.08
Capital	0	11.1	58	31.1		
Urban	3	4	43	50		
Rural	9	6.1	61	32.2		
Education	%	%	%	%	9.695	376
No Primary	0	0	33.3	67		
Primary	5	0	48	48		
Secondary	7	10	55.1	35		
Higher	2	2	60	36		
Post-Graduate	0	0	0	0		
Importance of Religion in Daily Life	%	%	%	%	7.145	0.622
Not at all important	0	0	50	50		
Not very important	0	0	39	62		
Rather important	0	5	58	37		
Very important	2	9	55	35		
Rate of attendance at religious services	%	%	%	%	13.272	0.581
Every day	0	0	0	0		
More than once a week	0	6	59	35		
Once a week	3	5	54.1	38		
At least once a month	3.4	10.3	52	35		
Only on special holidays	0	10	53.3	37		
Less often	0	0	64	36.4		
Never	0	0	47.1	33		
Frequency of fasting	%	%	%	%	18.548	0.1
Always	0	10	42	47		

Often	7	7	36	50		
Sometimes	0	14.3	46	40		
Rarely	2.2	4.3	48	46		
Never	0.8	4.2	65.3	30		
Employment	%	%	%	%	2.535	0.469
No	2	7	55	37		
Yes	0	2.3	55	43		

Gender Roles in a Family. Responses regarding family gender roles varied significantly across questions about breadwinners and decision-makers. Table 16 shows that the perception of decision-maker as a typically male role in a family could be explained by the respondents' type of settlement ($p=.003$). The other predictor that was statistically significant was gender ($p=.005$, $p=.006$), which was related to responses for both variables. The majority of respondents from all types of settlements favoured a man in the role of decision-maker. However, the contrast between the categories lessened in the responses from the capital. In rural populations, 75% of respondents favoured having male decision-makers and 25% believed that decision-making should be shared equally between partners; in urban areas, these preferences decreased to 72% and 24%, respectively. However, in the capital, 51% of respondents were in favour of having only male decision-makers and 50% believed that the responsibility should be divided equally between the genders. Regarding the gender predictor, more than half of the respondents believed that a man should be the decision-maker and the breadwinner in a family (see table 17). Men were the preferred breadwinners for 89% of male respondents and 79% of female respondents, whereas 8% of men and 21% of women believed that responsibility for household income should be distributed equally. The remaining respondents favoured female breadwinners. In contrast, 80% of young men and 60% of young women believed that a man should be the head of the family. An equal distribution of power was favoured by 20% of the male group and 39% of the female group.

TABLE #16: Gender Views on Gender of a Decision-maker in a Family

	Decision-maker			χ^2	p
	Man	Woman	Equally		
Gender	%	%	%	10.627	0.005
Men	80	0.9	20		
Women	60	2	39		
Type of Settlement	%	%	%	16.41	0.003
Capital	51	0	50		
Urban	72.4	4	24		
Rural	75	0	25		
Education	%	%	%	5.257	0.511
No Primary	100	0	0		
Primary	84.2	0	16		
Secondary	71.2	0.7	28.1		
Higher	62	2	36		
Post-Graduate	0	0	0		
Importance of Religion in Daily Life	%	%	%	9.856	0.131
Not at all important	100	0	0		
Not very important	83	0	17		
Rather important	77	2	21		
Very important	61	0.9	28		
Rate of attendance at religious ceremonies	%	%	%	12.277	0.267
Every day	0	0	0		
More than once a week	71	0	89.4		
Once a week	62.2	5.4	32.4		
At least once a month	62.1	0	38		
Only on special holidays	72.4	2	26		
Less often	74.2	0	26		
Never	88.2	0	12		
Frequency of fasting when required by religious tradition	%	%	%	11.119	0.195
Always	58	0	42.1		
Often	50	0	50		
Sometimes	77	0	24		
Rarely	62.2	4.4	33.3		

Never	74.4	0.9	25		
Employment	%	%	%	0.841	0.657
No	70	2	29		

T ABLE#17: Gender Views on Gender of a Breadwinner in a Family

	Breadwinner			χ²	P
	Man	Woman	Equally		
Gender	%	%	%	10.163	0.006
Men	89.2	3	8.1		
Women	79.3	0	21		
Type of Settlement	%	%	%	6.129	0.19
Capital	73.3	2.2	24.4		
Urban	87	0	13.2		
Rural	87	1.8	14		
Education	%	%	%	2.504	0.868
No Primary	100	0	0		
Primary	95	0	5		
Secondary	83	1.4	16		
Higher	84	2	14		
Post-Graduate	0	0	0		
Importance of Religion in Daily Life	%	%	%	11.986	0.062
Not at all important	100	0	0		
Not very important	92.3	8	0		
Rather important	90	0	10		
Very important	79	2	20		
Rate of attendance at religious ceremonies	%	%	%	8.529	0.577
Every day	0	0	0		
More than once a week	88.2	0	12		
Once a week	76	3	22		
At least once a month	83	0	17.2		
Only on special holidays	87	2	12		
Less often	88	0	12		
Never	88.2	6	6		
Frequency of fasting	%	%	%	6.657	0.574

Always	78	0	22.2		
Often	71.4	0	29		
Sometimes	80	0	20		
Rarely	87	2.2	11		
Never	87.2	2	11.1		
Employment	%	%	%	5.327	0.07
No	86.3	1.6	12.1		
Yes	75	0	25		

Women's Private Lives and Sexual freedom. From the descriptive analysis it was revealed that the highest percentage of young people expressed disapproval regarding all three aspects of a woman's personal life. Following the descriptive statistics, the dependent variable was analysed in regard to independent variables such as gender, settlement type, religion, education and employment. As illustrated above, the dependent variable represented the total answers to the three questions on a) to live separately from her family b) to have a sexual relationship before marriage c) to cohabit with men without marriage. Firstly, each variable was analysed in relation to the dependent variables separately. Tests of significance were conducted to reveal the results that matter. Therefore, the listed predictors were reduced as not all of them gave statistically significant results on differences between and within groups. However, as there is always a risk of spurious effects, the predictors were further included in a regression model in order to control variables and detect any indirect effects.

Similar to the variables on education and employment, to further simplify the perception of the data as a result of merging three questions (variables), a new variable of "Total - at no age - Responses on Questions about Women's Personal Lives" was generated (see table 18). This allowed the overall score of gender attitudes of women's personal lives and sexual freedom to be seen. The new variable allowed how many times in total each respondent answered "at no age" to the three questions to be recorded. As can be seen in Table

9, the total percentage of respondents who find it unacceptable for a woman to have a private life outside marriage is 92%. This new variable also allowed a regression model to be made whereby the effect of multiple independent variables is tested.

Table#18: Total “at no age” Responses on Questions about Women’s Personal Lives

	#of RESPONSES	COUNT	%
	0	31	13
Total “at no age” Responses on Questions about Women’s Personal Lives	1	30	13
	2	57	24
	3	100	42
	Total	218	92
Missing	System	18	8
Total		236	100

The regression model demonstrated that education ($p=.007$) and the type of settlement ($p=.012$) explain gender views of women’s sexual lives, including for the question investigating women living separately from their families (see table 19). According to the model, more years spent in formal education was associated with a decrease in the belief that women were not allowed at any age to have a sexual life or to live alone. The model also showed that respondents from rural and urban areas had more gender-determined attitudes regarding personal lives, whereas those who lived in the capital tended to have less gender-determined views. Results on the remaining variables are not statistically significant.

TABLE#19: Effect of Independent Variables on Gender Views on Women’s Sexual Freedom and Women Living Separately from their Families

Coefficients ^a					
Model	Non-standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Error Std.	Beta	T	Sig.
1 (Constant)	2.752	.335		8.212	.000
Years of formal education completed	-.067	.025	-.186	-2.715	.007
Dumm_women	.239	.151	.111	1.584	.115
Dumm_employed	-.172	.189	-.061	-.910	.364
Dumm_capital	-.464	.184	-.171	-2.520	.012
Dumm_never attended religious ceremony	.187	.166	.075	1.126	.262
Dumm_Never fasted	.076	.149	.035	.507	.612

a. Dependent Variable: Total “at no age” Responses on Questions about Women’s Personal Lives

b. Total score of responses to three questions: 1. from what age it is acceptable for a woman to have sex before marriage, 2. from what age it is acceptable for a woman to have a sexual relationship outside marriage, 3. from what age it is acceptable for a woman to live separately from her family

Discussion

The results showed that, despite the political, social, and economic changes in Georgia over the last twenty years, traditional views and stereotypes regarding gender preferences and roles are still prevalent in today’s youth. Young people viewed and interpreted issues, such as the preference of having a son or a daughter, gender distribution in education and employment, family gender roles, and women’s private lives, including their sexual freedom, in strictly traditional frames. This result helps explain why women constitute the majority of Georgia’s unemployed population and why most of these women

are housewives (Caucasus Barometer 2010, 2011). Moreover, women are generally under-represented in politics and in positions of leadership. Attitudes and practices reinforce one another and are largely dependent on available role models and life experiences (Futing and Cai 1995; Evertsson 2006). In Georgia, where gender equality is still a far-off goal, it is not surprising that both young women and men hold gender stereotypes. Gender socialisation occurs at an early age in both the family context and in other social institutions. This phenomenon suggests a lack of gender issue knowledge and awareness in both family and school contexts in Georgia (Khomeriki 2012). In the given analysis, while in most cases young women and men were unanimous regarding their gender attitudes, a more detailed analysis revealed that gender influenced the distribution of traditional and more liberal views. Many studies (e.g., Asencio 1999) indicate that, in comparison to women, men are usually the major agitators of traditional gender roles and have strong negative reactions when individuals deviate from the conventional norm. Aside from gender, in some cases the type of settlement, education, employment and religion were revealed as additional determinants of gender views.

In general, there is an equal distribution of gender in *education*. Even in higher education both young men and women are equally presented. This impacted on gender views regarding whether or not boys have more right to higher education. The majority disagreed with the statement, meaning that a significant number of young people believed that education should be equally important for both genders. However, a more detailed analysis demonstrated that this pattern is determined at much extent by the women's views. Namely, it had been revealed that young women and men think differently on the issue. While the majority of women disagree with unequal rights to education, a significant number of young men think that boys should have more right to a university degree. In this case, their own **gender** appeared to be one of the determinants of a traditional way of thinking regarding gender distribution in higher education. In addition to gender, **employment status** also determines attitude to the

issue. In particular, while the majority of those young people who have a job agree with the statement, those who are unemployed are in favour of equality. This finding contradicts the idea that employment could serve as a good predictor of more liberal gender-role attitudes (Plutzer 1988; Wilson and Smith 1995; Dugger 1991; Mason et al. 1976; Herring and Rose 1993; Mason and Lu 1988; Tallichet and Willits 1986; Thornton et al. 1983; Wilson and Smith 1995). This kind of incompatibility between the scholarship and the results on paper could be explained by the context of unemployment and hard economic situation when any job for any family member has significant importance.

As for *employment*, a different situation is found. Although there is a predictably high rate of unemployed youth, significant gender differences are still notable. If housewives are considered in the group of those who does not work, there is a vast difference among young men's and women's groups. For this reason, women's status of unemployment as well as type of unemployment was analysed in a more detail. When examining determinants of types of female unemployment, *religion* was revealed as a major determinant. Among variables on religion, the variable on rate of attendance at religious ceremonies was detected as important in 2010. As for 2011, *type of settlement, education* and *religion* – importance of religion in a daily life – explained the type of women's primary activity. Namely, it was revealed that living in the capital city often determines the choice of an education for young women; most unemployed women are found in urban areas and the position of housewife is most frequent in rural locations. Also, it was interesting to detect that the majority of those women who have no education, primary or secondary education are housewives. These resonated findings from the shadow report to the CEDAW committee in 2006. It was revealed that girls who marry young are unable to complete their education. The report also noted that there are cases of forced marriages in rural areas. This may also explain the large number of housewives in rural places. Although these results are from 2006 and our findings are relevant to 2010, it is

still reasonable to search for reasons for the revealed patterns in the mentioned study. This especially makes sense if we take into consideration the prevailing trend that gender attitudes have not changed since 1996. On the contrary, most women with tertiary education are unemployed. Considering the unemployment rate in Georgia and age of the target group, this makes logic sense.

The effect of **religion** revealed an interesting trend regarding housewives. Those who do not consider religion as important or as very important in their daily life are mostly housewives. Conversely, being an unemployed woman is associated with perceiving religion as very important in one's daily life. Literature reviews suggest that, in general, religion is related to gender-determined views and attitudes. However, most of the scholarship is focused on a correlation between religiosity and one's gender attitudes and sexual behaviour (Odimegwu 2005; Thornton and Camburn 1989; Brinkerhoff and MacKie 1985). Therefore, as attitudes on the employment issue do not represent a radical expression of gender stereotypes, especially when there is high unemployment, it is not surprising that religion and the given dependent variable do not have the same relationship as is suggested in the literature.

The findings are also in line with results on gender views on the issue. In particular, the majority of youth believe that, when jobs are scarce, men should have more opportunities to get a job. To explain this trend, **gender** was found to be a major determinant. While a large majority of men completely share the idea of themselves having more right to a job, the vast majority of women disagree with the statement and believe that both genders should have equal rights. Further data analysis also revealed that when examined, gender views on both education and employment together, in regard to a number of affecting factors, **gender** was again revealed as a strong determinant. In fact, women have more liberal views than men on the issue. Similar to gender views on education and employment, the analysis also showed that women were slightly more liberal than men when discussing issues such as the *preferred gender of a child*.

A vast majority of men prefer to have a son over a daughter. Finally, those who have a strong preference for having a daughter are in the minority in both gender groups. Here, as well, it can be seen that the respondents' gender is the only reasonable explanation for this.

In the analysis on *gender roles in a family*, the study results demonstrated that the majority of both men and women agreed that a man should assume those roles. As the gender asymmetry index suggests, men's (i.e., husbands') opinions are taken into account with regard to women's work (Badurashvili et al. 2009), which suggests that decision-making is exclusively viewed as a male role. With regard to comparisons within the gender groups, it is clear that more women than men favoured equality in decision-making, yet neither gender favoured women as the decision-makers. It is also important to note that, despite the unanimity of gender attitudes between the gender groups, women held less gender-determined views than men. These results completely reflect the reality. The Gender and Generation Wave 2 Report of 2009 (Badurashvili et al. 2009) provided a clear picture of how gender roles were distributed within families in Georgia. This study showed that 25% of men in families were solely responsible for the allocation of financial resources and that woman typically received an allowance from their male partners. The results are also in line with the findings from a nationwide survey on Domestic Violence against Women in Georgia (Chitashvili et al. 2010). As mentioned in previous chapters, the responses from this survey revealed that the majority of women believed that a good wife should obey her husband even when she does not agree with his decisions and that 45% believed that a man must clearly show his wife/partner that he is the head of the family.

Another significant determinant was the **type of settlement**. Young people from rural areas held more gender-determined views regarding family gender roles. This finding is consistent with a number of studies (LaFont 2010) showing that young people in environments that offer modern technology, information, and international ideas value gender equality more than those who reside in more isolated

places. The latter usually applies to rural and, in some cases, urban areas, especially in developing countries.

The same could be said about gender roles in social and political life. As the data analysis revealed in previous years, managerial positions such as political leader and executive leader are exceptionally seen as a man's role. These results showed the same trends over the years. Even in 2011, when young people were asked about their gender preference when voting, the majority were in favour of men. This is not surprising as the practice proves the same. Passivity of women in political life is manifested in the Georgian executive and legislative bodies which are primarily composed of men (Bagratia 2012).

Finally, results on *womens' private lives and sexual freedom* revealed the importance of **education** with regard to forming liberal views about women's sexual lives. The more educated the respondents were, the less likely they were to have gender-determined views. Another significant determinant was the **type of settlement**. Young people from the capital and urban areas held less gender-determined views regarding family gender roles and women's private lives. Rural areas did not support deviations from traditional images and stereotypes regarding woman's private lives. These findings correspond to the previous studies on the issue, where education and living in the capital or in urban areas exposed youth to a variety of ideas and different types of knowledge (Odimegwu 2005). This determines opinion formation on certain issues in certain directions. For example, one of the studies on young people in Namibia revealed that living in a privileged urban environment affects ideas about gender equality and sexual rights in Namibia (LaFont2010).

CHAPTER V

GENDER ROLE DISTRIBUTION IN GEORGIAN FAMILIES

Introduction

This study focuses on young people's attitudes and beliefs towards gender in Georgia and entails three intersecting themes: (a) attitudes towards gender roles and duties in the family; (b) attitudes towards women's employment and professional development and (c) attitudes towards sexuality.

This chapter is dedicated to gender roles and duties in the family. The young people who participated in the focus groups conducted in three cities around Georgia (Tbilisi, Telavi, Zugdidi) stated their views and attitudes towards the roles, duties and obligations of a man and a woman in the family. The discussion focused on the family model and established practice in Georgia as well as on the family model that the participants considered as desirable.

Various studies show that the status of family members determines the activities and duties that the family members assume and share with each other. In most cases, men are considered as decision-makers and main breadwinners in the family, while the taking care of the family, household chores and raising children fall to the women. And even if women have paid jobs, the family duties and workload is not reduced, but rather it is expected that they have to balance their job with family life and motherhood, resulting in a 'double burden' for women.

However, the latest studies indicate a positive trend with respect to the distribution of family duties, and it has turned out that the number of men who fully share duties connected with family life and the raising of children has increased to some degree.⁵ For instance, in some developing countries (Chile, Mexico, Brazil, Rwanda, India, etc.)

5 "Evolving Men? Men, Families, Gender Equality and Care; Available at: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/family/docs/Barker.pdf> Accessed: 07.10.2014

men with higher education are more likely to participate in domestic chores than those who have elementary or secondary education. Younger men, as opposed to older men, are more willing to share family duties; also, those men who were raised in a family where parents helped each other in household tasks consider that men must share equally the family obligations.⁶ The situation in Georgia in this respect is clearly demonstrated by the social surveys conducted during the last two years.

In 2013, the UNDP prepared a report within the framework of the UN Joint Program Enhancing Gender Equality in Georgia. The report shows that in Georgia family duties which include taking care of family members (cooking, looking after a sick family member, caring for a child, etc.) and household chores (cleaning the house, washing and hanging the laundry out to dry, etc.) are mainly women's obligations (UNDP, 2013). Most of the women participating in this survey stated that washing and hanging the laundry out to dry, as well as cleaning the house, were the duties that they carried out on their own, without the assistance of their spouses (UNDP, 2013). As for cooking, survey participants considered that it was always and mainly the women's duty (UNDP, 2013). It turned out that the only activity where men were engaged most was taking their children to a doctor. Altogether, 44% of the surveyed men stated that they took children to a doctor together with their spouse/partner, but did not participate in other activities, such as the daily care of children, putting them to bed and spending time with them during their sickness (UNDP, 2013).

Another study clearly showing that family and child care matters are mainly considered as women's duties in a 2014 study "Men and Gender Relations in Georgia" (Kachkachishvili, Nadaraia, Rekhviashvili, 2014). This study also demonstrates that Georgian respondents draw a line between men's and women's duties and divide domestic tasks into 'a man's' and 'a woman's' work (Kachkachishvili, Nadaraia, Rekhviashvili, 2014).

6 Ibid.

The study participants attributed to the ‘woman’s duties’ the following: washing clothes, cleaning the house, cooking and caring for the children. The following tasks fell under the ‘man’s duties’: repairing household equipment, grocery shopping and payment of utility bills (Kachkachishvili, Nadaraia, Rekhviashvili, 2014).

In order to gain deeper knowledge and understanding how Georgian youth see the gender role distribution in the family, we conducted a discussion addressing family issues with young focus group participants.

Traditional and Modern Families

The focus groups conducted by us manifested the practice of dividing gender roles. During discussions, focus group participants spoke about the structure of Georgian families, the distribution of domestic work and, based on their experience, expressed their attitudes and views on the established traditions.

The discussion showed that, according to the study participants, irrespective of their age and sex, it is predominantly women who are tasked with raising children and carrying out domestic chores in Georgia, and there is minimum participation of men in activities such as cooking, washing dishes, cleaning and childcare.

The focus group participants considered that male and female roles were divided the same way in almost every family in Georgia and were determined by the norms recognized and established by society. During the discussion, the participants focused on the definition of a **traditional** and **modern** family model.

Traditional family—Men and women in both age groups considered that a traditional family was the type of family that was very common in Georgia and in which the head of the family was a man who had more rights than other family members.

'I think that 90% of all families are like this.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

Participants from both age groups, especially those living in the capital, stated that the traditional family model had many negative features and an incorrect structure. Women participants from Telavi and Zugdidi (both age groups) were also unhappy with the superior legal status of men in the family and associated the traditional family model with incorrect patriarchal views and ideology.

'I think that patriarchy has something to do with it. It is commonly believed that men are stronger than women.' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

'It's the 21st century and our actions must not be based on feudal principles. We have such forms and standards of relationships that create other kinds of relationships, and it is not necessary to keep those old models in our family life.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

'I consider it a sign of inequality when a person goes to somebody's home and asks for the head of the family. As soon as this question comes to mind, it means that there is already an established stereotype that only one person can be the head of the family.' (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

The male respondents from both age groups in Telavi and especially in Zugdidi had different opinion on this subject. They considered that there was nothing wrong with the traditional family model and that the adoption of that structure was stipulated by the strength of a man, his ability to make the correct decisions and to be the principal earner in the family. Male representatives from both age groups described women as "the weaker sex" and stated that there was nothing surprising, unusual and wrong in the traditional family structure.

'Of course a man should be [the head of the family], because he is a man, after all. A woman is weaker than a man who has more experience in his life.' (male respondent, Zugdidi, age-group 16-19).

‘Yes, a woman is still a weak human being and a man is a man after all.’ (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).

‘In most cases a woman has no job, she is a housewife, the legal responsibility rests with the person who has a job, that is, with a man.’ (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

When defining a modern family, in all the three cities representatives of both age groups mentioned equally distributed duties, roles and obligations. Both men and women noted that in a modern family, decisions were not made solely by a man and that the duties were equally shared between the family members, which gave the family members more freedom and opportunity to realize personal potential.

‘Modern families are less based on rules and traditions; relationships are more open and unconstrained. The relations of older spouses are more based on traditions.’ (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

When describing a modern family, the teenagers (aged 16-19) pointed out the importance of having a job and explained that in a modern family both spouses were employed, there was no gender hierarchy and both the man and the woman enjoyed the same rights and opportunities. The teenagers also noted that in a modern family, as opposed to a traditional family, spouses made decisions jointly, and the duty of childcare was transferred to a babysitter in most cases.

‘Both of them have jobs and the man does not feel that he has more rights in the family than the woman.’ (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

‘A modern family means that both spouses share equally the family duties and make decisions jointly. It’s a family where the work of a woman may be done by a man, etc.’ (female respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

‘In a modern family both the man and the woman have equal rights.

Both of them have jobs. They have a babysitter; go on vacations like other families, unlike in Georgia, where a man is the head of the family.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

It was interesting to note that when talking about a modern family, the teenagers were not talking about Georgian families, for instance the phrase: ***'Both of them have jobs. They have a babysitter; go on vacations like other families, unlike in Georgia, where a man is the head of the family.'*** (male respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19). is further proof of that. So, it seems that the teenage participants know about a modern family from their foreign experience, and the concept of a traditional family is based on the actual situation in Georgia in that regard. The respondents aged 20-25 also stated that a modern family was a rare phenomenon in Georgia, and traditional families were the result of Georgian customs. Participants from both age groups further noted that in Georgia a man may not have real privileges, not be a primary earner in the family, may not have a job at all and those duties may be carried out by his wife, but technically the man still maintained the status of head of the family. The teenagers stressed the role of the sex factor, which is the basis for the status and hierarchy in the family and noted that a man has more privileged positions in the family because of his sex.

'A person goes to somebody's home and asks for the head of the family; it already means that there is an established stereotype that there should be only one head of the family and it should by all means be a man.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

'It [society] was the one which established such relationships in the family; I don't think we will be able to change it.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

As for the attitude of the participants concerning traditional and modern families in the regions, men and women had different views about this subject. In both regional cities, for male respondents from both age groups a modern family model was less acceptable than for women. For the female respondents a modern family model was

acceptable and for some of them even highly desirable. The male participants were more skeptical and negative about a modern family structure. Their critical attitude was especially evident when the questions about a modern family touched upon their personal experience and their families. Most of them were against sharing family duties and allowing their wives to make independent decisions. Moreover, some of them even stated that they found it completely unacceptable to distribute the established roles and functions in the family.

‘Just imagine a situation where a man is having dinner and when something is to be brought in the wife says to her husband – go and bring that, today is your turn, the next time we have a dinner, I’ll bring it. Is this a modern family? Is this good?’ (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

‘A modern family is a good thing, but we should not confuse it with such families that are too close to globalization and that have adopted a modern life-style. It is considered modern when a woman can cheat on her husband, go and live at her lover’s place or a few months and then return home.’ (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19)

Family, Roles and Duties

After discussing a family structure, traditions and customs, the focus group participants started talking about duties and obligations of women and men. In all the three cities (Tbilisi, Zugdidi, Telavi) the participants (from both age groups) stated that in Georgia, family duties, childcare and domestic work were considered as a woman’s duty. Men had the duty of being primary earner in the family and participating in domestic tasks to a lesser extent.

‘In most families, women do everything- get up in the morning, prepare breakfast for the children, send them to school, perhaps even go out and work for 3-4 hours, then hurry back home from the mar-

ket loaded with products in order to cook a meal for the evening. The father comes home in the evening, takes a shower and rushes off to hang out with his friends.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25)

'Mother feeds them, dresses them and helps them with their homework. Maybe a father is just a figure of authority. He is the one to be asked for advice.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age-group 20-25)

Participants from age group 20-25 from Zugdidi and Tbilisi underlined the fact that involvement of men in family chores had gradually increased by a certain degree compared to the previous years and especially compared to their parents' generation.

'We should separate these two: it is more common with younger parents to share family duties, while in the older generation, even in our parents' generation, a woman is supposed to do everything and a man is supposed to watch football.' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

'Today, increasingly more men help their wives, for instance, in bringing food or repairing the broken things or equipment in the family. I also see that the percentage of men participating in the raising of children is on the rise, but not the way it should be and not in every family.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

However, it must be noted that when talking about more involvement of men, the participants did not mean the sharing of the same domestic chores (e.g. washing dishes, doing laundry, cleaning the house, etc.) but rather the division of the activities between the spouses. More involvement of men means strictly defined "manly" tasks, such as doing repair works, bringing products, etc., also more participation in a child's upbringing. However, it turned out that a child's upbringing comprised different activities. The participants drew a fat line between childcare and a child's upbringing. According to the respondents, the activities that involved childcare – bathing, feeding, dressing, were mainly done by women, while men were

more involved in helping children with their homework, taking them for a walk and entertaining them.

‘Now public opinion has changed and men and women share responsibility with respect to a child and other matters’ (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

‘Later they may agree to distribute their duties, like taking a child for a walk, helping with homework, entertaining.’ (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

Despite the fact that the participants from all the three cities approve of the increasing role of men in a child’s upbringing, they fail to realize that the increased involvement is confined only to specific “manly” activities and does not include childcare and family chores, which means that the duties are still distributed unequally. A statement made by one of the participants can be taken as a proof of this fact:

‘A father may not do household chores, but he must definitely help children with their homework.’ (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

Participants aged 20-25, especially women, were more outspoken about distributing roles and duties in Georgian families. The same group talked also about the increased involvement of men and equal or unequal distribution of family duties. Participants aged 16-19 discussed only general examples, which can be attributed to the fact that most of them were not married. Therefore, this issue was not of such significance for them as for the older participants.

Participants aged 20-25 in regional cities (Telavi and Zugdidi) also discussed children’s involvement in household tasks. The participants from Telavi and Zugdidi described how their children and children of other families around them participated in domestic chores and activities. Interestingly, they stressed the duties of girls and especially male participants and stated that not only were the girls helping out with domestic work, they were obligated to share family activities with their mothers. Not a single participant underscored the impor-

tance of boys' involvement in family chores. It leads us to believe that household tasks are seen as an obligation for girls, while for boys it is more of an optional activity. The participants explained the involvement of girls in household duties by a stereotyped theory that, in general, girls were more serious, level-headed and more caring than boys, and that is why they should help their mothers.

'Girls are more prone to do lessons and be serious-minded. Therefore, they tend to help their mothers at home. Girls are more serious-minded and think more, as opposed to boys.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'Girls are cleverer at doing those tasks and will provide better assistance; also they will become women in the future and have to learn from childhood how to be good at housekeeping. I think that girls are more obligated to do household work.'(male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25) .

'When parents don't have time, girls assume a lot of responsibilities.' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

The above quotes clearly demonstrate participants' stereotyped and non-sensitive attitude to girls. First of all, it is evident that girls are perceived as one homogenous category and this category, unlike the boys' category, "tends to be more serious-minded and to think more." It is also clear that the participants assign to their children different roles and duties based on their sex from early childhood, in this case, the girls are assigned with the duty of housekeeping.

Compared to regional cities, both male and female participants in Tbilisi were less categorical about girls' involvement in household duties. They stated that both girls and boys helped their mother with family tasks.

'Children often help; when the mother is tired a child may wash something and give it to the mother.' (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25)

It is important to note that none of the female respondents in the regional cities (Telavi, Zugdidi) expressed any objection to the fact that girls were assigned those duties that were discussed during the focus group, which lead to 'double burden' in adulthood.

Accordingly, we can make several assumptions about the fact that most of the female participants, in both regional cities, were not aware of the problem and despite the fact that, compared to men, they stressed more the importance of men's involvement in household chores and liked a modern family model, they still shared stereotyped and discriminatory views without being aware of it. This means that the female participants view the strictly differentiated activities of men and women as unequal but do not consider them to be discriminatory.

At the beginning of the focus group, the participants, both men and women, stated that they preferred the situation where duties and responsibilities were equally shared by the spouses. However, during the discussion, when it came to specifying responsibilities and family chores (e.g. washing dishes, changing children's diapers, cleaning the house, etc.) the male participants expressed a negative attitude. They divided household duties into categories and stated their objections with respect to some activities that were not suitable for men and therefore wished only to be involved in "manly" activities.

'I don't like such families where it is an established practice that a woman should do her job and a man should do his job. I think that it would be better if they complemented each other, distributed tasks evenly and did not lead humdrum lives. They could make their lives more interesting and not be confined to their daily duties and obligations, because it is boring and verges on the brink of complete idiocy.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'It's an unwritten law that a man is stronger and is ahead of a woman in terms of thinking abilities; a woman is more delicate. A woman should do woman's work and a man should not be required to do the work that does not suit him. I agree that a man should do

heavy work, but please don't ask me to clean the floor or to tidy up the house...' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'A woman is still considered the weaker sex, I think that it will soon change, but the weaker sex should do what is required of the weaker sex...' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

The above quotes show that the willingness of the participants to equally distribute household duties between men and women is reduced as soon as the participants start to think about themselves and their families. A particular shift in attitude was observed in male respondents when they imagined themselves involved in “women’s activities.” Such involvement in “women’s activities” was especially humiliating and unacceptable for the male participants from the regions. The above quotes also indicate that for some male participants it was demeaning to clean floors and tidy up the house and completely inappropriate for a representative of the stronger sex.

When summing up the discussion of the participants it is clear that the attitude of men (from all the three cities and both age groups) to the distribution of gender roles and duties in the family changes according to what is the subject of discussion – their experience and their families or other families in general.

This fact indicates that male participants have strictly differentiated two family categories – the “my family” category, where a man has its own rules and feels as the stronger sex, and the “other families” category, which do not concern the male participants and where their masculine qualities are not at risk of “being weakened or effeminated”.

The discussion on the roles and duties in the family abruptly changed track as soon as the participants had to imagine the situation where a woman was the only person with a job in a family and also the sole earner.

Women as the Main Breadwinner in the Family

According to the study conducted by the UNDP in 2013, the majority of the Georgian population thinks that a man should be the primary earner and breadwinner in the family.

The study indicates that 88% of the population thinks that in ideal circumstances it is the duty of a man to provide material support to his family, while only 11% considers that men and women should have equal obligations in supporting their family (UNDP, 2013). This study shows society's attitude to the man's role and indicates the desired male role model. However, the actual situation in Georgia is relatively different from the desires of the UNDP study respondents, which is evidenced by the data of Caucasus Barometer 2010. According to the Caucasus Barometer 2010, 39% of women in Georgia are primary earners in the family, while only 36% of men are primary earners in the family, and in 20% of Georgian families both men and women equally share the role of breadwinner in the family.

Based on the above data, the focus group participants were asked to imagine a situation where a woman was a sole earner in the family and a man was unemployed and had to stay at home. The participants discussed the situation from two perspectives. At first, male and female participants from both age groups described how the said situation would develop in Georgia, and then started revealing their thoughts and attitudes.

On the whole, all participants differentiated the two situations –what happens in the majority of Georgian families when a woman is a sole earner and how should the roles be normally distributed between the spouses. The participants aged 20-25 and the teenagers noted that in Georgian families, even when a woman is a sole earner, the involvement of the unemployed man in family tasks and a child's upbringing is minimal in most cases. The participants thought that the unwillingness of the man to help his wife in household duties is the result of the mentality. Most of the participants think that in the given situation the Georgian man will not do a woman's work because

he considers it demeaning and humiliating because of his sex. Participants from both age groups, especially the ones from Telavi and Zugdidi, mentioned alcoholism and gambling risks in connection with an unemployed man.

‘The [unemployed] man hangs around in the street, drinks, goes home and expresses his dissatisfaction. When a man has no job he does not like that his wife has a superior position. When he does not have his own income, he thinks that he loses his authority and his self-worth, because he cannot do what his wife can. Simply, he won’t have cigarette money, and this will cause a row and the wife who, in a fit of extreme emotional distress, will tell him that she works day and night; this is the Georgian reality.’ (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

‘In such cases men tend to grow lazy; as soon as their wives go abroad, they never work again, they are on a permanent vacation.’ (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

‘I know a young family where the girl is working and the husband is at home; he does nothing to alleviate the workload for his wife. On the contrary, they hired a babysitter who looks after the children and cooks dinner.’ (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

Both men and women (from both age groups and in all the three cities) are of the opinion that the husband of an employed wife should never shun household duties.

‘A man should try to find a job, and until then he should take care of his family tasks.’ (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

‘Such situation, I think, is a bit disgusting. When a woman has a job and a man is sitting at home, it may even result in a conflict. It’s undeniable that when a man is sitting at home doing nothing... all men have self-esteem; no man is happy when his wife has a job.’ (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).

‘He should realize that the whole burden – childcare, household

chores – is borne by a woman; he should try to help her, because it's his family.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

'A man should do everything. I believe that it would be right and logical that a man, while unemployed, should look after the children, even change diapers, cook meals, tidy up the house. His wife is the person he loves and when she comes home, she will be tired, so he should assist her.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

'In that case a man should not think that it is demeaning to do a woman's work: washing, tidying up, etc. Because the woman is at work and if he wants to wait for her, then let the dust eat him and let him wait for his wife to come and do the washing and cleaning.' (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

The views expressed by the participants clearly indicate that both male and female participants (in all the three cities and from both age groups) of the focus group thought that an unemployed man should look after the children, tidy up the house, cook dinner, wash dishes, etc. The participants did not differentiate household tasks into “a woman's” and “manly” work when talking about unemployed men. Therefore, we may assume that for the participants the employment status is key when determining the qualities of a true man and manliness. Although the participants considered that a man who has a job should not stoop to doing “a woman's work” in the family because it diminishes his masculinity, they literally demanded from an unemployed man to do all kinds of tasks and “a woman's work” in the first place, and to help his wife. Such attitude toward a man's status leads us to Parsons ideas (Parsons and Bales, 1955). Parsons (1955) believed that the main prerequisite for being considered a true man is a prestigious job and financial income (Parsons and Bales, 1955). Accordingly, if we follow Parsons' view, a man who does not have a prestigious job and income does not fall within the category of a true man (Parsons and Bales, 1955).

The functions of a man in the family are closely related to how much income he can earn. As soon as his earning ability is at risk, it threat-

ens his gender identity and takes its toll on the relations between the man and the woman.⁷

For instance, a study conducted in Moldova in 1997 confirms that the main reason for serious family conflicts is the fact that the husband is unemployed.⁸ The same idea was also put forward by the focus group participants aged 20-25.

In all the three cities, the participants aged 20-25, unlike the teenagers (16-19), stated that an unemployed husband was often the cause of family conflict and even of divorce.

According to the participants, if a woman was the sole earner in the family, it eventually created conflict. The participants from Tbilisi and Telavi cited the unemployment and inaction on the part of the man as the source of family conflict. Moreover, these participants believe that a man who sits at home is sure to become disgruntled. The idea expressed by the male participants in Zugdidi was interesting. They emphasized that it was unimaginable and unacceptable for them to be unemployed and sit at home while their wives are at work. Accordingly, they described the situation acceptable and ideal for them, where a man had stable income, a job and his wife was busy with household duties and children's upbringing.

'If a man has a job and is the breadwinner in the family while a woman is at home looking after children, it doesn't cause conflicts. But if the situation is vice versa, I've often heard that it causes conflict in a family.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

'He may not act aggressively towards her, but it causes aggression in men when the wife has a job and he doesn't.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

7 Changing Gender Relations in the Household, Available at: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPOVERTY/Resources/335642-1124115102975/1555199-1124115187705/ch5.pdf> Accessed: 25.10.14.

8 Ibid.

Some male participants from Zugdidi said that it was unacceptable and inappropriate for them to be involved in household chores even if the man was unemployed and the woman was a sole earner in the family.

'A man can't look after children, cook meals, sweep rooms.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

'I understand, but if a man does everything at home while a woman is at work, I think he has hormonal problems. It's like swapping roles; a man becomes a housewife and a woman...' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

Only one teenage boy from Telavi shared the views of the male participants aged 20-25 from Zugdidi. This participant believed that if he was unemployed he would try his best to find a job so that his wife could quit her job, especially if it was a low-paying job, and look after the family and home "as required".

'I don't know, I think that it is a wife's duty to look after children; a babysitter cannot do the same job as efficiently. A mother looks after her children differently, teaches them differently.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

A similar situation is described in a study conducted in Moldova.⁹ The report notes that in the past, men had higher-paying jobs and were primary earners in the family as well as being the heads of the family. But today the situation has changed and men feel as if they lost their function when their wives earn more than they do. They feel stressed, which often leads to family conflicts and even dissolution of marriage. Women think that financial hardship in the family is their husbands' fault and criticize them for their inability to find a job. Husbands who are unemployed or underemployed feel that their

9 Changing Gender Relations in the Household, Available at: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPOVERTY/Resources/335642-1124115102975/1555199-1124115187705/ch5.pdf> Accessed: 25.10.14.

masculinity is diminishing and are angry about it.¹⁰The resistance on the part of the male participants to the idea of imagining themselves in a situation where they are unemployed and their wives support their families clearly indicated the fear of losing masculinity. The male participants expressly noted that they did not want to imagine themselves in such a situation, that they will do everything to find a job and maintain the status of the breadwinner in the family, because if they provide financial support to their families they will never feel emasculated and powerless.

If we look at the attitudes of the participants in general, we will discover that in the beginning, on the whole, in 15 focus groups more participants shared the idea that both the husband and the wife should be employed and financially support their family, and the child, during working hours, should be looked after by a babysitter. The problems connected with the employment of women and non-sensitive attitudes were revealed by the male participants only after they had to imagine a situation where a wife was a sole breadwinner and a husband was unemployed, i.e. when their masculine identity was in a diminished state. Accordingly, the participants had to make a choice during the discussion and decide for whom it was more important to have a job – for a man or for a woman. All the participants emphasized the fact that the status of employment was a decisive and significant factor for men. In the case of women, a number of the participants (mainly men, from both age groups and in all three cities) believed that employment was an option for women rather than an obligation. If a woman had to choose between a job and her family, she was obligated to combine her work with family duties and children's upbringing, or work part-time, or quit the job and look after her family.

10 Changing Gender Relations in the Household, Available at: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPOVERTY/Resources/335642-1124115102975/1555199-1124115187705/ch5.pdf> Accessed: 25.10.14.

‘If a job is stable and allows me to support my family, there is nothing wrong if she stays home and looks after the kids. After the kids become adults, then she can work.’ (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

‘The best option [for a man] is to pass the duty of childcare and family tasks to his wife and try to build a career to be able to manage the family.’ (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

The other focus group participants, mostly women, had valid arguments on how important it was for a woman to have a job. These participants stressed the importance of self-fulfillment and noted that, much like with men, apart from financial interest, other factors such as self-fulfillment, self-worth and contact with society were paramount in a person’s life. There, participants argued that it was possible to combine family tasks with a job.

‘The studies show that women who are not employed are not self-fulfilled and have much less self-esteem than women who do not have a family, but has a job and is self-fulfilled.’ (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

It must be noted that when talking about women’s employment the main focus is made on self-fulfillment, while in the case of men, male identity and status is more emphasized. We may find a connection between men’s duties and status discussed by the participants and Parsons’ views (1955) on men as breadwinners, that is, on individuals with instrumental functions. Parsons (1955) believed that a man should perform the role of breadwinner, while a woman – the role of a housekeeper, i.e. an expressive function (Parsons and Bales, 1955). Accordingly, Parsons (1955) considered that a man cannot perform his instrumental functions without employment and having the role of the primary earner in the family, and the expressive functions performed by him (looking after the family, cleaning the house, etc., the activities that fall in “women’s work” category) diminishes his masculinity. The real status of a woman, according to Parson’s theory, is that of a wife, a mother and a housewife. The division of family duties

makes it possible to perform significant social functions and maintain stable family relations. Georgian women, as persons with a job and as breadwinners, interfere with the functional duties of men, do not perform their expressive functions and by doing so violate the pattern proposed by Parsons. The participants of the focus groups conducted by us also think that the role of a woman, as a mother, spouse and housewife is a determining factor based on which a woman, when faced with a decision to choose between instrumental and expressive functions, should choose the expressive function, that is, family care and upbringing of children.

Women's Land and Property Rights

When discussing women's and men's gender roles, the young respondents raised one of the most topical and controversial issues concerning a woman's property rights in the family. The focus group participants stated that inheritance and property rights of women was an issue that determined the status and rights of men and women, and the fact that in Georgia predominantly men were considered as heirs to the family property indicated the privileged position of men and subordinated position of women. This part of our study will demonstrate the attitudes and views towards this subject expressed by the focus group participants in three cities.

According to Gomez and Tran (2012), secure rights to land and property for women are widely regarded as fundamental to ensuring effective and sustainable human development (Gomez, Tran, 2012). The authors argue that the rights to land and property include the right to own, use, access, control, transfer, exclude, inherit and make decisions about land and related resources (Gomez, Tran, 2012). However, the international experience shows that there is a big failure to respect, protect and fulfill these rights for women. Moreover, in many countries women are not allowed to use or administer land or property without a man's approval. The same applies to women's rights to dispose of or inherit property (Gomez, Tran, 2012). By putting women

in such a position, society makes women dependent on men and thus hinders the development of poor countries. Gomez and Tran (2012) have pointed out that if women's secure rights to land are ensured, women will feel more empowered and able to make decisions independently in their lives (Gomez, Tran, 2012). But women face many barriers on the path to acquiring property rights. The impediments include inappropriate legal framework and enforcement of laws, or society with discriminatory attitudes, traditions and standards, or programs unavailable in the country, region or area where these women live (United Nations Human Rights, 2013). United Nations Human Rights (2013) published a report according to which many societies do not allow women to exercise their rights to property and productive resources because men are viewed as heads of families who control and manage property, and by depriving women those rights societies implicitly assume that women cannot administer and control productive resources as efficiently as men, and that productive resources under a woman's control will be transferred to another family if she gets married, divorced or if the husband dies, and that men will provide for women's financial security (United Nations Human Rights, 2013). Discriminatory attitudes towards women's property rights are evident in our study as well. The male and female participants' views divided on the fact that in most cases women have no property rights. Men did not think that there was anything discriminatory or wrong about the tradition that a man was an heir and he was the one who inherited the property. Women participants, on the other hand, stated that that tradition was discriminatory and violated women's rights.

Attitudes towards Women's Property Rights

The latest studies show that Georgian society considers that the greatest portion of the parents' property belongs to a son and not to a daughter (UNDP, 2013). Georgian society believes that men are more entitled to all kinds of property than women, except for jewelry,

where 11% of society thinks that most jewelry should be given to a daughter. Only 3% of society considers that all jewelry should be given to a daughter (UNDP, 2013). Society's attitudes point to the practice of unequal distribution of inheritance and the entrenched stereotyped views in the country, which was confirmed by a study "Assessment of women's needs and priorities in mountaineous regions of Georgia" conducted in 2013. This study revealed two important issues. The first issue was that, compared to the surveyed men, the number of women who owned real property was considerably lower [60%/34%] (Gaprindashvili, Bendeliani, Amashukeli, 2013). The second issue was that most of the surveyed men [50%] and women [39%] thought that the property should be inherited by a son. The tradition of unequal distribution of inheritance can also be observed in our study.

The focus group participants (in all the three cities, from both age groups) explain the transfer of a father's property to his son by the fact that the son continues the family name and when he gets married it is assumed that he will live in his father's house. Some participants, aged 16-19, pointed out that the birth of a son in a family means the birth of an heir in Georgia. It is an established practice that a son should take care of his father's property and eventually inherit it, while a daughter, if she gets married, should leave her family and move to another family and her family should give her dowry.

'This has been practiced since ancient times, when a boy is born people say that an heir has been born, they do not say the same about a girl, because a boy continues his family name. Of course it depends on the attitude of the parents to their children, but in general, it is an accepted practice.' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).

'Because, as a rule, boys bring wives home, a girl can't bring her husband to live at her home, can she?' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'A girl gets married, moves to another family, a boy should bring his wife into his family. We can't saw the house into two halves; there-

***fore, it is only logical that the house should belong to the boy.'* (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).**

The participants' views divided when discussing a tradition where the son inherits the family property just because of his sex. Male participants did not think that there was anything wrong or unusual about this tradition and approved of the fact. They thought that it was fair to leave the family house to a son, because it was assumed that he should create his family in that house. While a woman, upon her marriage, leaves her family. Even if a woman did not marry and stayed at her father's house, the male participants still did not consider her as a rightful heir. On the whole, young men were very categorical in their remarks and did not think that leaving a daughter without inheritance was a violation of her rights.

Several participants, aged 20-25, said that an unmarried woman, if she has a brother and lives with her brother's family, was obligated to look after her nieces and nephews and help her brother with household tasks

***'I don't think that it is [a violation of women's rights], because it is a tradition that a boy should inherit the house.'* (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).**

***'A girl should not have any claims. As long as she lives there, it's hers as well, but once she gets married, she has to move.'* (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).**

***'[Women's rights] are not violated according to law. The law does not say that both have the right to inherit. Normally, the one who continues the family name should stay in that family. It is an unwritten law, it is practiced now and it has always been that way.'* (male respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).**

Interestingly, young participants (both males and females from both age groups), believe that the decision on the distribution of property among family members should be taken by the father. The young participants did not mention a mother, even once, when discussing the

person who makes decisions about inheritance.

'He may sell it [the house], it depends on the father and his views.'
(male respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

The discussion in this group of participants shows that, in the global context, they do not think that women's right to inherit is violated, let alone in the local context, and fail to associate it with gender inequality.

It is also evident that this group of participants is unaware of the fact that the traditions and established practices with respect to property inheritance by women should change because it is one of the most common reasons due to which there is a disproportionately high number of poor women around the world who do not have land or property rights (Gomez and Tran, 2012). In addition, we can conclude that male participants could not relate the property ownership right to the fact that property ownership enables people to choose the source of subsistence on their own, to ensure safety and to be independent. The participants considered that a man was and should be property creator and manager. This is confirmed by the fact that according to the participants, a father (head of a family) was the one who should decide the matters related to property management and inheritance. They did not mention a mother once in the context of property administration and its distribution among children.

Unlike male participants, women (in all the three cities and from both age groups) were more sensitive towards this issue. On the whole, women expressed negative feelings about this tradition and said that it (the tradition) was discriminatory and violated women's rights.

Women (especially teenagers), as opposed to men, emphasized several issues. First, they believed that it was wrong not to consider women as heirs to the property. Second, they stressed that even after getting married a woman might not have everything she needs, because her husband's family may be poor. The female participants of the focus group also noted that they disapproved of the fact that

mostly, in Georgia, women do not object to being left without inheritance, because they have no information about their rights and about the fact that this tradition is wrong and discriminatory.

‘They are not given anything because they were born as girls, if they were boys they would receive something. Rights are violated because of sex.’ (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

‘[Rights] are violated. If her rights are not violated and this girl stays in the family, when her brother gets married, it may cause a conflict, because there is no place for a sister in the house and she may even be kicked out, in the worst case scenario of course; women’s rights are violated in this case.’ (female respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

‘You give birth to two kids, you realise that both of them are yours, what does it mean when you leave property only to one of them? I think that all the existing property should be divided.’ (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

‘This is the problem in Georgia, a girl is not considered as their own child and I don’t know why, a boy is supposed to inherit everything.’ (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

‘It is very rare for women to express their objections, they don’t know that they should!’ (female respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

The words of female participants indicate that they justify the said discrimination (where daughters’ property rights are disregarded) by the fact that the family does not consider a daughter as an heir. The female participants emphasize that in Georgian families only sons are regarded as heirs. This points to the fact that families lack gender sensitivity, which results in a contradiction between constitutional norms on gender equality. It can safely be concluded from the talk of the female study participants that in terms of land inheritance, women are considered as having no claims to the homes where they were born or into which they are married. Whether or not a woman is granted access to use land depends on her relationship to the man.

The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (2012) reports that kinship families often worry that if they give a girl property, she will take the property with her when she gets married and leave the relatives with nothing (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2012). However, the family does not worry about giving a boy child property, because when he gets married, unlike a girl, he is not expected to move to another family, so the parents' wealth will not be taken away.¹¹

Traditionally, the role of the husband has been that of a material supporter of his family, and therefore it is argued that leaving the family's inheritance to boys is more justifiable. The discussion of the male and female study participants about inheritance and property rights demonstrates that in Georgian families a girl child is regarded as a child who is supposed to move to another family as soon as she grows up and gets married. So, the wealth of the parents should not be given to her, because she will take that wealth away to another family. Therefore, the family disregards the fact that by denying a girl property, they violate her property rights, which for its part impairs her independence and safety rights. A sense of unfairness can be discerned in the talk of the female participants and they, especially women aged 20-25, associate the problems related to a woman's independence with the unequal property rights of women, however, none of the participants emphasizes the problem of safety and they miss the fact that owning property and material security may be the guarantee of their protection and safety. The International Center for Research on Women (2006) points out that an unequal discriminatory policy with respect to property rights negatively affects women and makes them exceptionally vulnerable to domestic violence (International Center for Research on Women, 2006). For example the International Center for Research on Women (2006) reports the domestic violence has an exceptionally negative effect on women in economically vulnerable families, because

11 Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions - Bringing Equality Home -Promoting and Protecting the Inheritance Rights of Women Available at: <http://globalfop.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/inheritance-rights-women.pdf> Accessed: 21.10.14.

they are at risk of losing shelter (International Center for Research on Women, 2006). Women who experience domestic violence often report that they were denied food and shelter (International Center for Research on Women, 2006). Moreover, the fear of loss of shelter and lack of economic options or lack of bargaining power are the reasons why women continue in abusive relationships (International Center for Research on Women, 2006). The latest studies confirm that domestic violence is one of the most pressing and acute problem in Georgia as well. According to “National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Georgia” conducted in 2010, every eleventh married woman experiences domestic violence (Chitashvili, Javakhishvili, Arutiunov, Tsuladze, Chachanidze, 2010). This research shows that 34.7% of Georgian women are victims of physical violence, and 35.9% are constantly controlled by their husbands (Chitashvili, Javakhishvili, Arutiunov, Tsuladze, Chachanidze, 2010). This situation points to the fact that in Georgia, where violence against women and gender inequality is firmly established, women’s property rights are all the more important for improving the situation with respect to women’s rights and can be regarded as one of the guarantees for avoiding domestic violence. However, it seems that a large portion of the society finds it difficult to associate these two issues – equal property/inheritance rights and domestic violence. A clear example of this is that the majority of men and women surveyed during the study “Assessment of Needs and Priorities of Women in Mountainous Regions of Georgia” approved of the fact that only a boy child should inherit the property. Therefore it is not surprising that the participants of our study, neither women nor men, were able to or did not associate the safety of women with women’s unequal inheritance and property rights.

Conclusion

This chapter confirms our hypothesis and reveals that both young men and women see their positions through the patriarchal lens. Moreover very few of them question the cultural models that sustain

their gender beliefs. The findings showed the strict division of household labor, where men are decision-makers and breadwinners and women's main duties are to take care of all the family members and household chores.

Based on the discussion of the participants it was visible that a woman, from her childhood, is denied her main rights and the guarantee of her protection, safety and independence. A girl child is regarded as a child who is supposed to leave the family as soon as she gets married and therefore, the unfair practice with respect to property distribution was not perceived discriminatory or unequal especially by the young male participants.

The long-established tradition of passing inheritance to sons was regarded by the male participants as a correct decision made by the family, and none of them was aware of the extent of the negative affect that this practice can have for women in terms of independence and safety. Despite the fact that the female study participants were more sensitive towards this issue, they discussed the problems related to property and inheritance only from the perspective of material well-being. They focused on the fact that a woman may marry a man from a poor family and may lack material support. The female participants did not mention one of the most important issues that guarantees women's safety and freedom – a woman's personal property, which ensures a woman's personal freedom. The female participants did not discuss or analyze the situation of a woman who is left without inheritance, and who remains without rights and in a subordinated position even after her marriage, because nothing belongs to her and the family property is owned by her husband. Therefore, it can be concluded that although women showed more awareness and sensitivity in relation to inheritance and property rights, they still lack the awareness of the fact that property ownership and equal property rights determine their independence and status of safety.

The focus group respondents distinguish between traditional and modern families. Respondents' description of traditional family ac-

tually refers to the patriarchal family, where the head of the family is a man who holds more power and rights than other family members and where gendered division of household labor prevails. Only a few female respondents identified such family as patriarchal and made critical comments towards the hierarchical social order. On the other hand, our respondents' description of a modern family refers to a family where values of gender equality are common and, hence, roles, duties and obligations are equally distributed among the family members. Most of the respondents by traditional family implied "Georgian family" and by modern family referred to the "non-Georgian family." Thus, patriarchal family is identified as the authentic Georgian family, which should be kept away from the influences of modern values. This approach can be explained by Chatterjee's (1989) theory suggesting that conservative positions rest on deployment of tradition, which has to be defended against the degeneration of modern, global culture.

Respondents' attitudes towards the duties and obligations of men and women in the household are largely shaped by what they think about gender roles. Focus group participants' notions of gender division of household labor can be explained by the gender roles attitudes approach. This perspective links people's gender attitudes with the division of household labor, suggesting that people with more egalitarian values would demonstrate a more equal division of household labor (Presser, 1994). The findings revealed that gender division of labor at home is highly triggered by respondents' notions of masculinity and femininity. For instance, according to focus group participants, the man has the duty of being the breadwinner in the family and is less involved in household chores. Hence, those men who do not fulfill the established notions of men's roles in the family and perform "female tasks" are undermining their masculinity and manliness. Since being a breadwinner is the man's duty, employment becomes the main determinant of manliness, whereas for women employment is an option. If the husband is unemployed and, hence, does not match the expected gender roles, it precipitates tension in the family. Some

of our respondents realize the negative aspects of dominant gender roles, which impose certain expectations and obligations over men and women. However, focus group participants are reluctant to question these oppressive gender roles, instead they complain about the circumstances such as unemployment, which disturb the smooth performance of established gender roles. Women are viewed as primary performers of different household chores. These gender beliefs, that assign women and men separate obligations, duties and roles, are used to justify and sustain hierarchical gendered order in the household and beyond.

The findings revealed that men's attitudes towards the distribution of gender roles and duties in the family differed depending on whether the discussion was about their family or "other families." When it comes to "other families," male respondents showed more flexible and open attitudes towards men's and women's duties and roles, but when it concerned their own family, they kept stronger gender beliefs.

According to Chatterjee's (1989) theoretical framework, nationalism is not merely about a political struggle for power, but it is also about dominance over virtually every aspect of the material and spiritual life of the people. Chatterjee (1989) views Home (household, family) as an inner part of social order symbolizing the spiritual culture, which in turn holds a feminine nature. Hence, the feminization of Home is the main instrument for maintaining gendered order and male dominance. Women are the main actors who sustain and reproduce the "man's world," called Nation. For this reason, women's emancipation and challenging of the established hierarchical gender roles threatens the nation's gender order, which is perfectly adjusted to male interests.

CHAPTER VI

EMPLOYMENT, PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Introduction

One of the most important aspects of the gender-related problem is the interconnection between gender and employment, presenting a rather negative picture in terms of equality which is not confined only to local society, country or culture but extends to a global level. The empowerment of women and the promotion of their involvement in the labor market is crucial for creating a developed economy, for the sustainable development of the country and for the improvement of the quality of life of women, men, families and communities.¹²The Millennium Development Program sees the economic empowerment of women and girls as a prerequisite for combating poverty and as a key to prosperity in the world.¹³

Despite the antidiscrimination regulations, declarations and legislative amendments in the world, according to the World Bank data of 2014, almost half of women's potential and resources are still unrealized, as opposed to only 22% of men's resources that are still unused (World Bank, 2014). Global studies demonstrate that women are more economically outcast than men (Padavic, Reskin, 1994). The 2014 report of the World Bank says that women receive lower wages than men and fewer women occupy leading positions at work. For instance, women make up only 21% of top management jobs, while the number of men occupying the same positions is twice that number (World Bank, 2014). These are the general trends common both in the developed and developing parts of the world.

According to the report "Global Employment Trends 2014" prepared

12 <http://www.unwomen.org/en/partnerships/businesses-and-foundations/womens-empowerment-principles>

13 <http://www.worldbank.org/mdgs/gender.html#>

by the International Labour Organization (ILO), in Central and Eastern Europe gender inequality in terms of economic participation is rather substantial and is on the rise. Due to the economic crisis, in order to provide financial support to their families, women have to take such jobs that are below their professional qualification level. This report demonstrates that the salary rate of men in Georgia is almost 50% higher than that of women.¹⁴ According to the 2014 Gender Gap Index (GGI),¹⁵ Georgia is on the 85th place among 142 countries and has a score of 0.685. It is noteworthy that the cumulative indices of Georgia have improved compared to 2012.¹⁶

Shioshvili, N. (2013), in the study “Women’s social and economic rights and gender aspects of the labor market in Georgia,”¹⁷ talks about the discriminatory situation for women in Georgia in terms of access to employment, appointment to a higher positions or promotion at work. Especially vulnerable are pregnant women and those with infant children. It must also be noted that as of today, compared to men, the number of women without access to the labor market is double.

Statistical analysis of 2006-2013 demonstrates that during these seven years the employment rate of women never caught up with the men’s employment level.¹⁸ At the same time, the analysis of the nominal wag-

14 http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_233953.pdf

15 http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GGGR14/GGGR_CompleteReport_2014.pdf

16 http://css.ge/files/books/papers/_%E1%83%91%E1%83%94%E1%83%9C%E1%83%93%E1%83%94%E1%83%A%E1%83%98%E1%83%90%E1%83%9C%E1%83%98_-_gedner_equality_report,_june_2012.pdf

17 http://www.nimdg.ge/uploads/files/5318Women_Political_Participation_Expert_Papers_Canda_fund_2013.pdf

18 http://geostat.ge/?action=page&p_id=148&lang=geo

es of employed men and women show that in the second quarter of 2014, men have a substantially and clearly higher salary than women in 13 out of 15 sectors. In some cases, for instance in the financial sector, men’s remuneration is on average twice that of women’s in the same sector. The only sector where women have slightly more salary than men is electricity, gas and water generation and distribution (see. Table No. 1). Interestingly, 56% of women have a higher education (Bachelor’s degree or higher) and only 44% of men have a higher education. On the whole, it can safely be said that there is both vertical and horizontal segregation on the Georgian labor market.

Table No. 1

Table based on the data of the National Statistics Office of Georgia¹⁹

Sector	Men	Women
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	599,4	463,2
Fishing, fishery	524,9	295,6
Mining industry	1045,1	943,3
Manufacturing industry	868,1	547
Electricity, gas and water generation and distribution	979	1047,9
Construction	1155,8	754,8
Trade; repair of cars, household goods and personal effects	906,4	571,4
Hotels and restaurants	659,9	431,2
Transport and communications	1251,1	946,9
Financial sector	2626	1250,6
Real estate transactions, lease and customer service	1044,7	818,2
Public sector	1282,4	1237,5
Education	545	428,1
Healthcare and social care	1023,8	600,1
Utilities, social and personal services	858,3	579,3

The existing gender gap and segregation on the labor market is explained in most cases by using neoclassical economic and feminist

¹⁹ http://geostat.ge/?action=page&p_id=142&lang=geo

theories, such as human capital theory and discrimination theory (Reskin and Roos, 1990).

Human capital theory's main focus is on the segregation caused by women's rational choice. According to this model, women expect that sooner or later they will have to stop their work on account of different reasons associated with their household. Therefore, they invest their resources (education, trainings) in labor activities that have lower market value so that in the future the loss is not great. Accordingly, as long as women are economically active, they have to do low qualification and low-paying jobs more often than men (Reskin and Roos, 1990). The feminist theory, unlike the human capital theory, underscores the fact that the human capital theory disregards the existence of discrimination and does not analyze the situation in a common, social context. Consequently, account is not taken of the social determinants and other social influences that significantly affect women at the time of making an "appropriate" choice. Instead, the feminist/gender theories are not focused on labor market peculiarities, but rather on social variables. The basic principle of this theory is considered to be the fact that, historically, women have held a secondary position on the labor market, which was caused by patriarchal norms keeping women in a subordinated and submissive state, both in the family and in society in general (Anker, 2001). To demonstrate the fact that the existing situation on the labor market is a reflection of women's actual social status, the feminist theory sets out 13 stereotypes that are related to females. These stereotypes are sorted into three groups: "positive," "negative" and "other types of stereotypes" (Anker, 2001).

The five "positive" stereotypes are the views according to which women are more caring by nature, have innate skills for running a household and to care for the family, are more skillful in handiwork, are more honest and physically attractive than men. "Negative" group stereotypes are the views according to which women are not good at management and supervision, they are physically weaker than men, are not good at exact and natural sciences, are less eager to travel

and have less ability and readiness to fight physical danger and use physical force. “Other types of stereotypes” include such views according to which women are happier to carry out instructions, they need less income and that is why they take low-paying jobs and have more motivation to work at home.

Various studies show that, for instance, an “ideal employee” is still associated with a man (Heilman and Okimoto, 2008). The same is true for the stereotype of a “successful manager,” which mostly comprises manly qualities (Heilman et al., 1989). Men are described as individuals having more leadership qualities and more ambitions (Fiske and Stevens, 1993) while women - as less assertive and emotional individuals (Eagly and Karau, 2002). A study conducted in Italy demonstrates that in those cultural contexts where stereotypes are entrenched, the gender gap in terms of wages is significantly large (Castagnetti, 2010). The same study revealed that excellence at school does not mean that the work of a woman will be valued the same way and as equitably as that of a man (Castagnetti, 2010). It is noteworthy that a series of studies conducted on sexism, or on wage gaps on the grounds of stereotypes and gender have shown that when female and male participants were asked to evaluate the work that was stereotypically associated with women, such work was considered *a priori* as having lower value (Alksnis, 2000).

Taking into account the fact that the issues related to gender aspects in the labor market are highly problematic and topical, in our qualitative study we also addressed the issues of women’s economic participation and equal opportunities.

Women and employment

First of all, it must be noted that most of the young participants in the focus group organized by us thought that a job is a source of income and, accordingly, issues concerning professional and personal realization irrespective of sex were not dwelled upon during the dis-

cussion. An idea expressed by girls aged 16-19, stating that ‘a job is not just about money’ (female respondent, age group 16-19, Tbilisi) but about professional development, loving what you do, financial independence and social interaction, can be considered an exception. Interestingly, one of the boys of the same age suggested as an alternative to social interaction that ‘a woman could take her child for a walk together with her neighbors’ (male respondent, 16-19, Tbilisi).

‘A woman does not go to work just for the salary. She goes to work in order to have something to do, to feel different. It’s not all about money, why shouldn’t she be allowed to work if she is able to do the job?’ (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

‘For me, for instance, professional development would still mean a lot.’ (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

‘Maybe a woman has an ambition not to be dependent on her husband.’ (female respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

It is important to note that the focus group participants aged 20-25 had different views on the obligatory nature of a job with respect to gender. In particular, some young respondents **thought that having a job was a matter of choice for women, while it was men’s direct obligation to have a job.** Some of them believed that having a job was equally obligatory for men and women. It must be noted that the results of the quantitative study conducted in 2013 also demonstrate that having a job and supporting a family are considered as men’s duties, while women’s principal duty is to care for her family. The majority of those surveyed [77%] supports this view, 66% of them are women and 80% are men (UNDP, 2013).

‘It’s a man’s duty to have a job, while for women it’s a matter of choice.’ (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

‘[Having a job] is obligatory for both.’ (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

It seems that in the case of men, a job, as an unconditional obligation,

is closely connected with the idea of a breadwinner/principal earner in the family, which for its part is connected with gender hierarchy in the family, where the man who makes money has the greatest social and economic power. Statistical data of recent years concerning the attitudes and values with regard to family and distribution of roles in the family confirm the above. For example, according to a study conducted in 2010, 81% of the surveyed women, and 85% of the surveyed men believe that a man should be the principal earner in the family (UNDP, 2013). Interestingly, despite the three-year interval, society’s attitudes have not changed markedly, moreover, as clearly demonstrated in the Table below, the number of individuals who agree to the idea of a man’s role as a principal earner in the family has increased. At the same time, 39% of those surveyed in 2010, and 34% of those surveyed in 2013 think that today women are actual breadwinners in the families in Georgia. (See Table No. 2)

Table No. 2 [Table based on the 2010 data of Caucasus Barometer and on 2013 data of the UN] (UNDP, 2013)

Who should be the breadwinner in the family in Georgia?		
2010 N=2089 CRRC	Man	83%
	Woman	2%
	Equally	14%
2013 N=1760 UNWOMEN	Man	88%
	Woman	1%
	Equally	11%

During discussion meetings, the participants from both age groups (16-19, 20-25) analyzed in detail those “complications” in the family that may occur if a **woman chooses** to have a job. For instance, a woman’s job may result in a conflict in the family because she will not

be able to do the household chores or take care of family members as efficiently as before, which to a certain degree is the reason why a husband may be unwilling to let his wife work. Boys aged 16-19 are more specific than girls of the same age when talking about the reasons why a husband may not allow his wife to have a job, in particular: constant jealousy about what his wife is doing during working hours; ‘collapse of a **“finely-tuned family”** where a man is the breadwinner and for whom dinner is always ready when he returns home, when family members have everything they need. In this situation having a job is just a **“whim”** of the woman (boy, Zugdidi, age group 16-19), especially if the woman’s contribution to the family budget is insignificant. It is noteworthy that one of the strongest arguments put forward by male respondents in defense of their view that a woman should stay at home was the maximum involvement of a woman in the upbringing and rearing of children, to which some female respondents agreed.

‘In this case, a man does not consider it necessity for his wife to have a job. He wants to have dinner ready. He understands that the situation will change if wife takes a job; and the family budget will not change significantly either.’ (male respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

‘When you make decisions in the family, especially like that – a woman has to leave home, especially the family which is “finely-tuned-”where the husband earns enough to support the children and provide them with everything they need, because of the woman’s whim of having a job...’ (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

‘If you have no problems caring for children, have clothes, everything, why would you [a woman] want a job?’ (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

‘If I manage to support my family, than I prefer for my wife to look after the children.’ (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

'It is wonderful when a husband supports you and you have money. I wouldn't want a job at all in that case.'(female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

'If the husband has such a large income, why should a child be raised, say, by a grandmother? I prefer not to deprive my child maternal love.' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).

'In general, I think that a woman should always put family first. When you have children, personal ambitions take a back seat, because a child is the greatest responsibility and duty.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

As opposed to the above ideas, girls aged 16-19 commented on the ***"selfishness of the husband"*** (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19), which is manifested in the fact that even when men have insufficient income, they do not allow their wives to work ***"because a woman has to do household tasks"*** (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19). One of the girls even noted that a man may not be happy about the fact that his wife depends on him financially, but ***"still does not allow her to work so that the woman can support herself; it is more selfishness."*** (female respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19). One of the barriers to women's decision to take on a job is also the fact that a woman who has no working experience, if she does not receive encouragement from her family members, is more likely to give in to her husband's demand and stay at home. Only one man, as an exception, made a comment that even a woman may become ***"fed up"*** with (male respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19) having to look after the family and children every day, especially if the woman has a profession, and the job would come as a relief from her burden. Also one of the boys in the Tbilisi group pointed out that ***'a husband has no right to forbid [his wife] from having a job.'***(male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

'When you have never had a job and you are offered a job for the first time in your life, it's a bit hard, because you have not worked for a long time and have always stayed at home, it's a little tricky

***to change everything so quickly.'* (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).**

It should be noted that the observations and assessments of the young participants of the focus group is the continuation of the widely spread and dominating attitudes in Georgian society. According to the latest studies, there are a series of barriers arising from socio-cultural norms preventing women from working outside home. A 2013 study on “Society’s Attitude to Gender Equality in Politics and Business” (UNDP, 2013) analyses barriers women face on the way to employment, e.g. **gender hierarchy in the family**, which is recognized and strictly observed in Georgian families both by men and women. Gender hierarchy is in perfect harmony with the highly abstract and generalized idea of so called “Georgian traditions.” Appropriateness and the advantages and disadvantages of Georgian traditions are generally recognized by society. Gender hierarchy itself implies distributing functions and duties in the family according to sex, where such family chores as cleaning the house, cooking dinner, washing, caring for a sick family member or a child are assigned to women (UNDP, 2013) (for details see Chapter IV). This situation is backed by a stereotype justified by traditions that **the most important role for a woman in life is caring for her family**, which is shared by an almost absolute majority [92%] of those surveyed in 2013, out of whom 91% were women and 93% were men. At the same time, it must be noted that the data from the study conducted in 2014 allows us to see the public attitude to women’s role from the age point of view. According to the statistical data, 77% of young women aged 18-24 and 91% of men think that **the most important duty for a woman is caring for her family** (Kachkachishvili, Nadaraia, Rekhviashvili, 2014). (See Table No. 3)

Table No. 3

Table based on 2014 data of the UN (Kachkachishvili, Nadaraia, Rekhviashvili, 2014).

Woman's main duty is to take care of her family		
18-24	Woman	Man
Agree	77%	91%
Disagree	22%	9%
Not sure	1%	0%

Women's "double" or "triple burden" is naturally an objective barrier for women who want to start working or who already have a job. Accordingly, as opposed to men, it is more likely that a woman is the one who has to choose between a job and the family and more likely, in that situation, to opt for staying at home and taking care of her family. This is especially so if we bear in mind that women are encouraged by "society's demand" to make this choice. For instance, 74% of those surveyed share the idea that a **woman is judged more according to what kind of family she has and not according to her successful career** (UNDP, 2013).

Another point that merits attention is that confining women to a family, that is to a private, rather than to a public space, is not only imperative in its nature (a woman has to stay in the family, caring for the family is a woman's job, and the like) but also is justified by a woman's "natural need" to have a family, to care for the well-being of the family members and derive happiness from it all. The above is borne out by the fact that 64% of the respondents think that having a job is a good thing, but **most of all a woman desires to have a family and children** (UNDP, 2013).

As regards the issue of husbands forbidding their wives to start a job, which was touched upon during the discussion by the focus group young participants, it is by all means a significant barrier to women's employment. However, it must be said that behind such specific rea-

sons as the jealousy of the husband or even a change in the daily routine caused by a woman's employment, there is an issue of far greater importance – **obedience to a man**. A woman's subordinated status and a man's superior position is the axis of gender hierarchy, and the various restrictions/prohibitions imposed by a man on a woman reflect the above status. According to statistical data, a large section of society supports the existence and retention of power hierarchy in the family. For instance, 63% of the respondents shared the idea that **a good wife obeys her husband even when she disagrees with him**, while only 34% of those surveyed disagreed with this view (UNDP, 2013). Moreover, a majority of both older and younger (18-24) women and men think that **a man should be the one who makes the final decision in the family** (Kachkachishvili, Nadaraia, Rekhviashvili, 2014).

Women's Promotion at Work

During the discussion, the participants talked also about women's career development. They stated that in the present situation in Georgia, men have more chance to be appointed to managerial positions than women, which the respondents explain by the commonly held idea in society that management is a man's job because a man is "by nature" a better manager and better suited to making final decisions. The findings of the quantitative study once again confirm the stereotypical attitudes of society towards a woman's work/activities outside home. Altogether, 50% of the respondents think that in general, **men are better at doing any kind of work than women**, 58% think that a man is a better **business leader**, and 36% think that **men do work more diligently**. As regards the role of an immediate supervisor, among those respondents who think that **men have better managerial skills** [50%], 65% are men and 37% are women (UNDP, 2013).

Once again, the majority of the focus group participants noted that a woman who holds a managerial position has to balance her family life and her job and the more successful she becomes in her career,

the less time she has for her family. It can be assumed that society has the same expectations with regard to women's employment: according to a UNDP study conducted in 2013, 52% of those surveyed think that **a woman cannot be as successful in her career because she is hindered by her family duties/because of her family she cannot devote much time to her career** (UNDP, 2013). The focus group participants stressed the issue of women's pregnancy and maternity leave, which was a serious barrier for the employer and in order to avoid this problem, the employer preferred to employ men in managerial positions. In Georgia, men are more free and independent irrespective of their family status, because they do not have to balance family life and a job. According to the UNDP study of 2013 (UNDP, 2013)., 60% of the respondents say that in Georgia, **despite equal qualifications, men have more chance of occupying top managerial positions than women**. 49% of the male respondents and 30% of women respondents support the appointment of men to managerial positions. The participants of this study think that men have an advantageous position on the labor market due to several reasons. First of all, the fact that a man is more socially active than a woman, therefore his circle of acquaintances is wider and more varied, which makes it easier for a man to find a job. Also, the respondents talked about the family chores that a woman has to attend to, while men have no such problem and, accordingly, have more freedom and time to carry out their job duties. A maternal leave was also cited as one of the barriers to women's employment (UNDP, 2013).

'It's a force majeure when a woman becomes pregnant and has a child and already it is required by law that the employing organization has to give her maternity leave. The organization will be obligated to give her paid maternity leave. It means that it sustains a loss.' (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

'I would appoint a man as a manager and a woman as his deputy.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

'I think that he is a man and it will not be difficult for him to make a

decision. (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).

'It may be assumed that a woman would think more about her family and a man more about the job.'(male respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

It turned out that some focus group participants aged 16-19 were more aware of the gender gap in the labor market than other participants. One of the girls from the Telavi group said that it depends on the type of job and that in schools, for instance, teachers were mainly women. Another girl from the Zugdidi group talked about the wage gap as well. One of the boy respondents said that women in Georgia were doing intellectual jobs, while men did physical work.

'There is a gap, I've seen statistics where a woman doing the same job as a man has 50% less salary.' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19)

'At schools there are mostly women, the number of men may be higher at universities. I think that it is connected with inequality. There are jobs they say a woman can't do, that she has a family, a child; that they need a person with a different mindset and will-power. I think women are more unemployed than men.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

Among the respondents aged 20-25, only a few women mention the word "discrimination" with regard to employment. The male respondents were less serious when discussing this issue. One of them even said that men are more discriminated against in the Georgian labor market because the employers 'trust women more' than men (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

The focus group participants had different views on career choices in the case of men and women. The respondents divided professional activities mostly based on sex. However, it must be noted that the young participants did not make a comment about the superiority of a man's mental capabilities compared to those of a woman; to the opposite, the respondents aged 16-19 said that men and women could

do intellectual jobs equally well. However, women's career choices were restricted when it came to doing a job that required physical force, which only a man could do.

'Activities that require physical force are not suitable for women, for instance a builder.' (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

As a result of the categorization, the following jobs fell into the work category inappropriate for women: cleaning municipal services, casino, construction and also urology. These were the line of work that was merely "unsuitable" for women. (*female respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19*).

The students talked a lot about women drivers. A male respondent aged 16-19 noted that women found it hard to concentrate when driving and "make more mistakes" (*male respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19*), and, consequently, often create crash situations. One of the girls of the same age disagreed with this view and stated that women were more law-abiding "by nature" and accordingly more careful drivers. As regards the professions unsuitable for men, most of the respondents think that the career of a babysitter, cleaner, ballet dancer, hair designer and gynecologist were not a man's job, because those activities "required tenderness" (*male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19*), which is a woman's quality "by nature".

'Menial work does not suit women, such heavy work as that of an electrician, carburetor mechanic, engine mechanic, etc. A job of a hair designer or cleaner does not suit a man, or the job of a waiter, although boys do this job, well if there is no other choice, let them work as waiters.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'As an architect, absolutely, but working on a construction site I think is more of a physical job.' (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

'I think it would be awkward for a man to work as a babysitter.' (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

'A man must not do a job that requires tenderness.' (male respon-

dent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

'A woman has more experience and skills. A boy works with cars and a girl puts a child to bed.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

'[Hair design] is definitely an unmanly job. You are a boy and you are wearing trousers and then start dressing someone's hair.' (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).

Interestingly, among the participant of all the three focus groups (Tbilisi, Telavi, Zugdidi), only one girl respondent mentioned in her comments the word "stereotype" with respect to dividing professions/activities on the grounds of sex.

'Because it is what happens... boys are taught that only a woman must be a hair designer and it is shameful for a man and they attach stereotypes to male hair designers.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

In the context of women's employment, another issue discussed at length by the focus group members was women's political activity. The next sub-chapter presents the results of the analysis of the young participants' discussion of this issue which are closely related to the findings of the study analyzed above.

Women and Politics

Women's representation on the political arena has a great impact on achieving effective democracy (Dahl, 1989). But still women are underrepresented in the vast majority of national parliaments (Bühlmann and Schädel, 2012), though global modernization processes have stipulated significant changes in family life, on the labor market etc. Bühlmann and Schädel (2012) argue that low representation of women in national parliaments challenges the idea of gender equality itself as it does not represent heterogeneity of the whole population (Bühlmann and Schädel, 2012). Moreover, the increasing rates of

women's enrollment in politics and high number of female MPs work as role models for other women to become politically motivated and active (Bühlmann and Schädel, 2012). However, there are number of structural and functional obstacles hindering women's political enrollment that are categorized under political, socio-economic, ideological and psychological (socio-cultural) barriers (Inglehart and Norris, 2003).

According to Bari (2005) and Shvedova (1998), the political arena is shaped by a masculine model of government where power is distributed among men, and women are left out in the private sphere such as family (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). Besides this, the masculine model of politics is mostly led by the idea of competition and confrontation and is less focused on collaboration and consensus, especially across party lines. Therefore, women usually refuse to stand for masculine-style politics and if they decide to do so, they tend to do it in small numbers (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). Shvedova (1998) also outlines that the parliamentary work schedule is not flexible and so unsuited to a women's double burden of combining family and work (Inglehart and Norris, 2003).

The low social and economic status of women strongly influences female political participation. Poverty and lack of adequate financial resources, illiteracy and limited access to education along with double burden work hinders women from enrolling in the political arena worldwide. The feminization of poverty is quite evident through the UN data, according to which out of 1.3 million persons suffering from poverty, 70% are women (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). Those countries where female representation in parliament is more than 33% are ranked in the high human development category (Bari, 2005).

Ideological and cultural obstacles are first of all manifested through women's primary roles as mothers and wives and disproportionate shared domestic responsibilities. According to Shvedova (1998), the patriarchal value system turns women into 'working mothers' who are low-paid and apolitical (Shvedova, 1998). Moreover, women

themselves lack the confidence to stand for politics and run for elections, as politics is perceived to be “dirty”, corrupted and inappropriate for “good women” (Shvedova, 1998).

Overall, in post-communist and developing countries, the gender gap ranks significantly higher in comparison with developed societies (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). Therefore, it is interesting to know how international indices and ratings assess the situation in Georgia in terms of women’s political empowerment. The Gender Gap Index (GGI) measures women’s political empowerment in three areas: term of office of women in parliament, of women ministers and of women heads of state.²⁰It must be pointed out that from 2006 to 2012 the average index of women’s political empowerment calculated on the basis of the 115 countries included in the report has improved, however Georgia still lags behind the average index of other countries. It is also noteworthy that starting from 2006 the Georgian index slipped lower each year and approached a “0” score, which demonstrates complete gender inequality. A slight improvement is observed in the GGI report of 2012: Georgia’s score is 0.071, which is an improvement by 0.032 points compared to 2011 (Bendeliani, 2012).

The problems associated with women’s participation in Georgian politics are clearly demonstrated in Bagratia’s (2013) study, which describes the overbearing attitude towards the participation/involvement of women in modern Georgian politics. According to the study findings, 29% of the candidates in 2012 elections were women [729 women were included in the party lists, and 59 women were among the majority candidates]. Altogether, 32 women candidates were represented among the first 10 candidates in the party lists of 16 electoral subjects, which amounted to only 20% of all candidates. As for the majority candidates, 47% of electoral districts did not have a woman candidate at all. Interestingly, one electoral subject that adheres to a rather conservative orientation – the “Christian-Democratic Movement,” demonstrated the best result in terms of intra-party democ-

20 <http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap>

racy in 2012 parliamentary elections; in particular, it observed the gender quota prescribed by the Law on Political Associations both in its party list and with respect to its majority candidates. However, account must be taken of the financial benefit that a political party receives for observing the gender quota and that can be regarded as a key reason for meeting the gender quota and not as an ideological concurrence with gender equality principles. In this respect, it is worth noting that there is a trend in less popular political parties to have more women as candidates, which translates into financial benefit for the party.²¹

The Bagratia (2013) study suggests that in 2012 women gained 18 seats: 7 – under majority system [9%], and 11 – under proportional representation system [15%], which is the highest number in the history of the Georgian Parliament. It appears that in the mixed electoral systems women candidates were more successful under a proportional representation system compared to a majority system. It is important to analyze the connection of the number of seats gained by women in 2012 with the political parties, because it sheds lights on the reasons behind such an unprecedented number of seats ever obtained in the political history of the country. The achieved results make it clear that in 2012 the coalition “Bidzina Ivanishvili – Georgian Dream” nominated the highest number of women majority candidates. At the same time, this electoral subject had high odds for success. As a result, the coalition received the majority of votes and with six successful women candidates entered parliament. In view of the above, it turned out that the candidates’ sex had no decisive importance, because “the following pattern was observed – an electoral subject winning the majority of votes under proportional representation system in a given majority district, also won the majority elections in that district” (Bagratia, 2013). Accordingly, the party was the winner, and not a female or male candidate.

21 http://ge.boell.org/sites/default/files/downloads/Gender_Agenda_Ge.pdf

The situation is dramatic at executive and self-governance level. There are 19 ministers in the present Government of Georgia, and only three of them are women. As regards the 12 self-governing cities, none of them has a woman mayor (ISFED, 2014). The same is true at municipality level. Only two out of 69 Gamgebelis (Heads of municipal districts) are women. As for the gender distribution in the Sakrebulo (City Assembly), in 2014, only 242 out of 2083 Sakrebulo members were women (ISFED, 2014).

During the group discussions organized by us, the young respondents touched upon the issue of women's political participation in Georgia. The study participants aged 20-25 think that women's involvement in politics should increase. They note that women rarely appear in the political arena and believe that it is desirable to keep gender balance in politics. However, it should also be noted that the focus group participants had rather stereotyped views on the qualities attributed to women. They listed with regard to female politicians such qualities as equanimity, composure, self-control, etc. The respondents think that these qualities are bestowed on women "by nature" and that because of such qualities they are needed in politics, in order to counter-balance the men's stiff policies.

Similarly, according to the UNDP (2013), 50% of the respondents think that participation of more women in Georgian politics would be beneficial for the country, because female politicians will promote social issues due to their "soft" nature (UNDP, 2013). This study demonstrates that women are considered to be suited for such political activities that are related to healthcare, environment protection, culture and diplomatic missions. At the same time, it must be noted that 71% of the male respondents and 66% of the female respondents prefer to have a man as a presidential candidate (UNDP, 2013). Accordingly, we have a situation where the scope of activities for female politicians is still more restricted than that of men, which is clear from the views of our participants.

'The lack of involvement is the reason why women are so disad-

vantaged. Men will not be able to understand women's problems if there is no woman in the legislative body who can deliver the message herself.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'A woman has a different vision. Men mostly pursue stiff policies, while women are more reserved, composed and that is why women must be in politics.' (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

'Women's political involvement is important, because 54% of voters are women. If we say that the political elite represent society, then gender balance must be fully observed. Male politicians are not good at lobbying women's issues, it requires women's political involvement and women, as a community, should be active in their efforts to enhance women's role in politics, as Ministers and why not, - as a President.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

The focus group participants once again referred to the inability of working women to spend time with family members, especially with children due to lack of time, which in one case was interpreted as putting work before family. The respondents in all the three cities believe that politics requires huge time and energy from women, and family should always come first for women irrespective of the position they hold at work. The position of the young participants of our study is also confirmed by statistics. For instance, according to 2013 data, 51% of those surveyed thinks that **it will be hard for a woman to be in politics, because family duties will prevent her from doing her job** (UNDP, 2013). These data once again point to the fact that family duties are *a priory*- the most important duties for women; at least, this is how it should be, because such is society's expectation/demand. An image of an **"obedient"** and **"submissive"** Georgian woman is also added to this picture (UNDP, 2013), and then the circle closes, which leads our young participants to say that a woman can be a leader at work (in the relative sense) **but not** in the family.

'If a woman is deeply involved in politics and she is able to develop her career, the man should allow her to take that post. If after a certain period of time it turns out that a family conflict arises because

of the inability of this woman to spend as much time with the family as she used to, then it begs a question - what is more important for this woman, the post or the family, and she has to decide this issue together with her husband. But if it turns out that the family may be destroyed because of the career, I think that anyone would leave the career and take care of the family. But if she thinks that the career is more important than the family, then her family will be destroyed.' (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

'If my wife had little time for the family, I wouldn't be happy about it.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

'A woman should not be a leader in any case: at work yes, in the family – no.' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

The teenage focus group participants (aged 16-19) did not show any negative attitudes towards women's participation in politics. Younger respondents even named several famous female leaders (Margaret Thatcher, Elizabeth II, Joan of Arc and Queen Tamar²² in the Georgian context), with regard to whom they showed great respect. However, mostly male respondents argued that it was not necessary for women to be in politics, because women *"will not be able to make decisions the same way as men"* (boy, Telavi, age group 16-19). Interestingly, unlike boys aged 16-19, student girls made several comments regarding stereotypes, which are related to the idea of confining women to a private space [family] and to the domineering position of men in society. Remarks of a similar nature were not made by boys.

'There is a stereotype that a woman should sit at home, care for her husband and children and look after the family. Public life should be run by me.? Why shouldn't women run it?!' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).

'In general, it is not important for women, they think that they'll get married and that's it.' (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

22 Tamar of Georgia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamar_of_Georgia

The views expressed by the focus group participants make it clear that a woman's career, whether political or not, may result in the same type of "complications" that are directly linked to a woman's performance of household duties and care for family members. Accordingly, one of the most important barriers to women's participation in politics is her family. The prohibitions imposed by husband were also a problematic issue in the context of women's political activity. The reason cited was that politics was 'a dirty business' which can jeopardize the children's reputation as well. The same views were shared by 54% of the UNDP (2013) study respondents (UNDP, 2013). It must be noted that the focus groups conducted within the scope of the UNDP (2013) study revealed other barriers which women face in their political careers: lack of belief in one's own abilities, irrelevant education, and little chance of garnering adequate public support for political advancement.

Regarding barriers to women's political participation, Bagratia's (2013) views on the reasons that prevent women's political empowerment (Bagratia, 2013) are very important. Bagratia (2013) discussed such factors as weak position (or even non-existence) of a women's movement in Georgia, and a masculine political elite which is gender insensitive. The intra-party democracy level is also low, which is not conducive to the political advancement of women. The business elite should also be taken into account, which is focused on male politicians and therefore female politicians have less support and resources.

Conclusion

This chapter explored young Georgian people's attitudes towards women's professional development and examined gender beliefs that affect women's participation in the public sphere. Chapter V presented discussions of focus group respondents on two important issues. First, they discussed women's employment and related topics, such as freedom of career choice and opportunities of professional development; second, the study respondents talked about women's

political participation and representation. In both parts of the discussion the participants were mostly focused on a Georgian social and cultural context. It must be noted there were no major differences between the respondents' views, neither according to the venue of the focus group (Tbilisi, Zugdidi, Telavi) nor according to the age categories (16-19, 20-25). As for the difference of ideas according to the respondents' gender, it can be said that a certain number of young female participants, unlike men, were freer from gender stereotypes regarding women's political participation and employment and so better identified discriminatory practices against women.

The findings revealed that the public sphere still continues to be a male domain. For instance, respondents considered that having a job was a matter of choice for women, whereas it was men's obligation to earn. Women's greater participation in public life may trigger their emancipation and free them from the shackles of family control. Home is the domain where men can preserve their patriarchal power untouched, whereas the public domain is shaped by public law, which in essence should be pro-gender egalitarian (Chatterjee, 1989). Respondents cited a number of gender beliefs to explain male dominance and the lack of women's participation in the public sphere. If unemployment threatens men's masculinity through subverting their manly duties, on the contrary, employment threatens women's gender roles, since it may distract them from performing household chores.

Among the reasons that hinder women's professional development, some of the respondents cited women's gender obligations such as caring for her family members, bringing up children, and performing household chores, which are viewed as women's primary duties. Thus, womanhood becomes equated with the private sphere, since according to our respondents, a woman is judged more according to what kind of family she has and not by her career. Respondents provide *gender beliefs*, which confine women within the private domain and assume childcare to be women's paramount responsibility, as reasons that make it arduous for women to be in politics.

The reluctance towards women's emancipation and corresponding gender beliefs can be explained by Connell's (2005) proposition, which suggests that in the traditional society, where men are expected to be the main breadwinners, the socioeconomic disparities make it arduous for men to live up to societal expectations. This discrepancy between reality and expectation subverts their masculinities. Georgian patriarchy combines coercive authority with the subtle force of reasoning. Dominant gender order is imposed through widespread *gender beliefs*, which in turn justify oppressive gender roles limiting women's domain to the private sphere.

CHAPTER VII

YOUNG PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS SEXUALITY

Introduction

This chapter explores the attitudes of focus group participants towards female sexuality and the *gender beliefs* that are cited by the respondents in order to justify restrictive gender norms apropos of women's choices. There are two main prisms in social sciences through which sexuality can be studied: sociology of sexuality and gender studies (Zedania, 2012). In order to unravel and explain various dimensions of Georgian youngsters' attitudes towards sexuality, we apply both prisms. This chapter covers attitudes towards women's sexuality, premarital sex, sexual relations and motherhood. Finally, we examine the ways in which young people articulate and reason their attitudes towards women's sexuality. This chapter is based on the focus group discussions with young Georgians which were conducted in Tbilisi, Telavi and Zugdidi.

Women's Sexuality

Control of women's sexuality is an instrument for sustaining a gendered and patriarchal social order. Feminist scholars and activists view women's sexuality as a domain of both agency and oppression (Richardson, 1988; Snitow et al., 1983). There is an endemic tension between pleasure and threat in a patriarchal society. Georgian women have to negotiate between these domains and choose to immerse in pleasure or to avoid the threat of vilification, the threat of being punished, and the threat of instability. Due to the imposition of restrictive gendered norms, women's sexual restraint is a widely espoused practice in Georgia. The findings of Reproductive Health Survey 2010 show that premarital sex at first intercourse is highly uncommon and is reported by less than 5% women in Georgia(Georgia

Center for Disease Control (NCDC); Georgian Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Affairs (MOLHSA); Division of Reproductive Health - Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2012). In contrast, Kekelia & Gavashelishvili (2012) argue that contemporary youngsters do not restrict their sexual behavior in Georgia. They argue that premarital sex is prevalent, but implicit, since unmarried women still avoid being vilified for their sexual freedom (Kekelia & Gavashelishvili, 2012). The study on sexuality in Georgia showed that people between the ages of 26 and 45 hold more information about sexuality, whereas people between 18 and 25 are less informed about it (Kekelia et al., 2012).

However, our focus group findings revealed the widespread tendency of suppression of women's sexuality and acceptance of men's sexual freedom. In Tbilisi, Zugdidi and Telavi, respondents predominantly repudiated women's sexual freedom since in their view it is not acceptable for woman to be in a live-in relationship. Moreover, some respondents cited women's sexual freedom as motivation enough for men's violence against women.

According to focus group participants, women who had had several sexual partners in the past would face a negative reaction from their male partners ranging from verbal abuse to physical violence. However, opinions varied and some focus group participants did not object to woman's sexual freedom under some conditions and even described it as acceptable. In Tbilisi, respondents viewed a *girlfriend* as someone with whom a man can have sex without any emotional attachment or love, whereas *beloved* is described as someone pious with whom a man is connected by the feeling of love without premarital sexual relations with her. According to respondents in Tbilisi, Zugdidi and Telavi, a girlfriend's status implies instability and suggests that in the future the partners may break up and find new ones. Several male and female respondents in Tbilisi stated that women's sexual freedom is acceptable after a woman reaches a certain age.

***'For a girl of my age to be a virgin is more unacceptable than not to be one.'* (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).**

'I would not have any problem. The most important thing is that she should be a good human being...' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

'If they love each other, why don't they get married?! In this case a girl and her family are vilified.' (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).

In Zugdidi, respondents employed *gender beliefs* to approve male sexual freedom and object to woman's freedom to be in a live-in relationship. Focus group participants justified their gendered attitude towards sexual freedom by Georgian traditions and culture. According to them, a society including friends, family and relatives suggests responding differently to male and female sexual freedom. Respondents stated that in order to escape vilification and gossip, family members are compelled to act according to the dominant norms and impose these oppressive rules on their female relatives. In Zugdidi, female respondents stated that the major reasons for denouncing a girl who had had several sexual partners in the past is societal disapproval, whereas men noted that the utmost reason is the sense of instability and insecurity.

'A man can be forgiven. Even if he has a wife he can be forgiven for cheating on his wife.' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

'...I have been in a live-in relationship with a girl for two years, but I could not have any serious relationship with a girl who had lived with some guy for two years to have fun.' (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

In Telavi, respondents noted that sexual relations outside marriage are not acceptable for either women or men. However, they avowed that a woman would face more vilification than a man. According to the respondents, men have girlfriends just to have fun and would never marry a woman with whom he had had a premarital sexual relationship. Similarly, in Zugdidi, female respondents stated that soci-

ety would denounce a woman who lives with her boyfriend, whereas a man would be teased, but would not experience the same kind of marginalization as his girlfriend. Some male respondents in both Telavi and Zugdidi, when asked what their reaction would be if they come to know that their sister or daughter had had several sexual partners, purported that their reaction would involve such radical measures as kicking the girl out of the house, locking her in a monastery, and even killing her. Women, who position themselves as relatively active subjects in their sexual behavior, are looked at suspiciously. Male respondents noted that if a female family member has sexual freedom, it damages his and his family's good reputation. Thus, woman's sexuality defines the honor of her family and can even become the defining feature of Georgian identity. Honor complements institutional arrangements for the distribution of power and creation of gender order in society (Schneider, 2012).

'[It] damages my reputation and my family's reputation.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'I would lock her up at the monastery for her entire life.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'Globalization does not mean to start something and degenerate. Nation's degeneration is a horrible thing.' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).

'In general, there should not be live-in relationships without a Church marriage. Yes, we want to evolve, but it should not happen at the cost of our culture and customs. We have to value many of our customs. We should evolve without harming them [our traditions].' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).

Foucault (1978) argued that individuals constitute themselves morally through their sexual behavior and, hence, sexuality is viewed as a domain of moral self-formation. Our findings also showed how the respondents link morality and sexual experience and how it changes depending on the circumstances. For instance, female respondents

in Zugdidi as well as in Telavi noted that having sexual experience would be less condemnable if a girl had been in an official union one or two times. Many respondents in Telavi, Tbilisi and Zugdidi are likely to “forgive” woman her sexual relations in the past and marry her. However, the number of her sexual partners is decisive for “forgiveness” since some male respondents assume that a woman can make a mistake once or something may go wrong in her relationship, but if she had more than one partner it questions her character.

‘... If I fall in love and find humanness in her, I do not care if she is a virgin or not.’ (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

‘If she had had only one man and then broke up for some reason, if I loved her I would marry her.’ (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

‘Even religion, Orthodox Christianity, allows one to marry three times.’ (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

Respondents’ attitudes towards women’s sexuality can be described by Bauman’s (1998) explication of modern uses of sex. Respondents link female eroticism with reproductive functions or with love and refute female desire. Women need to provide a functional justification for having coitus such as that of having children, or love. According to the interviewed respondents, women cannot have coitus out of mere desire or pleasure. The findings reveal that according to focus group participants it is unacceptable for woman to indulge in a relationship for the sake of having fun. Rather, they insist that a pious woman should endeavor to get married and have children. Some respondents noted that if men come to know about women’s active sexual life, they would look at her in “another” way, which implies viewing her as a “whore” and having fun with her. Respondents distinguish between entertaining and serious relationships. The relationship is entertaining if its only purpose is to have fun and, hence, it is assumed to belittle a woman. The relationship is serious if its final goal is marriage and a long-term stable relationship. In the view of most respondents, women should aspire for marriage. If she sought out

merely fun, she would be described as a whore. Thus, according to the focus group participants, men can look for fun in a relationship, but woman cannot afford temporal sexual encounters for the sake of enjoyment.

'It's impossible to continue a serious relationship with her but "other" kind of dates are possible. Marrying her is out of the question.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'If she has [partners] for the sake of fun, then she is a whore.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

'No man would want to marry a woman for whom he is the third or fourth.'(male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

Respondents state that live-in relationships are unstable and temporal since they rarely lead to marriage. Some respondents claim that a woman can be in a live-in relationship only if it aims at knowing each other better and if partners are planning to get married. Focus group participants are apprehensive about live-in relationships since they consider sexual relations outside marriage to be temporal, whereas marriage is viewed as a guarantee of stability and security and, hence, it is described as the only legitimate form of relationship that women should aspire to. Some respondents distinguish between temporal and long-term live-in relationships. They recognize the legitimate status of any long-term live-in relationship and label it as "marriage," whereas any short-term live-in relations are considered to serve the purpose of having fun, which, according to focus group participants, is neither serious nor justifiable.

'It is acceptable only if a boy and a girl decide to live together before a church wedding and official union to see and adjust [to each other].' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

'Since I am an adult, it is nobody's business where I live and what I do. It is my life.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

Gender beliefs, such as the assumption that women with several sex-

ual partners outside marriage are “whores,” and the approval and complementation of men for the same behavior, lead many respondents to incriminate women who have premarital sex, since they suppose that it precipitates women’s defamation. The findings show that the “honor” of woman, and generally her family revolves around a woman’s innocence and subservience, whereas sexually active women are considered as a threat to Georgian-ness, which in turn rests on a sexual moral order.

‘In Georgia, the more girls a guy has had, the higher his status is. With girls, it’s the other way around.’ (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

‘In Georgian society these kinds of women are considered to be whores.’ (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

The findings show that in contrast to women men do not need any functional justification for coitus. Both female and male respondents complained about the double standards with regard to premarital sex and overall sexual freedom. According to them, while girls are slandered for engaging in premarital affairs, boys are lauded for it, and the things acceptable for men are unacceptable for women. Respondents in Telavi noted that men gain power and authority in case of multiple partners, whereas women are labeled as “whores” in case they indulge in premarital sexual relations with more than one partner.

‘This is all because of our mentality, where men can have free sex, but women cannot.’ (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

‘...It is like this in Georgia. Men first have fun and then get married.’ (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

Respondents make inferences to Georgian traditions and religion in order to reason and communicate their gender attitudes. Thus, *gender beliefs* allow focus group participants to surmise a patriarchal and gendered social order. In the views of both the female and male respondents, women’s sexual freedom and live-in relationships are against Georgian traditions and religion. Some respondents noted that restric-

tions, defined by religion with regard to sexual freedom, concern not only women, but men too. However, dominant social norms restrict predominantly female sexuality since it is woman's sexual freedom that is denounced by society. Focus group participants emphasized the differences between Georgian and European as well as Russian traditions and social norms. Thus, we can observe the dichotomy between Global/Modern and Traditional/Local *gender beliefs*. According to respondents, to be Georgian and to be Orthodox Christian is a big responsibility and obligation, which often requires the sacrifice of one's (read women's) freedom. Although some respondents describe these gendered traditions as backward, they state it is still necessary to follow the dominant norms apropos of women's sexual freedom, since Georgian-ness rests on it. Respondents equate patriarchal rules and norms with Georgian-ness or local traditions, which in turn are being threatened by Global/Modern gender beliefs.

'We may try to prove that we [men and women] have equal rights, but there are things which are not acceptable for women...Our religion strictly objects to it.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'We should read the Bible and our actions should be guided by faith.' (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

'Georgia is distinguished by its traditions. It's a Christian country and in this case the religion is demanding. Our parents' generation is more or less religiously raised and they know that living with someone outside marriage is a sin.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

According to the Reproductive Health Survey findings, sexual experience was lower among young women in Tbilisi (30%) compared to other urban and rural areas. Moreover, sexual experience increased with education, except for young women with higher education. For instance, over half (66%) of those with secondary education or less had engaged in coitus prior to age 22, whereas only 39% with higher education had done so. The Reproductive Health Survey reveals that

the majority (95%) of young adults' first sexual experience was marital. More than half among the 5%, who were not married at the time of first intercourse, were engaged or to be married. The husband as first partner is slightly less commonly reported by those living in Tbilisi (91%) (Georgia Center for Disease Control (NCDC); Georgian Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Affairs (MOLHSA); Division of Reproductive Health - Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2012). Respondents in both Telavi and Zugdidi consider Tbilisi to be a relatively liberating place for women's sexual freedom. Moreover, some of them describe Tbilisi as a subversive place, whereas respondents in Tbilisi consider issues of virginity and control of woman's sexuality to be more pertinent in the regions and rural areas of Georgia.

***'...Since Tbilisi is a big city, the circumstances are different. Neighbors' would not spy on girls to inform her parents about seeing her with a boy. It would not become an issue of gossip.'* (female respondent ,Zugdidi, age group 20-25).**

Georgia is, in some respects, a socially conservative country apropos of female sexuality. The change, although very small, can be observed since 2000 with regard to women's sexuality. In 2002 70% of men stated that society should not grant women sexual freedom (Charkviani et al., 2002). The Reproductive Health Survey reveals that the proportion of youngsters who reported premarital coitus, although very low, almost doubled between the 2005 and 2010 surveys, from 2.7% in 2005 to 5% in 2010. Similarly, a study conducted in 2012 depicts that 5.1% of youngsters between 18 and 25 reported premarital sexual intercourse (Kekelia et al., 2012).

Sexual Relations

Generally, violence has been described as a physical act with the intent to cause harm. Feminists extended the implication of violence and described violence as physical, sexual, and psychological abuse, which has a long-term effect on the victim's well being (Code, 2000).

Feminist academics and activists shifted the focus away from the motives of individual perpetrators and broke silence about spousal violence. Moreover, feminists noted that various forms of sexual violence are more about power and domination rather than sex (MacKinnon, 1987). In Georgia there is no specific article in the Criminal Code that could regulate marital rape. Article 137 criminalizes all forms of rape, but the lack of a special article punishing marital rape leaves space for police not to qualify this action as a crime (Japaridze et al., 2006). Most respondents in Tbilisi, Telavi and Zugdidi identified the situation where a husband frequently engages in sexual activity with his wife despite her refusal, as rape. In Tbilisi some respondents assumed that husbands have more rights over their wives' bodies and were hesitant to label the case as rape. As one of the respondents put it, it is not rape, unless it involves bondage and hitting. Moreover, one of the respondents described the case of marital rape as rudeness and insisted that women often like brutal men. Respondents suggested that woman should fulfill her husbands' sexual desires if she does not want him to cheat on her. Thus, *gender beliefs* such as woman's obligation to unconditionally fulfill husband's sexual desire, precipitates the justification of marital rape. In Tbilisi, a few respondents described spousal rape as a violation of women's rights, however, in the same focus group, one of the participants assumed that it is a woman's duty to fulfill her duty as a wife.

'I wouldn't call it either violence or rape. It's a man being rough, which women often like.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

'If a woman does not want a man to cheat on her, she should understand him.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

'A woman who stays with such a husband is a masochist. Why should one stay with such a husband?! It is the same as rape. She should divorce or even file criminal charges against him.' (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 16-19).

Patriarchal social order is defined by the relationships in which the men "own" the women and children and dominate them (Fortier,

1975). It explains the toleration of marital rape by some of our focus group participants, since they perceive women to be without any agency and to be owned by men. In Zugdidi, a few female respondents noted that, according to the elder generation's widespread assumption, it is a wife's duty to fulfill the husband's sexual desire even if she does not want to engage in sexual activity. Similarly, some male respondents insisted that a wife does not have the right to refuse her husband in this matter. Some respondents in Telavi questioned a woman's character because they assumed that her refusal to engage in sexual activity with her husband is triggered by her infidelity.

'For my grandmother's generation it is not a crime. It is a woman's duty.' (female respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

'Anything that you are forced to do against your will is violence.' (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

'If she denies my advances, she probably has a lover.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25) .

'If they are spouses then it is not violence. Rape is when you see someone on the street and do something maniacal.' (male respondent, Telavi, age group 16-19).

Several focus group participants both male and female in Telavi and in Zugdidi claimed that the decision to engage in sexual relations should always be consensual and based on the wish of both husband and wife. A female respondent from Telavi considered any decision taken unilaterally as violence. Some of the respondents stated that a woman has a right to deny her husband's advances.

'It is not that only men's wish is enough, both should desire and only then it can happen.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'It is violence. It does not matter if it's a husband or somebody else forcing himself.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'It [forced sex] is horrible. [In such case] the woman should break with the man.'(male respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

Motherhood

The functional justification of coitus is the prevailing **topos** among the focus group participants. Moreover, the popular patriarchal dualism classifying women as “mothers” or “whores” is endemic in our respondents’ arguments. In order to avoid the label of “whore,” women have to live up to the social expectations by marrying and fulfilling their duty of motherhood. The adulation of woman as mother is closely linked with the cult of family in Georgia (Surmanidze, 2000). Moreover, 89% of survey respondents reported that family is the most valuable social institution (UNDP, 2013). Therefore, the resistance and challenge of patriarchal family values are viewed as the violation of a sacred unity.

Feminist scholars distinguish between the “experience of motherhood,” which implies the relationship between a woman and her children, and motherhood that is enforced identity or a political institution (Rich, 1979). Some women may experience motherhood as a source of self-affirmation, while some women may experience mothering as “debilitating and intrusive,” even though society deems it as “woman’s instinctive vocation (Roberts, 1993).” Feminism set out to break taboos surrounding the experiences of both the mothers and non-mothers. In 1960s, Betty Friedan depicts the story of the homebound misery of the suburban housewife, later Bell Hooks (1984) argues that for black women work in the home is far more satisfying than hard menial paid work. In 1970 another feminist scholar Sulamith Firestone argues that for a woman it is an arduous task to come out openly against motherhood. She argues that by presenting childbearing as a “natural” desire for women, they are forced into their female roles (Firestone, 1970).

Most of the respondents in Tbilisi, Telavi and Zugdidi purported that women should have the right to decide when to have a child, and whether to have it or not. However, several male and female respondents argued that woman should get married only when she is ready to become a mother. According to the *gender beliefs* of focus group

participants, those women who get married, but do not want to have children, do not fulfill the true purpose of marriage. Moreover, even girls in early marriage are under pressure to fulfill social expectations by getting pregnant immediately after getting married (Barkaia, 2014). Similarly, some focus group participants argued that women are expected to give birth to a child within a year after marriage.

‘If she doesn’t want a child, then why does she get married?!’ (female respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

‘Women are the ones responsible for a child’s upbringing and everything. And [that’s why] woman should decide and if she thinks she cannot bring up a child, then she should not conceive.’ (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 16-19).

In Tbilisi, Telavi and Zugdidi, female respondents agreed that it is a woman’s right to decide when to have a child. According to respondents, the process of childbearing occurs within a woman’s body and she should be able to have a say in what happens to it, and also because a woman continues to play a primary role long after childbirth. Unlike female respondents, male respondents in Zugdidi were against the idea that married women should have a right to decide whether and when to bear children. Male respondents in Zugdidi argued that marriage in itself implies children and woman should be ready to become mothers.

‘The woman who refuses to become a mother should certainly be put to the fire.’ (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

‘How does she have [the right to decide], it’s not about wanting or not wanting.’ (male respondent, Zugdidi, age group 20-25).

Although many respondents agreed that it is a woman’s right to decide when to have a child or whether to have it or not, the unwillingness of childbearing had to be justified. Several reasons were brought forward as to why married women could wish to postpone having a child: the new bride might want to have fun and enjoy being with husband for a little longer, the woman might want to continue studies, might decide that the financial conditions of the family are not

yet up to task, might simply think that she's too young and not ready to take on the responsibility yet. Many of the respondents do not understand why a woman should not be unwilling to bear a child without any significant reason.

'For some reason, she might refrain [from bearing a child] for a while. It might be because her health won't allow it, or she doesn't want it yet, or she's too young, or her job is in the way.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25)

'Women have the right to shirk from bearing a child, at least, for some time.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25)

'She is the one who becomes a mother. How can someone else decide it for her?!' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'When [she's] ready psychologically, mentally, then she can bear a child.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

In Tbilisi, Zugdidi and Telavi, respondents commonly argued that it shouldn't be only a woman's choice whether to have a child or not. In their view the decision should be taken based on both parents' wishes. Respondents agreed that it is a decision that should be made by both parents and not by relatives or neighbors. In addition, respondents in Telavi and Zugdidi insisted that if woman does not want to bear a child she is selfish. Moreover, one of the male respondents in Zugdidi stated that woman who does not want to conceive a baby immediately after marriage is a "potential murderer."

'It depends on the couple; they should decide when to start thinking about having a child. Both of them should be ready for it.' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

'It should be a joint decision.' (male respondent, Tbilisi, age group 20-25).

'...When you know that your husband desperately wants a child, why should you refuse to have it?' (female respondent, Telavi, age group 20-25).

The findings reveal that focus group participants have a propensity for the equation of motherhood with womanhood. Feminist attempt to challenge the essentialism of the assumption that all women can, will and want to be mothers (Code, 2000). Respondents' arguments are dominated by the *gender beliefs* presuming what woman can and should do due to their "maternal instincts." Thus, women are essentialized as mothers without considering the fact that the desire to have children is not inherent or specific to women, neither is child-care something pre-given to women. The elision between bearing and caring for children within a prevailing patriarchal order, and the division of public/private spaces confines women to the private sphere and thus makes them economically dependent on their husbands. On the other hand, the cult status of motherhood marginalizes those women who are childless (or child-free) since they are regarded as not quite fully female, as it is with those women who leave their children in the care of others, since such women are accused of causing maternal deprivation. According to some feminists, the solution to gender inequality lies in the elimination of using "women's bodies as the agents of species reproduction." (Schott, 1986; Firestone, 1970). Thus, for some, reproduction is the key to patriarchy, whereas others suggest reclaiming patriarchal features of the experience of motherhood (Firestone, 1970; Rich, 1977).

Conclusion

There are various means through which men attempt to retain patriarchal social order and gender arrangements. This chapter highlights the ways in which women's autonomy is significantly compromised due to the imposed boundaries over their gender and sexuality. The findings depict the construction of womanhood and the attempts to regulate and monitor women's sexuality in order to save them from the "wrong path." In the view of focus group participants, the loss of women's modesty and their engagement in sexual freedom threatens Georgian traditions and culture. *Gender beliefs* that are cited by our

focus group respondents support the absence of women's sexual autonomy and the prevalence of sexual constraints. In this chapter, we can observe the dichotomy between Modern/Global and Traditional/Local gender beliefs. Discriminative practices through construction and the surveillance of women's sexuality contribute to the oppression of women. Control of women's sexuality is often rationalized and justified by gender beliefs, which in turn are a means of responding to threats to traditional or local culture (read "arrangements of gender") (Narayan, 1997).

Respondents' attitudes towards women's sexuality can be explained by Bauman's description of modern uses of sex. Focus group respondents have a propensity to link eroticism with reproductive functions or love and completely repudiate female desire. Therefore, respondents presume that it is unacceptable for a woman to indulge in a relationship for the sake of desire. The concept of pleasure and post-modern uses of sex is absent from Georgian respondent discourse with regard to women's sexuality, whereas men are allowed to indulge in coitus for the sake of mere pleasure and commitment. Focus group participants tended to equate motherhood with womanhood and, hence, essentialize women as mothers. This essentialism leaves out those women who are childless, beyond the accepted notion of womanhood and, thus, precipitates their marginalization.

Conclusion

This study on *Georgian Youth's Awareness, Perceptions of and Attitudes towards Gender Equality* aimed to identify current gender attitudes and beliefs of Georgian youth apropos of (a) gender roles at home; (b) women's careers and (c) sexuality. For this reason, first and foremost, we explicated the relevant theoretical concepts of gender, gender equality, *gender beliefs*, sexuality and family.

In order to explore the hypothesis presupposing that young women and men in contemporary Georgia should hold more liberal attitudes

than the older generation, we conducted a quantitative data analysis. A situational analysis provided comparative descriptive statistics on gender views and attitudes since 1996. The comparison revealed that there have been no differences in gender views since 1996. In order to discern the reasons and causes of the non-egalitarian gender attitudes, we analyzed determining factors which examined a number of variables affecting gender-determined views. The quantitative analysis revealed that, despite the political, social and economic changes Georgia has been through over the last twenty years, traditional views and gender beliefs are still prevalent amongst youth in Georgia. The majority of young people viewed and interpreted issues, such as the preference for having a son or a daughter, gender distribution in education and employment, family gender roles, and women's private lives, including their sexual freedom, in strictly traditional frames.

Further, qualitative research explored respondents' attitudes towards the duties and obligations of men and women in the household. According to Chatterjee's (1989) theoretical framework, which we applied to explain our respondents' attitudes towards gender division of household labor and gender beliefs pertaining to gender roles, Home is the inner part of social order that symbolizes the spiritual culture. In order to maintain a gendered social order and male dominance, it is necessary to control the feminized domain of Home. Women are the main instruments to sustaining and reproducing the "man's world" called Nation and, hence, any challenging of the established hierarchical gender roles threatens the nation's gendered social order. The findings showed the strict division of household labor, where men are decision-makers and breadwinners and women's main duties are to take care of the family members and deal with household chores.

The study revealed that respondents' description of a traditional family actually referred to a patriarchal family model whereby the head of the family is a man who holds more power and rights than other family members and where gendered division of household labor prevails. Only a few female respondents identified such a family as patriarchal and made critical comments towards the hierarchical

social order. Our respondents' description of the modern family referred to a family where values of gender equality are common and, hence, roles, duties and obligations are equally distributed among the family members. Most of the respondents, by traditional family, implied "Georgian family" and by modern family referred to the "non-Georgian family." Thus, the patriarchal family is identified as an authentic Georgian family model which should be kept away from the influences of modern values. This approach can be explained by Chatterjee's (1989) theory suggesting that conservative positions rest on the deployment of tradition which has to be defended against the degeneration of a modern, global culture.

The study depicted the tendency to describe "good" Georgian woman as those being devoted to the family; docile, affectionate, loving, caring, dutiful wives and mothers. Moreover, most of the respondents had a propensity for the equation of motherhood with womanhood. Respondents' arguments are dominated by *gender beliefs*, presuming what woman can and should do due to their "maternal instincts." Thus, women are essentialized as mothers without considering the fact that the desire to have children is not inherent or specific to women, nor is childcare something pre-given to women. The cult status of motherhood marginalizes those women who are childless (or child-free) since they are regarded as not quite fully female, or those women who leave their children in the care of others, since such women are accused of causing maternal deprivation. According to some feminists, the solution to gender inequality lies in the elimination of using "women's bodies as the agents of species reproduction" (Schott, 1986; Firestone, 1970). Thus, for some, reproduction is the key to patriarchy, whereas others suggest reclaiming patriarchal features of the experience of motherhood (Firestone, 1970; Rich, 1977).

The chapter on *Employment, Professional Development and Political Participation* revealed that the public sphere still continues to be a male domain. Respondents cited a number of gender beliefs to reason male dominance and the dearth of women's participation in the public sphere. *Gender beliefs* include the perception that unemploy-

ment threatens men's masculinity through subverting their manly duties, whereas employment threatens women's gender roles, since it may distract them from the household chores. Womanhood becomes equated with the private sphere, since, in the view of our respondents, a woman is judged more according to what kind of family she has than by her career. Thus, respondents cited gender beliefs confining women within the private domain. To assume childcare to be women's paramount responsibility makes it arduous for women to engage in politics. The reluctance towards women's emancipation and equal participation in the public sphere is explained by Connell's (2005) proposition, which suggests that in traditional societies where men are expected to be the main breadwinners, the socioeconomic hardships make it difficult for men to live up to societal expectations. Hence, the discrepancy between reality and expectation subverts their masculinities.

The chapter on *Young People's Attitudes towards Sexuality* revealed how women's autonomy is significantly compromised due to the imposed boundaries over their sexuality. The findings depict the construction of womanhood and the attempts to regulate and monitor women's sexuality in order to save them from the "wrong path." In the view of focus group participants, the loss of women's modesty and their engagement in sexual freedom threatens Georgian traditions and culture. *Gender beliefs* that are cited by our focus group respondents support the absence of women's sexual autonomy and the prevalence of sexual constraints. The concept of pleasure and postmodern uses of sex is absent from Georgian respondents discourse with regard to women's sexuality, whereas men are allowed to indulge in coitus for the sake of mere pleasure and commitment. Dominant gender order is imposed through the widespread *gender beliefs*, which in turn justify oppressive gender roles, limiting women's domain to the private sphere.

Both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the attitudes and perceptions of Georgian youth revealed that young people have conservative gendered attitudes towards women's sexuality, gender roles in

the private and public realms. The quantitative analysis showed that young people's gendered attitudes correlate with their demographic characteristics. The qualitative findings demonstrated that young people have propensity to support gendered division of household labor, where men are decision-makers and breadwinners, whereas women are expected to take care of all the family members and household chores. Moreover, focus group participants used gender beliefs to reason and communicate their gender attitudes. They did not question cultural models that sustain patriarchal social order and gender arrangements. These gender beliefs confine women within the private realm and make it arduous for them to develop political career. Control of women's sexuality is also justified by gender beliefs, which in turn are used as an instrument for responding to the threats of modern/global influences to the traditional/local culture.

გენდერული თანასწორობის შესახებ ქართველი ასალგაზრდავის ცოდნის, აღქმისა და დამოკიდებულების კვლევა

[მოკლე შეჯამება]

კვლევა ჩატარდა პროგრამა „კავკასიის შვეიცარიული აკადემიური ქსელის“ მხარდაჭერით. პროგრამა „კავკასიის შვეიცარიული აკადემიური ქსელის“ მიზანია სამხრეთ კავკასიაში სოციალური და ჰუმანიტარული მეცნიერებების განვითარება სხვადასხვა აქტივობებისა და ღონისძიებების მეშვეობით, როგორებიცაა: კვლევითი პროექტების დაფინანსება, ტრენინგების ჩატარება, სხვადასხვა სასწავლო და კვლევითი გრანტების გაცემა. პროგრამა ხელს უწყობს ნიჭიერი მკვლევარების ახალი თაობის აღმოცენებას და მათ საერთაშორისო აკადემიურ ქსელში ინტეგრაციას.

პროგრამა „კავკასიის შვეიცარიული აკადემიურ ქსელს“ ახორციელებს შვეიცარიის ფრიბურგის უნივერსიტეტის ცენტრალური და აღმოსავლეთ ევროპის ინტერფაკულტეტური ინსტიტუტი. პროგრამას აფინანსებს „გებერტ რიუფის ფონდი“, რომელიც დაფუძნებულია ბაზელში.

განსაკუთრებული მადლობა

უპირველეს ყოვლისა, გვინდა ჩვენი მადლიერება გამოვხატოთ „კავკასიის შვეიცარიული აკადემიური ქსელის“ წინაშე, რომელმაც დააფინანსა ეს პროექტი; მათი ფინანსური მხარდაჭერის გარეშე, წინამდებარე კვლევა ვერ განხორციელდებოდა.

ასევე გვინდა გულწრფელი მადლობა გადავუხადოთ სოციალურ მეცნიერებათა ცენტრის ადმინისტრაციას, რომელმაც ბევრჯერ გაგვიმართა ხელი კვლევის დროს; დიდი მადლობა იმ ზრუნვისა და ყურადღებისთვის, რომელიც ძალიან მნიშვნელოვანია ჩვენთვის.

განსაკუთრებული მადლობა იმ ახალგაზრდებს, რომლებმაც გამოკითხვაში მიიღეს მონაწილეობა. მათი ჩართულობის, იდეებისა და შეხედულებების გარეშე, ამ კვლევას ვერ ჩავატარებდით, ვერც შესაბამის დასკვნებს გავაკეთებდით, რომლებიც წიგნის მომდევნო თავებშია წარმოდგენილი.

შესავალი

ბოლო 15 წლის მანძილზე საქართველომ ბევრი ცვლილება განიცადა, მათ შორის იყო გენდერული თანასწორობის ცნების ტრანსფორმაცია და გადაფასება. გენდერი, სოციალური კონსტრუქცია, რომელიც განსაზღვრავს და განასხვავებს ქალისა და კაცის როლებს, უფლებებს, პასუხისმგებლობებსა და მოვალეობებს (Scott, 1986; Butler 1990). ეს მიდგომა დაგვეხმარება უკეთ გავიაზროთ გზები, რომელთა საშუალებითაც ხდება გენდერის კონსტრუირება და ხელახლა შექმნა. გენდერი არამყარია ცნებაა და დროთა განმავლობაში ხშირად იცვლება. ცვალებადია ის, ასევე სხვადასხვა კულტურის მიხედვით. გენდერის მნიშვნელობა მოიცავს არა მხოლოდ კაცებისა და ქალების მახასიათებლებსა და თვისებებს, არამედ ქცევის, აზროვნების, ქმედების მოდელებს, რომლებსაც საზოგადოება და კულტურა აწესებს ქალებისა და კაცებისთვის.

უარტონის (2004) მიხედვით, გენდერი ყველა კულტურის სოციალური ცხოვრების ცენტრალური მაორგანიზებელი პრინციპია. გენდერული ურთიერთობები განსაზღვრავს, რამდენად თანაბრად აქვთ ქალებსა და კაცებს წვდომა რესურსებთან, რამდენად თანაბრად იყენებენ და აკონტროლებენ მათ (Magnus 2003). ქალებსა და კაცებს შორის თანასწორი უფლებებისა და შესაძლებლობების არსებობა გადამწყვეტი მნიშვნელობისაა ეკონომიკური და ადამიანური ზრდისთვის (World Bank, 2002).

სამოქალაქო საზოგადოების ძლიერმა მცდელობამ და საერთაშორისო საზოგადოების ჩართულობამ მთელ რიგ მნიშვნელოვან ინიციატივებს მისცა ბიძგი საქართველოში გენდერული თანასწორობის საკითხის გადასაჭრელად, რაც მოგვიანებით საკანონმდებლო ჩარჩოში ტრანსფორმირდა. მაგალითად, 2006 წელს, სახელმწიფომ მიიღო კანონი ოჯახში ძალადობის წინააღმდეგ (საბედაშვილი 2006), ხოლო 2010 წელს – კანონი გენდერული თანასწორობის შესახებ, რომელიც ითვალისწინებს ქალების უსაფრთხოების, შრომის ბაზარზე თანასწორობისა და პოლიტიკაში ქალების ჩართულობის უზრუნველყოფას

(Duban 2010). გარდა ამისა, ადგილობრივი და საერთაშორისო საზოგადოება, ასევე აქტიურად მუშაობს გენდერულ საკითხებზე ცნობიერების ამაღლების საკითხზე საგანმანათლებლო აქტივობების საშუალებით (რუსეცკი და სხვ., 2007; ჟენტი და სხვ., 2012). თუმცა, მიუხედავად მცდელობებისა და ცვლილებებისა, გენდერული თანასწორობა კვლავაც გრძელვადიანი მიზანია საქართველოსთვის, რაზეც ცხადად მიუთითებს საერთაშორისო ინდექსები. 2011 წლის გლობალური გენდერული სხვაობის ინდექსის თანახმად, საქართველოს 86-ე ადგილი უჭირავს 135 ქვეყანას შორის (ბენდელიანი, 2012).

გლობალიზაციისა და ინტერნაციონალიზაციის ეპოქაში, როგორც წესი, ახალგაზრდობა წარმოადგენს საზოგადოების პროგრესულ ძალას სოციალური ცვლილებებისა და კულტურული მნიშვნელობების ტრანსფორმაციისთვის. ბოლო წლების მანძილზე ქართველი ახალგაზრდობა დემოკრატიული და თანამედროვე კონცეფციების წინაშე დადგა, რაც არ ხელეწიფებოდა ძველ თაობას მათი ახალგაზრდობის პერიოდში. ამ გარემოებებს მივყავართ ჰიპოთეზის ჩამოყალიბებამდე, რომ მიუხედავად ქვეყანაში გენდერული თანასწორობის ზოგადად დაბალი მიღწევებისა, ახალგაზრდობას ბევრად უფრო ლიბერალური დამოკიდებულებები და რწმენები უნდა ჰქონდეს გენდერული თანასწორობის ან ზოგიერთი გენდერული საკითხის მიმართ მაინც. მთელ მსოფლიოში არსებობს უამრავი კვლევა გენდერული როლებისა და გენდერული თანასწორობის მიმართ ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებებისა და აღქმების თაობაზე. აღნიშნული კვლევების ავტორებს გაცნობიერებული აქვთ სხვადასხვა ფაქტორის მნიშვნელობა, როგორცაა გენდერი, ასაკი, განათლება, დასახლების ტიპი, რელიგია, ა.შ., რასაც მნიშვნელოვანი გავლენა აქვს გენდერულად სენსიტიური ან არასენსიტიური დამოკიდებულების ჩამოყალიბებაზე (La Font 2010). ცხადია, რომ გენდერული ურთიერთობები ფესვგადგმულია ყოველდღიური ცხოვრების სოციალურ პროცესებში; შესაბამისად, ჩვენი კვლევა მიზნად ისახავს ამ ურთიერთობების გამოაშკარავებას გენდერულ თანასწორობასთან

დაკავშირებით ქართველი ახალგაზრდების (16-25 ასაკობრივი ჯგუფი) დამოკიდებულებებზე, აღქმებსა და რწმენებზე დაკვირვებით.

კვლევის მიზანია, შეისწავლოს ქართველი ახალგაზრდების გენდერული დამოკიდებულებებისა და რწმენების ბუნება. კერძოდ, წინამდებარე კვლევა კონცენტრირდება სამ ურთიერთგადამკვეთ თემაზე: (1) ოჯახში გენდერული როლებისადმი დამოკიდებულება, (2) დამოკიდებულება ქალის კარიერის მიმართ, (3) დამოკიდებულება სექსუალობის მიმართ. აღნიშნული თემები აყალიბებენ გენდერულ წარმოდგენებს, რომლებიც, თავის მხრივ, გენდერის სისტემის მნიშვნელოვანი კომპონენტია.

ჩვენ ჩამოვაცალიბეთ ჰიპოთეზა, რომ საქართველოში როგორც ახალგაზრდა ქალები, ასევე კაცები საკუთარ პოზიციას ერთსა და იმავე პატრიარქალური პერსპექტივიდან უყურებენ და ეჭვქვეშ არ აყენებენ კულტურული მოდელებს, რაც მათ რწმენას აყალიბებს. ამ ჰიპოთეზის შესწავლისთვის, ჩვენ გამოვიკვლიეთ გაბატონებული გენდერული წარმოდგენების ბუნება, რამაც ხელი შეუწყო ჩვენი კვლევის მონაწილეებს გაეკეთებინათ დასკვნა, როგორ გამოხატავენ ისინი საკუთარ გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებსა და აღქმებს.

შემდგომ კი თეორიულ ჩარჩოზე, კერძოდ კი, ნარაიანის (1997) და ჩატერჯეს (1989) თეორიაზე (თანამედროვე და ტრადიციული კონცეპტების დაპირისპირება) დაყრდნობით, შევიმუშავეთ ჰიპოთეზა, რომ არსებობს დაპირისპირება თანამედროვე კულტურასა და ტრადიციულ გენდერულ რწმენა/წარმოდგენებს შორის, რომლებიც ქვემარტივ და ადგილობრივ ღირებულებად ითვლება.

მომდევნო თავებში, ერთი მხრივ, წარმოდგენილია ქართველი ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებებისა და აღქმების რაოდენობრივი ანალიზი, რომელიც რაოდენობრივ მონაცემთა ბაზებზე დაყრდნობით შევიმუშავეთ (კავკასიის ბარომეტრი 2010, 2011; World Value Survey 1996, 2008). ერთი მხრივ, აღწერი-

თი სტატისტიკა აჩვენებს, რომ ახალგაზრდებს ტრადიციული შეხედულებები აქვთ სხვადასხვა საკითხთან მიმართებაში, რომლებიც ოჯახსა და საზოგადოებაში გენდერული როლების გადანაწილებას ეხება. ეს უკავშირდება ქვეყანაში არსებულ პრაქტიკას, ახალგაზრდების გამოცდილებას და სოციალურ-ეკონომიკურ სტატუსსა და მდგომარეობას. წინამდებარე ნაშრომში წარმოდგენილია დამატებითი, ურბანულ და სოფლად დასახლებული მოსახლეობის შედარებითი ანალიზი მათი ოჯახური მდგომარეობის, განათლების, დასაქმების, გენდერული დამოკიდებულებებისა და შეხედულებების შესახებ; ანალიზი, ასევე მოიცავს მონაცემებს გენდერული გადანაწილების თვალსაზრისით. მეორე მხრივ, ჩვენ წარმოვადგენთ მონაცემებს, რომლებიც შეგროვებულია თვისებრივ ანალიზზე დაყრდნობით, 15 ფოკუსჯგუფი, ქრთველ ახალგაზრდა ქალებსა და მამაკაცებთან საქართველოს სამ ქალაქში (თბილისი, ზუგდიდი და თელავი). ეს მონაცემები ცხადყოფენ, რომ კვლევის მონაწილე ქართველი ახალგაზრდები საკუთარ როლებსა და მოვალეობებს პატრიარქალურ ქრილში განიხილავენ. ძალიან ცოტა მათგანი თუ აყენებს ეჭვქვეშ იმ კულტურულ მოდელებს, რომლებიც მათ გენდერულ წარმოდგენებს განაპირობებს. საერთო ჯამში, კვლევის შედეგები აჩვენებენ, რომ, უმეტესწილად, ახალგაზრდები ოჯახში შრომის ტრადიციულად გადანაწილებას ემხრობიან, როდესაც კაცი არის გადაწყვეტილების მიმღები და ოჯახის მარჩენალი, ქალი კი – ოჯახის წევრებზე მზრუნველი და საშინაო საქმეების წინამძღოლი. მათი აზრით, ქალის როლი ვინრო საქმიანობით შემოიფარგლება და ქალის უპირველესი, გადამწყვეტი მნიშვნელობის მქონე პასუხისმგებლობა ბავშვის აღზრდაა, რაც ართულებს ქალის პოლიტიკაში ჩართულობას. ქალის სექსუალური ავტონომიის იდეა, ასევე უგულებელყოფილია ქარბი სექსუალური შეზღუდვების პირობებში.

ჩვენ მიგვაჩნია, რომ წინამდებარე პუბლიკაციას შეუძლია ღირსეული ადგილი დაიკავოს არსებულ სამეცნიერო ნაშრომთა შორის და მომავალში მნიშვნელოვან წყაროდ იქცეს გენდერული თანასწორობის პოლიტიკის შემუშავებისთვის საქართველოში.

კვლევის მიზნები და ამოცანები

[დეტალური ინფორმაცია მეთოდოლოგიის შესახებ იხილეთ ინგლისურ ვერსიაში]

წინამდებარე კვლევის მიზანია: ა) საქართველოში ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებებისა და აღქმების შეფასება გენდერული თანასწორობის და გენდერის მიმართ; ბ) განსხვავებები აღქმებს, დამოკიდებულებებსა და ცნობიერებას შორის ტრადიციულ/ადგილობრივი და თანამედროვე/გლობალური ჩარჩოს ფარგლებში, სხვადასხვა ასაკის და სქესის გათვალისწინებით – მოზარდების და ახალგაზრდების, მამაკაცების და ქალების, ურბანულ და არაურბანულ დასახლებებში მაცხოვრებელების შედარებით.

ზემოთ აღნიშნული მიზნების მისაღწევად, გამოყენებულია კვლევის თვისებრივი და რაოდენობრივი მეთოდები. პროექტის განხორციელება ორ ფაზად გაიყო. პირველ ფაზაში მოხდა ლიტერატურის მოძიება და სტატისტიკური მონაცემების მეორადი ანალიზი, ხოლო მეორე ფაზაზე კი თვისებრივი კვლევა განხორციელდა.

ყოველსმომცველი თეორიული ფონის შესაქმნელად და თანამედროვე/ გლობალური და ტრადიციული/ადგილობრივი მიდგომების და აღქმის კატეგორიზაციისთვის, ჩატარდა **ლიტერატურის მიმოხილვა** თანამედროვე ემპირიულ კვლევებზე დაყრდნობით. მისი მიზანი იყო კვლევის საკითხის გარშემო არსებული მდგომარეობის აღწერა და მისი დასაბუთება. ლიტერატურის მიმოხილვის მთავრი იდეა დაკავშირებული იყო კვლევის მიზნებსა და კვლევის ძირითად ამოცანებთან.

მეორადი მონაცემების ანალიზი ეფუძნებოდა არსებულ მონაცემებს (კავკასიის ბარომეტრი 2010, 2011; მსოფლიო ღირებულებების კვლევა 1996, 2008) ქართველი ახალგაზრდების მიერ გენდერის და გენდერული თანასწორობის აღქმის, მიდგომებისა და დამოკიდებულების შესწავლის შესახებ. ანალიზის პირველ ნაწილში მოძიებულ იქნა აღწერითი (დეკრიპტიული)

სტატისტიკა, დასაქმებისა და განათლების სფეროებში გენდერული გადანაწილების შედარებითი პერსპექტივის, ასევე გენდერულად განპირობებული შეხედულებების გამოსავლენად. რაც შეეხება ანალიზის მეორე ნაწილს, იგი აღწერთი სტატისტიკური ანალიზისას გამოვლენილი ტენდენციების გაანალიზება/ახსნას დაეთმო.

საველე სამუშაოები (15 ფოკუსჯგუფი, 120 ახალგაზრდა მონაწილე) საქართველოს სამ ქალაქში (თბილისი, ზუგდიდი და თელავი) ჩატარდა.

თითოეულ ქალაქში ჩატარდა ხუთი ფოკუსჯგუფი. ფოკუსჯგუფის მონაწილეები განაწილებულნი იყვნენ ასაკის (ორი სხვადასხვა ასაკობრივი ჯგუფის შესადარებლად: მოზარდები (16-19) და ახალგაზრდები (20-26)) და სქესის (ბიჭები და გოგონები – რათა მიგველო შედარებითი მონაცემები რესპონდენტთა სქესის მიხედვით) მიხედვით. ფოკუსჯგუფებები წინასწარ შემუშავებული სადისკუსიო გზამკვლევით განხორციელდა.

თითოეული ფოკუსჯგუფი შედგებოდა რვა მონაწილისგან (ოთხი ბიჭი და ოთხი გოგო). კრუტერებმა ახალგაზრდების შერჩევისას გამოიყენეს წინასწარ შერჩეული კრიტერიუმები, რათა ჯგუფები ყოფილიყო განსხვავებული და არა ჰომოგენური. თითოეული ფოკუსჯგუფის ხანგრძლივობა საშუალოდ 100 წუთს შეადგენდა. ფოკუსჯგუფების დასრულებისთანავე მოხდა ყველა ფოკუსჯგუფის შედეგად მიღებული მონაცემების შეკრება, შეჯამება და გამოყენება მოცემული ანალიზისთვის.

თავი 1

ლიტერატურის მიმოხილვა

მოცემული თავი აანალიზებს შესაბამის თეორიულ კონცეფციებს გენდერის, გენდერული თანასწორობის, *გენდერული წარმოდგენების*, სექსუალობის და ოჯახის შესახებ. გარდა ამისა, ლიტერატურის მიმოხილვა იკვლევს დებატებს თანამედროვე/გლობალურ და ტრადიციულ/ადგილობრივ დიქოტომიებს შორის, რაც, თავის მხრივ, მიზნად ისახავს თანამედროვე ქართველი ახალგაზრდების *გენდერული წარმოდგენების* ახსნას, რომელიც განსაზღვრავს მათ გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებს. და ბოლოს, ჩვენ განვიხილავთ ემპირიულ ლიტერატურას, რომელიც ეფუძნება საერთაშორისო და ადგილობრივ კონტექსტს. პირველ რიგში, ჩვენ წარმოგიდგინთ ლიტერატურას ახალგაზრდების გენდერული დამოკიდებულებების და აღქმების შესახებ როგორც განვითარებულ, ასევე განვითარებად ქვეყნებში და განვიხილავთ იმ ფაქტორებს, რომლებიც ემპირიულმა კვლევებმა გამოავლინა. საერთაშორისო ლიტერატურა გვთავაზობს, რომ სოციალურ-პოლიტიკური კონტექსტის ცვლილებამ გამოიწვია გენდერული როლების ცვლილება და საზოგადოებაში მოლოდინის ცვლილება (Burnhill & McPherson, 1983; Tinklin et al., 2005). მეორე, ჩვენ წარმოგიდგინთ იმ ლიტერატურას, რომელიც დაკავშირებულია საქართველოში გენდერული თანასწორობის მდგომარეობასთან. ჩვენი კვლევის მიზანია, გამოავლინოს ახალგაზრდების გენდერული რწმენა „დემოკრატიზაციის“ პროცესის და საკანონმდებლო რეფორმების გათვალისწინებით, რაც თავის მხრივ გენდერულ თანასწორობას ავითარებს.

გენდერი როგორც ანალიტიკური კატეგორია

გენდერული წარმოდგენების გასააზრებლად, რომლებიც ადგილობრივ კონტექსტში აყალიბებენ გენდერულ დამოკიდებ-

ულებებს და აღქმებს, აუცილებელია განიმარტოს გენდერის როგორც ანალიტიკური კატეგორიის არსი. ტერმინი გენდერი პირველად გამოიყენეს ამერიკელმა ფემინისტებმა, რომლებიც უარყოფდნენ ბიოლოგიურ დეტერმინიზმს და ასახავდნენ სქესთა შორის განსხვავებების მიზეზების სოციალურ ხასიათს. ჯოან სკოტი (1986) თავის ნაშრომში „ისტორიული ანალიზის სასარგებლო კატეგორია“ ყურადღებას აქცევს ფემინისტების მიერ გამოყენებულ ორ მიდგომას. პირველი განეკუთვნება „აღწერით“ კატეგორიას და ეყრდნობა მოვლენის არსებობას, ინტერპრეტაციის გარეშე. მეორე მიდგომა კაზუალურია და ცდილობს გაიაზროს მოვლენის არსი და ამ ფორმით მისი არსებობის მიზეზი. ჯოან სკოტი (1986) აღწერს გენდერის გამოყენების სხვადასხვა სახეს, მათ შორის, მის უმარტივეს ფორმას, სადაც „გენდერი“ ქალის სინონიმია და, აქედან გამომდინარე, ჟღერს ბუნებრივად და არ იწვევს „კრიტიკულ საფრთხეს“. გენდერის როგორც ტერმინის მეორე გამოყენება ვარაუდობს, რომ ინფორმაცია ქალების შესახებ განხილულია კაცების შესახებ ინფორმაციასთან ერთად და, აქედან გამომდინარე, პრობლემატურია, რადგან გულისხმობს, რომ ქალები კაცების სამყაროს ნაწილი არიან. მესამე გამოყენება უარყოფს ბიოლოგიურ დეტერმინიზმს და განიხილავს გენდერს როგორც კულტურულ კონსტრუქტს, რომელიც განსაზღვრავს კაცების და ქალების როლს.

ჯოან სკოტი (1986) აკვირდება „გენდერის“ კონცეფციას და ცდილობს გაიაზროს გენდერის სხვადასხვა თეორიული განმარტებები. პირველ რიგში, იგი იწვევს პატრიარქატის თეორიით, რომელიც განიხილავს ქალის სუბორდინაციას, რადგან კაცს „სჭირდება“ დომინირება ქალზე და პოულობს პატრიარქატის რამოდენიმე ახსნას. პირველი, ის ხსნის დომინაციას როგორც, „მამაკაცის სურვილს გააქარვოს მისი გაუცხოება რეპროდუქციის დარგში“. გამოსავალი შეიძლება, ნაპოვნი იქნეს რეპროდუქციის ტექნოლოგიის ცვლილებაში, რომელსაც აქვს პოტენციალი გააქროს „ქალის სხეულის საჭიროება, როგორც გამრავლებისთვის საჭირო საშუალება“. აქედან გამომდინარე,

თუ ზოგისთვის პატრიარქატის გასაღები რეპროდუქციაა, სხვებისთვის ეს სექსუალობაა. ის განიხილავს სექსუალურ ობიექტივიზაციას, როგორც პირველად პროცესს ქალის დამორჩილებაში. ამ შემთხვევაში, გამოსავალი ქალების ცნობიერების ამაღლებაშია, რომელმაც უნდა მიიყვანოს ქალი საკუთარი იდენტობის გააზრებამდე და, შესაბამისად, ეს შეიძლება გარდაიქმნას პოლიტიკურ აქტივიზმში. ამ პერსპექტივას აქვს გარკვეული შეზღუდვები, რადგან ის ყურადღებას ამახვილებს ფიზიკურ განსხვავებებზე და გენდერის კულტურული კონსტრუქციის იგნორირებას ახდენს. (Joan Scott, 1986).

მეორე თეორიული განმარტება შექმნილია მარქსისტი ფემინისტების მიერ, რომლებიც განიხილავენ ოჯახს და სექსუალობას როგორც წარმოების სახეების ცვლილების პროდუქციას. გამოსავალი, შრომაში სექსუალური განსხვავებების აღმოფხვრაშია, რამაც წერტილი უნდა დაუსვას კაცის დომინაციას. თუმცა, მარქსის და ენგელსისთვის ქონებრივი ურთიერთობა ქორწინების საფუძველი იყო, „ქალების მიმართ მთავარი საჩივარი, მათი ფარისევლური სექსზე დამოკიდებული ურთიერთობაა (ბრაუნი, 1987).“ ჯოან სკოტი (1986) რამდენიმე მიმართულებით აკრიტიკებს მარქსისტულ ფემინიზმს. პირველ რიგში, ის არ ეთანხმება იმას რომ, ეკონომიკური სისტემა განსაზღვრავს გენდერულ ურთიერთობას – „ქალების დაქვემდებარება იწყება კაპიტალიზმში და გრძელდება სოციალიზმში“. უფრო მეტიც, სკოტის აზრით, მარქსიზმში „გენდერის კონცეფცია განიხილება, როგორც ეკონომიკური სტრუქტურების ცვლილების თანმდევი პროდუქტი და მას არ აქვს საკუთარი ანალიტიკური სტატუსი.“

მესამე შემთხვევაში, ჯოან სკოტი აკვირდება გენდერის ფსიქო-ანალიტიკურ კონცეფციას, რომელიც მოიცავს როგორც ანგლო-ამერიკულ, ასევე ფრანგულ სკოლებს, რომელიც ეფუძნება ფროიდის და ლაკანის სტრუქტურალისტურ და პოსტ-სტრუქტურალისტურ სწავლებებს. ეს მიდგომები კონცენტრირებულია ბავშვის განვითარების ადრეულ სტადიებზე, რათა გამოარკვიოს გენდერული იდენტობის ჩამოყალიბების მტკიცებულებები.

სკოტის აზრით, ეს მიდგომა ზღუდავს გენდერის კონცეფციას მხოლოდ ოჯახით, რომელიც ურთიერთქმედების შედარებით მცირე სტრუქტურაა და, აქედან გამომდინარე, არ ითვალისწინებს ეკონომიკის სხვა სოციალურ სისტემებს, პოლიტიკასა და ძალაუფლებას (Scott, 1986).

საბოლოოდ, სკოტი გეთავაზობს საკუთარ ხედვას და აქცენტს აკეთებს გენდერზე, როგორც ანალიტიკურ კატეგორიაზე, რომელიც სასარგებლო ერთეულია გენდერული დამოკიდებულებებისა და გენდერული როლების გააზრებაში. ის ხაზს უსვამს გენდერის, როგორც სქესთა შორის სოციალური ურთიერთობების მნიშვნელოვან ფაქტორის, ოთხ ელემენტს. პირველი, კულტურულად არსებული სიმბოლოები, რომლებიც ინვესტ მრავალჯერად წარმომადგენლობას; მეორე, ნორმატიული ცნებები, რომლებიც სიმბოლოების მნიშვნელობას უწევს ინტერპრეტაციას; მესამე, როგორც პოლიტიკის, ასევე სოციალური ინსტიტუტების და ორგანიზაციების ცნება; და გენდერის მეოთხე ცნება სუბიექტური იდენტობაა. ამგვარად, „კაცი“ და „ქალი“ განხილულია როგორ ცარიელი კატეგორიები, რომლებიც შეიძლება შეივსოს სოციალური ურთიერთობებით.

გენდერული წარმოდგენები

ამ ნაშრომში, ინტერსუბიექტური საერთო კულტურული შეხედულებები გენდერულ რწმენად არის მოხსენიებული. გენდერული წარმოდგენები ხალხს საშუალებას აძლევს შეაჯამოს ისტორიული მდგომარეობა და პატრიარქალური პოლიტიკური ინტერესები, რომლებიც გენდერული უთანასწორობის წარმოქმნას უწყობს ხელს (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Munck et al., 2002). გენდერული წარმოდგენები მოიცავს წესებს და ნორმებს, რომლებიც ხელს უწყობს სოციალურ სტრუქტურაში განსხვავებებისა და უთანასწორობის წარმოშობას. გენდერული წარმოდგენები საშუალებას აძლევს ადამიანებს ახსნას, თუ როგორ და რატომ იყენებენ ისინი ამ რწმენებს, ასევე გამოხატონ თავიანთი გენდერული მიდგომა და დამოკიდებულება. სოციალური ურთიერთო-

ბის კონტექსტი, სადაც არნიშნული გენდერული წარმოდგენებია გამეფებული, განსაზღვრავს ინდივიდების გენდერულ როლს. უფრო მეტიც, ეს კონტექსტი განსაზღვრავს მათ მიერ მოცემულ სიტუაციაში ქმედების შეფასებას. რიჯევეის და კორელის (2004) მიხედვით, სოციალური ურთიერთობის კონტექსტი ის ასპარეზია „სადაც, გენდერული სისტემის ძირითადი წესები ბატონობს.“

ლიტერატურის მიხედვით, თანამედროვე საქართველოში ფართოდაა გავრცელებული გენდერული წარმოდგენები (კაჭკაჭიშვილი 2014; სუმბაძე 2012). თანამედროვე რწმენების მიხედვით, ქალები, ძირითადად, საყოფაცხოვრებო საქმეებზე არიან პასუხისმგებელნი. ასევე, ბავშვების მოვლა „ქალთა საქმეა“, მამაკაცები განიხილებიან როგორც გადანყვეტილებების მიმღებნი, ხოლო ქალებს კი, მორჩილება მოეთხოვება (კაჭკაჭიშვილი 2014). ეს ჰეგემონური გენდერული წარმოდგენები, რომლებიც ფართოდაა გავრცელებული მედიით და ოჯახის ნორმატიული სურათებით, გავლენას ახდენს კაცებსა და ქალებზე, მათ მოლოდინზე, როგორ უნდა გაიზიარონ სხვებმა ეს ნორმები (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). რადგანაც ადამიანთა მიერ იმისი აღქმა, თუ რას მოელიან მათგან სხვები, გავლენას ახდენს მათ მოქმედებებსა და გენდერულ მიდგომაზე. გენდერული წარმოდგენები გენდერული სისტემის მნიშვნელოვანი ნაწილია (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

ჩვენი ჰიპოთეზა მოიცავს შემდეგს: საქართველოში ახალგაზრდა კაცები და ქალები საკუთარ პოზიციას ერთი და იგივე პატრიარქალური პარადიგმიდან ხედავენ, მათ არ შეაქვთ ეჭვი კულტურულ მოდელებში, რომლებიც განამტკიცებენ გენდერულ წარმოდგენებს.

გენდერული თანასწორობა თანამედროვე/გლობალურ და ტრადიციულ/ლოკალურ დაპირისპირების კონტექსტში

გენდერული თანასწორობის ფუნდამენტური განმარტება შეიძლება გამოთქმულ იქნეს ქალთა მიმართ ყველა ფორმის

დისკრიმინაციის აღმოფხვრის შესახებ კონვენციის (CEDAW 1979) გათვალისწინებით. გენდერული თანასწორობის კონცეფცია მოიცავს სრულ თანასწორობას ქალებსა და კაცებს შორის, „თანაბარი შესაძლებლობების“ და „უფლებების“ ქონას სხვადასხვა სფეროში, განათლების, დასაქმების და პოლიტიკის ჩათვლით. საერთაშორისო შრომის ორგანიზაციის (2000) თანახმად, გენდერული თანასწორობა არის თანასწორობა კაცებსა და ქალებს შორის, რომელიც „გულისხმობს კონცეფციას, რომლის მიხედვითაც ყველა ადამიანი, მამაკაცებიც და ქალებიც, თავისუფალნი არიან ჰქონდეთ არჩევანი, სტერეოტიპების, ხისტი გენდერული როლების და ცრურწმენების ხელის შეშლის გარეშე. გენდერული თანასწორობა ნიშნავს, რომ ქალების და მამაკაცების განსხვავებული მოთხოვნები, საქციელი, მისწრაფებები განიხილება და მიიღება თანაბრად. ეს არ ნიშნავს, რომ მამაკაცები და ქალები უნდა გახდნენ ერთნაირნი, მაგრამ მათი უფლებები, შესაძლებლობები და მოვალეობები არ უნდა იყოს დამოკიდებული იმაზე, რომელი სქესის არიან ისენი“ (ILO, 2000).

გენდერული თანასწორობის მნიშვნელობას ნათლად ასახავს მისი ჩართვა განვითარების ათასწლეულის რვა მიზანში. დამატებით, მსოფლიოს ქალთა მეოთხე კონფერენციამ (პეკინი, 1995) შემოგვთავაზა გენდერული მეინსტრიმინგი, როგორც მთავარი სტრატეგია გენდერული უთანასწორობის შესამცირებლად (Gender Equality and Equity, 2000). გენდერული თანასწორობის მიღწევის პროგრესის მონიტორინგისთვის კაბირმა (2010) განაცალკევა სამი ინდიკატორი: (ა) განათლების ყველა დონეზე გენდერული სხვაობის აღკვეთა; (ბ) არასასოფლო-სამეურნეო სექტორში ქალთა დასაქმების წილის გაზრდა; (გ) ეროვნულ პარლამენტებში ქალთა ადგილების პროპორციის გაზრდა. კაბირის (2010) მიერ შემოთავაზებული ინდიკატორებიდან ხაზს ვუსვამთ გენდერული თანასწორობის სამ ინდიკატორს: განათლება, დასაქმება და პოლიტიკაში ჩართულობა. კაბირის (2010) აზრით, განათლებაზე წვდომას შეუძლია შეცვალოს ქალთა ცხოვრება. ეს ინდიკატორები გავლენას ახდენენ ძალაუფლების გადანაწილებაზე როგორც ოჯახში, ასევე მის გარეთ. მაგალითად, გა-

ნათლებული ქალი უფრო მეტ დისკუსიებში იღებს მონაწილეობას, ვიდრე გაუნათლებელი. უფრო მეტიც, კაბირი (2010) ამბობს, რომ განათლებული ქალები უფრო კარგად უმკლავდებიან მოძალადე ქმრებს და, ამრიგად, ნაკლებად დეგანან საოჯახო ძალადობის საშიშროების წინაშე. როდესაც საქმე ეხება დასაქმებას, ამ ასპექტის ცოდნა ვარაუდობს, რომ ანაზღაურებად სამუშაოს შეუძლია გაზარდოს ქალის როლი, მაგრამ არსებობს კონტრარგუმენტებიც. ავტორი ასახავს დომინიკის რესპუბლიკის, კოლუმბიის, მექსიკის და კენიის მაგალითებს, სადაც ქალების მონაწილეობა ანაზღაურებად საქმიანობაში მათ საოჯახო საქმეებში დამოუკიდებლობის გაზრდაში ეხმარებათ. და ბოლოს, მესამე ინდიკატორი აქცენტს აკეთებს პოლიტიკაზე და გამოთქვამს აზრს, რომ ქალებს, როგორც მოსახლეობის ნახევარს, უნდა ჰქონდეთ პარლამენტში ადგილების ნახევარი მაინც.

ინგლეჰარტი, ნორისი და ველცელი (2004) საკუთარ კვლევებში, გენდერულ თანასწორობასა და დემოკრატიზაციის პროცესს შორის კავშირის დემონსტრირებას ახდენენ. რადგან ქალები წარმოადგენენ მოსახლეობის ნახევარს უმრავლესობა საზოგადოებაში, „თუ უმრავლესობას არ აქვს სრული პოლიტიკური უფლებები, საზოგადოება არადემოკრატიულია (Inglehart, Norris, Welzel, 2004).“ მსოფლიოს 65 ქვეყნის მონაცემთა ანალიზის მიხედვით, მათ გამოთქვეს აზრი, რომ გენდერული თანასწორობის მზარდი მხარდაჭერა დემოკრატიზაციის მნიშვნელოვანი ფაქტორია, მაგრამ გენდერული თანასწორობა არ არის „დემოკრატიზაციის შედეგი“, ის ფართო კულტურული ცვლილების ნაწილია, რომელიც გარდაქმნის ინდუსტრიული საზოგადოების მრავალ ასპექტს, რაც, თავის მხრივ, იწვევს დემოკრატიის გავრცელებას. უფრო მეტიც მათ ჰიპოთეტურად განიხილეს ტრადიციული საზოგადოებები და დაასკვნეს, რომ ქალები თავს არიდებენ ოფისებში მუშაობას და არ აქვთ საკმარისი მხარდაჭერა. მკვლევრებმა ჩამოაყალიბეს თეორია, რომლის მიხედვითაც მოდერნიზაციის პროცესი ხელს უწყობს დემოკრატიზაციას და ქალთა მონაწილეობას საზოგადოებრივ ცხოვრებაში. ინგლეჰარტი და ნორისი (2003) ამტკიცებენ, რომ,

პირველ რიგში, მდიდარ პოსტინდუსტრიულ საზოგადოებებში უფრო თანასწორი დამოკიდებულებაა, ვიდრე ღარიბ, აგრარულ და ინდუსტრიულ საზოგადოებებში; მეორე, პოსტინდუსტრიულ საზოგადოებებში თაობათაშორისი განსხვავებები უფრო გამოხატულია, ვიდრე აგრარულ საზოგადოებებში. მიუხედავად კავშირისა გენდერულ თანასწორობასა და დემოკრატიას შორის, არ მტკიცდება, რომ რომელიმე ცვლადი არის მეორეს გამომწვევი მიზეზი; ამის ნაცვლად ორივე ასახავს კულტურულ ცვლილებასა და ეკონომიკურ განვითარებას (Inglehart, Norris, Welzel, 2004).

მესამე, მსოფლიოს მრავალი ქვეყანა ზენოლის ქვეშაა, რომ შეცვალონ არსებული გენდერული სისტემა გლობალურ ეკონომიკასა და პოლიტიკაში ჩასართველად (Connell et al., 2005). ცვლილების ეს პროცესი, რომელიც ქალთა განათლებას, დასაქმებასა და პოლიტიკაში ჩართულობას გულისხმობს, ადგილობრივი მამაკაცების წინააღმდეგობასა და უკმაყოფილების გამომწვევია. მამაკაცების წინააღმდეგობა ქალთა ემანსიპაციის წინააღმდეგ ორი გზით არის ახსნილი: პირველი, ტრადიციულ საზოგადოებაში, სადაც მამაკაცები განიხილებიან ოჯახში მთავარ შემომტანებად, სოციალურ-ეკონომიკური გაჭირვება ხელს უშლის მამაკაცებს გაამართლონ საზოგადოებრივ მოლოდინი, რაც მათი კაცობისათვის გამომწვევაა. მეორე მიზეზი ეხება როგორც კაცებს, ასევე ქალებს, ხელისუფლება ცდილობს გამოჩნდეს თანამედროვედ და პოლიტიკურად კორექტულად გენდერული თანასწორობის განხრით, არ ითვალისწინებს ეროვნულ სენტიმენტებს, რაც იწვევს ტრადიციებისადმი თავყვანისცემას და, აქედან გამომდინარე, გენდერული თანასწორობის და სექსუალობის შესახებ უცხო, საგარეო იდეების უარყოფას (LaFont, 2010). მსგავსი ტრადიციულ/ადგილობრივი და თანამედროვე/გლობალური დიქოტომიაა წარმოდგენილი პართა ჩატერჯეს (1989) ნაშრომში, რომელშიც ის ამბობს რომ, ერთი მხრივ, კონსერვატიული პოზიცია ეფუძნება ტრადიციებს, რომლებიც ნიღბავს პატრიარქატს, „გარყვნილი დასავლური კულტურის“ გავლენისგან ქალების დაცვის საფარველით. თუმცა,

თანამედროვე ჯგუფებმა შეიძება უარყონ კონსერვატიული ტრადიციული კულტურა, მაგრამ ითანამშრომლონ პატრიარქატთან ტრადიციების ხელახალი შექმნით, რომელიც გენდერული ჩაგვრის ახალ ფორმებს აყალიბებს.

გენდერის და სექსუალურობის თანამედროვე განვითარება განიხილება, როგორც არაპირდაპირი ხელშეწყობა დასავლური ღირებულებებისთვის, რომლებიც ეწინააღმდეგებიან როგორც ადგილობრივ კულტურას, ასევე მართმადიდებლურ ქრისტიანულ ეთიკურ პრინციპებს (Narayan 1997). კულტურის, ნორმებისა და პრაქტიკის ეს უმნიშვნელოვანესი ღირებულებები, რომლებიც შეეხება ქალებს, ხშირად წარმოდგენილია როგორც გადამწყვეტი მნიშვნელობის ამოცანები „ვესტერნიზაციისთვის წინააღმდეგობის გასაწევად“ და „საკუთარი კულტურის შესანარჩუნებლად“ (Narayan 1997). ჩატერჯესა (1989) და ნარაიანის (1997) აღნიშნულ არგუმენტებზე დაყრდნობით, **ჩვენ ვივარაუდეთ ქართულ ახალგაზრდებში თანამედროვე კულტურისა და ადგილობრივ გენდერული წარმოდგენების პირდაპირი დაპირისპირება.**

საზოგადოებაში ფართო ცვლილებების გათვალისწინებით, ზოგიერთმა მეცნიერმა შეისწავლა ახალგაზრდების აზრი კაცების და ქალების როლის შესახებ საზოგადოებაში. თუ რა გავლენა აქვს ამას მათ საქმიანობის შესახებ მოლოდინებთან და ოჯახში როლის შესახებ (Tinklin et al., 2005). ტინკლინის და სხვ. (2005) სტატიაში ასახულია, რომ ზოგადად ახალგაზრდებში მძლავრობს თანამედროვე შეხედულებები ქალის და მამაკაცის როლის შესახებ საქმიანობასა და ოჯახში. თუმცა, ნამიბიის ახალგაზრდების კვლევა გვაჩვენებს, რომ, მიუხედავად დიდი რაოდენობის რეფორმებისა, ახალგაზრდები გენდერული თანასწორობისგან შორს დგანან და აღნიშნავენ მორალურობის და ტრადიციის მნიშვნელობას (LaFont, 2010). თუმცა, გენდერული თანასწორობისა და სექსუალურობის მიმართ დამოკიდებულება და რწმენები განსხვავდება სქესის, ეთნიკურობის, განათლებისა და ადგილმდებარეობის მიხედვით (LaFont, 2010).

სექსუალურობა

ერთ-ერთი მნიშვნელოვანი თემა, რომელზეც ჩვენი კვლევა ყურადღებას ამახვილებს, არის ახალგაზრდების მიდგომა სექსუალობის მიმართ. კვლევის მიზანია დაადგინოს კავშირი რესპოდენტთა გენდერულ წარმოდგენებსა და მათ დამოკიდებულებას შორის სექსუალობის საკითხისადმი. გენდერისა და სექსუალობის გადაკვეთა, კერძოდ, როგორ კონტროლდება ქალების სექსუალობა პატრიარქალური და ჰეტერონორმატიული ნორმებით, რამოდენიმე კვლევის ყურადღების ქვეშ აღმოჩნდა (Boyd, 2010; Crowley & Kitchin, 2008; Gaetano, 2008). მიღწეული გენდერული თანასწორობა უკავშირდება მეტ შემთხვევით სექსს, ბევრ სექსუალურ პარტნიორს და ქორწინებამდე სექსის მეტ მხარდაჭერას (Baumeister, R. F. & Mendoza, J.P., 2011). უფრო მეტიც, ინგელჰარტი და უელცელი (2005) ამტკიცებენ, რომ ადამიანების ძირითადი ღირებულებებისა და რწმენის შეცვლა მათ სექსუალურ ქცევაზეც ახდენს გავლენას.

ახალგაზრდების სექსუალობისადმი დამოკიდებულების გასარკვევად „თანამედროვე ტრადიციულის წინააღმდეგ“ დიქტომიის კონტექსტში, ჩვენ ვიყენებთ ზიგმუნტ ბაუმანის (1998) სექსის გამოყენების თანამედროვე და პოსტთანამედროვე განმარტებას. ის განიხილავს სექსს, ეროტიკას, სიყვარულს და ავლებს მათ შორის საზღვრებს. ეროტიკა ავსებს სექსობრივ აქტს ჭარბი მნიშვნელობით. ის იწყება რეპროდუქციით, მაგრამ ჭარბი სექსუალობის თავისუფლად მანიპულაციისთვის, ეროტიკა უნდა აღემატებოდეს რეპროდუქციას. ბაუმანი (1998) ამტკიცებდა, რომ თანამედროვე ეპოქაში დომინირებდა ორი სტრატეგია. პირველი სტრატეგია აძლიერებდა სექსის რეპროდუქციული ფუნქციის მიერ ეროტიულ წარმოდგენაზე დაკისრებულ შეზღუდვებს. ამ სტრატეგიას ავრცელებდა და ხელს უწყობდა სახელმწიფო და ეკლესია. მეორე სტრატეგია წყვეტს კავშირს სექსსა და ეროტიულობას შორის და ამ უკანასკნელს სიყვარულს უკავშირებს. ორივე სტრატეგიის თანახმად, მოჭარბებული სექსუალური ენერგია საჭიროა ფუნქციური დასაბ-

უთებისთვის. ბაუმანის (1998) თანახმად, აღნიშნული სტრატეგიები საფუძველს იღებს იმ დაშვებიდან, რომ ადამიანის ეროტიულობა შეიძლება გამოიფიტოს და, შესაბამისად, მას სჭირდება გარეშე ძლიერი ძალა მისი საზღვრების ლიმიტირებისა და მისი „დესტრუქციული პოტენციალის“ შეკავებისთვის. ამ სტრატეგიების საპირისპიროდ, ბოლო პერიოდში ფეხადგმული მოდერნული და პოსტმოდერნული ეროტიულობა უარყოფს როგორც სექსუალურ რეპროდუქციას, ასევე სიყვარულს და აბრუნებს სურვილს, რომელსაც სურს სურვილი (Bauman, 1998).

ოჯახი როგორც ანალიტიკური კატეგორია

გენდერული დამოკიდებულებებისა და გენდერული როლების გააზრებისთვის კიდევ ერთი სასარგებლო ანალიტიკური კატეგორიაა ოჯახი. საინტერესოა აღინიშნოს, რომ მე-19 საუკუნეში სოციალური მეცნიერები იკვლევდნენ ოჯახსა და სხვადასხვა საკითხს, თუ „როგორ დაიწყო ყველაფერი“; მათ შორის, სპენსერის რევოლუციური მოსაზრებასა და მოგვიანებით, ოჯახის ენგელსისეულ ინტერპრეტაციას, როგორც გადასვლა „პრიმიტიული აღვირახსნილობისა და ინცესტიდან მონოგამიაზე“. ასე რომ, რევოლუციური მოაზროვნეებისთვის ოჯახი წარმოადგენდა მორალურ წინაპირობას კაპიტალისტური საზოგადოების წარმატებისთვის, მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ ის არ იყო უნივერსალური. აქედან გამომდინარე, თანამედროვე ოჯახი არის კაცების მიერ შექმნილი ერთგვარი წესრიგი, რომლებიც ებრძოდნენ შედარებით ამბივალენტურ ქალზე ორიენტირებულ „ბუნებრივ“ სოციალურ კავშირებს, ამყარებდნენ საკუთარ „წესრიგს“ და თავადვე იქცნენ ამ სოციალური კავშირების აგენტებად. არსებობს ოჯახის ვიქტორიანული ინტერპრეტაცია, როგორც „მორალური და იდეოლოგიური ერთეული, რომელიც ჩნდება კონკრეტული სოციალური მოწყობის პირობებში“. ამავდროს, ვიქტორიანული ეპოქის მოაზროვნეები ხაზს უსვამდნენ ოჯახსა და თანამედროვე სახელმწიფოს შორის კავშირს. თუმცა, მალინოვსკი უარყოფდა ამ მიდგომებს და მიაჩნდა, რომ ოჯახი

ადამიანის უნივერსალური ინსტიტუტიცია იყო. მალინოვსკი გამოჰყოფდა ოჯახის სამ თვისებას: (ა) ერთმანეთთან დაკავშირებული ადამიანების წყება ბავშვების აღსაზრდელად; (ბ) ადგილი, სადაც შესაძლებელია ბავშვების აღზრდა, და (გ) ემოციებისა და სიყვარულის განსაკუთრებული წყება (Collier, Rosaldo, Yanagisako, 1995).

კოლიერმა და სხვ. (1995) ეჭვქვეშ დააყენეს ოჯახის ცნება, როგორც ერთი კონკრეტული ინსტიტუტისა, რომელიც უნივერსალურ საჭიროებებს ასრულებს, და დაასკვნეს, რომ ის არის იდეოლოგიური კონსტრუქტი, რომელიც უკავშირდება თანამედროვე სახელმწიფოს. მაგალითად, სიყვარული, რომელიც ოჯახის ერთ-ერთ ფუნქციად არის აღქმული ყოველთვის არაა მოტივირებული უანგარო ალტრუიზმით, არამედ უფრო ანგარეზით; ეს მოსაზრება კი, თავის მხრივ, გვთავაზობს, რომ არსებობს უფრო დიდი კონსტრუქტები, რომლის ნაწილიც შეიძლება იყოს ოჯახი (Collier, Rosaldo, Yanagisako, 1995).

შრომის გენდერული განაწილება შინამეურნეობაში

შრომას შინამეურნეობაში ძირითადად აყალიბებს ის, თუ რას ფიქრობს ხალხი შესაბამისი გენდერული როლების თაობაზე. ბიანკი და სხვ. (2000) გამოყოფენ სამ თეორიულ მიდგმას სახლში შრომის გენდერულ განაწილებასთან დაკავშირებით: (1) დროის არსებობის მიდგომას; (2) შედარებითი რესურსების მიდგომას; (3) გენდერული როლებისადმი დამოკიდებულებების მიდგომას. დროის არსებობის მიდგომა ცდილობს იპოვოს კავშირი იმ დროს შორის, რასაც ქალი სამსახურსა და სახლის სამუშაოს ანდომებს და/ან შეადაროს ის კაცის დროს, რომელსაც ის სახლის სამუშაოს ახმარს (Ross, 1987; Shelton, 1990; Lee, 2004). შედარებითი რესურსების მიდგომა კონცენტრირდება გაცვლაზე-დამოკიდებულ მოსაზრებაზე და ვარაუდობს, რომ მეუღლე, რომელსაც უფრო დიდი ეკონომიკური შემოსავალი აქვს შეეცდება ნაკლებად იყოს ჩართული სახლის სამუშაოში. გარდა ამისა, ეს პერსპექტივა ამტკიცებს, რომ ცოლ-ქმრის შემოსავალს შორის

შედარებითი განსხვავებების არარსებობა ხელს უწყობს სახლის სამუშაოს თანაბარ განაწილებას (Ross, 1987; Brayfield, 1992). და მესამე, ზოგიერთი მეცნიერი შინამეურნეობაში შრომის გენდერულ განაწილებას ხსნის გენდერული როლებისადმი დამოკიდებულებით. ეს პერსპექტივა გვთავაზობს, რომ უფრო ეგალიტარიანული გენდერული დამოკიდებულებების მქონე ადამიანები შინამეურნეობაში შრომის გენდერულ თანაბარ განაწილებას უფრო მეტად მიემხრობიან, ვიდრე უფრო კონსერვატიული შეხედულებების მქონენი (Presser, 1994). ფემინისტი მეცნიერები აკრიტიკებდნენ შედარებითი რესურსებისა და დროის არსებობის მიდგომებს და ამტკიცებდნენ, რომ შრომის გენდერული განაწილება არა მხოლოდ რაციონალური მოწყობის შედეგია, არამედ პატრიარქალურ სოციალიზაციაში ფესვგვადგმული ირაციონალური მოწყობისა.

არსებული კვლევები ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებების შესახებ გენდერული თანასწორობისადმი

ამ ნაწილში მიმოვიხილავთ არსებულ ლიტერატურას ახალგაზრდების გენდერული დამოკიდებულებების შესახებ როგორც განვითარებულ, ასევე განვითარებად ქვეყნებში. ფაქტორები, რომლებიც ემპირიული კვლევის საფუძველზე გამოვლინდა, დაგვეხმარა გაგვეანალიზებინა და გაგვემყარებინა ჩვენი კვლევის მიგნებები. გენდერული თანასწორობისა და გენდერული როლებისადმი ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებებისა და აღქმების შესახებ უამრავი კვლევა არსებობს მსოფლიოში. მათი გაყოფა ორ ძირითად კატეგორიად შეიძლება: (1) კვლევები, რომლებიც ძირითადად კონცენტრირდება გენდერულ თანასწორობაზე განათლებაში, დასაქმებაში, პოლიტიკასა და ოჯახში, და (2) კვლევები, რომლებიც ასახავს დამოკიდებულებებს გენდერული როლებისა და სექსუალობისადმი. არსებულ კვლევებში გამოყენებულია როგორც თვისებრივი, ასევე რაოდენობრივი მეთოდოლოგია: (ა) გენდერული ინდიკატორები მოიცავს რაოდენობრივ ინდიკატორებს, რომლებიც ეფუძნება სტატისტიკურ

და თვლად მონაცემებს, როგორებიცაა პარლამენტში ქალებისა და კაცების პროცენტულობა, ხელფასები, სკოლაში/უნივერსიტეტში ჩარიცხვა, რაც, თავის მხრივ, გვაძლევს სურათს გენდერული თანასწორობის შესახებ პოლიტიკაში, განათლებასა და დასაქმებაში; (ბ) გენდერული ინდიკატორები, რომლებიც შეიძლება მოიცავდეს „თვისებრივ მეთოდებს“ და უყურებდეს ახალგაზრდების გამოცდილებებს, აღქმებს, დამოკიდებულებებს ან კონკრეტული პოლიტიკის გავლენას.

ბრაზილიაში ჩატარებული ეთნოგრაფიული კვლევა (Asencio, 1999) სწავლობდა გენდერზე დაფუძნებულ სოციალურ კონსტრუქტებს – „მაჩო“ და „მეძავი“, რომლებიც ხელს უწყობენ გენდერული როლების კონფორმულობის შენარჩუნებას. შედეგებმა აჩვენა, რომ მასკულინობის მნიშვნელობა, რომელიც თავის თავში მოიცავს ისეთ ცნებებს, როგორებიცაა დომინანტურობა, სიმტკიცე ან მამაკაცური ღირსება, მყარად არის დაკავშირებული ქალების მიმართ ძალადობასთან (Asencio, 1999). გარდა ამისა, კაცები იმ შემთხვევაში თუ ქალების საქციელი მათი გენდერული როლიდან მკვეთრ დევიაციას წარმოადგენდა მზად იყვნენ დაესაჯათ ეს „დევიანტები“. საინტერესოა ამ კვლევაში გამოვლენილი მასკულინური დუალიზმი, რომელიც აერთიანებს მტაცებელს და დამცველს, რომლის მიხედვითაც ხდებოდა ქალის კლასიფიკაცია ან როგორც „კარგის“ – „ღვთისმშობელი“, რომელიც დაცვას იმსახურებს, ან „ცუდის“ – „მეძავი“, რომელიც უნდა შენი სურვილისამებრ გამოიყენო. აქედან გამომდინარე, მამაკაცმა უნდა აკონტროლოს და დაიცვას „თავისი“ ქალი (ცოლი, შვილი, შეყვარებული) სხვა მტაცებელი კაცებისგან. მაშინ, როცა ის თავად ცდილობს სხვა ქალების შეცდენას. აღსანიშნავია, რომ ღვთისმშობელი/მეძავის დიქოტომია ეფუძნება როგორც ქალის სექსუალობის, ასევე გენდერულად მოტივირებული ქცევის ტრადიციულ ცნებებს.

ახალგაზრდებზე ჩატარებული საკმაოდ ბევრი კვლევა მიუთითებს გენდერულ განსხვავებებზე ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებებს შორის სექსუალურ როლებთან დაკავშირებით. ქუარმის (1983) კვლევის თანახმად, კაცები უფრო

ტრადიციულები არიან, ვიდრე ქალები. ლუისი და კლიფტი (2001) იკვლევდნენ ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებებს გენდერული საკითხებისა და სექსუალური ურთიერთობებისადმი ესტონეთში. კვლევებმა აჩვენა, რომ, მონაწილეების აზრით, კაცებს ემოციურობის, გამომხატველობისა და მზრუნველობის დაბალი ხარისხი ახასიათებთ, ასევე მათი ინტერესი სექსისადმი უფრო ძლიერია, მათთვის დამახასიათებელია უფრო უპასუხისმგებლო ხასიათი და საჭიროება, თავად შოულობდეს ფულს. ქალები მიჩნეულნი იყვნენ, როგორც უფრო სუსტები, ემოციურები, კომუნიკაბელურები, მზრუნველები, ურთიერთობებით/რომანტიკით დაინტერესებულები, ნაზები, მოწყვლადები და დამოკიდებულები (Lewis et al., 2001).

ეგვიპტელ მოზარდებში (16-19 ასაკობრივი ჯგუფი) ჩატარებული კვლევა, რომელიც სწავლობს გენდერული როლებისადმი დამოკიდებულებებს ოჯახის თვალსაზრისით, მოიცავს დამოკიდებულებებს ოჯახში გადაწყვეტილების მიღების, საშინაო საქმეების შესრულების, მეუღლის სასურველი თვისებების შესახებ (Mensch, Ibrahim, Lee, 2003). კვლევის მიზანი იყო შეესწავლა, როგორ იცავენ თანამედროვე ეგვიპტელი ახალგაზრდები გენდერული როლების ტრადიციულ განაწილებას. პირველ რიგში, რესპონდენტებს სთხოვეს ჩამოეთვალათ ის თვისებები, რომლებიც მათთვის ყველაზე მნიშვნელოვანი იქნებოდა მეუღლის არჩევისას. კვლევის შედეგებმა აჩვენა, რომ სტატისტიკურად, მნიშვნელოვანი გენდერული განსხვავებები დაკავშირებულია „წარმატებულ/აღიარებულ“ მახასიათებლებთან. გოგონებს ურჩევნიათ ქმარი, რომელსაც აქვს ძლიერი ხასიათი, არის კარგი ბუნების, მათ კარგად მოექცევათ, არის მდიდარი ან აქვს კარგი სამსახური. ამის საპირისპიროდ, ბიჭებს უნდათ „სათნო“, რელიგიური, კარგად აღზრდილი ცოლი კარგი ოჯახიდან. ამ განსხვავებების მსგავსად, მოზარდებს აქვთ სხვადასხვა მოლოდინი ქორწინებაში გადაწყვეტილებების მიმღები როლებისა და პასუხისმგებლობების მიმართ, კერძოდ კი: კაცი არის მიმცემი, ქალი არის მიმღები. კვლევამ აჩვენა, რომ არც ბიჭები და არც გოგონები არ ავლენდნენ ეგალი-

ტარიანულ დამოკიდებულებებს გენდერული როლებისადმი, თუმცა გოგონებში უფრო ნაკლებად შეიმჩნეოდა ტრადიციული დამოკიდებულებები (Mensch, Ibrahim, Lee, 2003).

ფაქტორები, რომლებიც გავლენას ახდენს ახალგაზრდების გენდერულად სენსიტიურ დამოკიდებულებებზე

არერთი საერთაშორისო კვლევა ეთმობა ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებებსა და აღქმებს გენდერული როლებისა და გედერული თანასწორობის შესახებ. ამ კვლევებში გააზრებულია ისეთი ფაქტორების მნიშვნელობა, როგორებიცაა გენდერი, ასაკი, განათლება, დასახლების ტიპი და რელიგია, რაც მნიშვნელოვან გავლენას ახდენს გენდერულად სენსიტიური ან არასენსიტიური დამოკიდებულების ჩამოყალიბებაზე.

ასაკი და დასახლების ტიპი

გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებზე სოციალურ-დემოგრაფიული ფაქტორების გავლენას, როგორებიცაა ასაკი და დასახლების ტიპი, სწავლობდა ნამიბიაში ჩატარებული კვლევა (LaFont 2010), რომელიც ჩატარდა 15-20 წლის ასაკობრივ ჯგუფში. კვლევის შედეგად გამოვლინდა, რომ ყველაზე ახალგაზრდა რესპონდენტები (16 წელი) უფრო მეტად ირჩევდნენ გენდერული თანასწორობისა და სექსუალური უფლებების მხარდამჭერ პასუხებს, ვიდრე უფროსი რესპონდენტები (20 წელი) (LaFont 2010). ამ კვლევამ ასევე გვაჩვენა, რომ ურბანული/სოფლის ტიპის დასახლება, ასევე მნიშვნელოვანი ცვლადია გენდერული დამოკიდებულებების ანალიზისთვის. მაგალითად, პრივილეგიურულ ურბანულ გარემოში ცხოვრება (წვდომა უკეთეს ტექნოლოგიებზე ან კოსმოპოლიტურ იდეებზე, დამოკიდებულებებზე და შეხედულებებზე) ერთ-ერთი ყველაზე მნიშვნელოვანი ფაქტორია, რომელიც გავლენას ახდენს გენდერული თანასწორობისა და სექსუალური უფლებების მიმართ შეხედულებების ფორმირებაზე ნამიბიაში (LaFont2010).

გენდერული როლები ოჯახში და მამის გავლენა ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებაზე გენდერული თანასწორობის მიმართ

გენდერული დამოკიდებულებები შესაძლოა, კონსტრუირდეს ოჯახურ კონტექსტში ბავშვობის ან მოზარდობის პერიოდში. ლიამ და იანგმა (1995) ჩამოაყალიბა ორი მთავარი თეორიული პერსპექტივა გენდერულად სპეციფიკური დამოკიდებულებების განვითარების ასახსნელად. სოციალური სწავლების თეორიის თანახმად, ადამიანები იყალიბებენ გენდერულად სპეციფიკურ დამოკიდებულებებს სხვების მიბაძვისა და მოდელირების გზით, განსაკუთრებით კი მისივე სქესის მშობლის მიბაძვით. მაგალითად, ქალიშვილები, რომელთა დედებიც მუშაობდნენ უფრო მეტად დამოუკიდებლები იყვნენ და ზრდასრულობისას სახლის გარეთ მუშაობდნენ, ვიდრე ისინი, ვისი დედებიც უმუშევრები იყვნენ. სიტუაციური ანალიზის თანახმად, ქალების გენდერული როლების ორიენტაცია პირადი გამოცდილების შედეგია. მოენი და სხვ. (1997) მიიჩნევენ, რომ ორივე, სოციალური სწავლებისა და სიტუაციური თეორია რელევანტურია.

საჯარო სფეროს გენდერული განზომილება: განათლება და დასაქმება

განათლება მნიშვნელოვან ფაქტორს შეიძლება წარმოადგენდეს, რომელიც გავლენას ახდენს ახალგაზრდების გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებზე; ტალიშემ და უილისმა (1986) გამოიკვლიეს 294 ახალგაზრდა ქალი გენდერული როლებისადმი მათი დამოკიდებულების ლიბერალური ცვლილებების თვალსაზრისით. საინტერესოა, რომ ზრდასრულობისას ქალების დამოკიდებულებები ასოცირდებოდა მათი მშობლების განათლების დონესთან. თავდაპირველად, მათი გამოკითხვა განხორციელდა 1970 წელს, სკოლის ასაკში, ხოლო მოგვიანებით – 10 წლის შემდეგ; კვლევის მონაწილე ახალგაზრდა ქალების დამოკიდებულებები უფრო თანამედროვე გახდა, რაც წარმოადგენს ერთგვარ ტრენდს, რასაც ავტორები უმაღლეს გა-

ნათლებას უკავშირებდნენ. მათი აზრით, ქალები, რომლებმაც უმაღლესი განათლება მიიღეს, უფრო ნაკლებად გამოხატავდნენ ტრადიციულ დამოკიდებულებებს გენდერული როლების მიმართ, ვიდრე ისინი, ვინც უმაღლესი განათლება არ მიუღიათ. გენდერული როლებისადმი დამოკიდებულებების ცვლილება პოზიტიურად უკავშირდებოდა ქალების განათლების დონეს, დასაქმებასა და შემოსავალს (Tallichet and Willits 1986).

რელიგია და გენდერული დამოკიდებულებები

კვლევების კიდევ ერთი ნაწილი სწავლობს რელიგიურ ფაქტორს, ვინაიდან მიჩნეულია, რომ ეს არის ერთ-ერთი ყველაზე მნიშვნელოვანი ფაქტორი, რომელიც აყალიბებს გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებს (Brinkerhoff, 1984). საქმე ისაა, რომ კავშირი რელიგიასა და გენდერს შორის მნიშვნელოვანი თემაა და ბევრი კვლევა ამტკიცებს, რომ არსებობს კორელაცია რელიგიურობასა და ადმიანის გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებსა და სექსუალურ ქცევას შორის (Odimegwu, 2005; Thornton & Camburn, 1989; Brinkerhoff and MacKie). უნდა აღინიშნოს, რომ არსებობს რელიგიურობის განსაზღვრის ბევრი საშუალება, კერძოდ კი, რელიგიური აფილიაცია, დასწრება რელიგიურ ცერემონიებზე, რელიგიის ღირებულება და რელიგიური პრაქტიკა (Odimegwu, 2005). არსებობს სხვადასხვა წინააღმდეგობრივი შეხედულება რელიგიური განზომილებების შესახებ, რომლებიც ყველაზე მეტად გენდერზე ახდენს გავლენას. ერთი მხრივ, ზოგიერთი ავტორი მიიჩნევს, რომ რელიგიური კუთვნილება ყველაზე მნიშვნელოვანი პრედიქტორია გენდერული კონსერვატიზმისთვის, მაშინ როცა სხვების აზრით, რელიგიური პრაქტიკა ყველაზე მეტადაა კორელაციაში გენდერულ კონსერვატიზმთან; სხვა მკვლევარების აზრით, რელიგიურ ცერემონიებზე ხშირი დასწრება უკავშირდება უფრო მეტად კონსერვატიულ შეხედულებებს (Odimegwu, 2005). ასე რომ, უფრო კონკრეტულად რომ ვთქვათ, რელიგიური ორგანიზაციებისადმი ერთგულების ხარისხი შესაძლოა უფრო მეტად მნიშვნელოვანი დეტერმინან-

ტი იყოს ახალგაზრდების გენდერული დამოკიდებულებებისა და ქცევების ასახსნელად, ვიდრე რელიგიური აფილიაცია. რელიგიური ღირებულებები მორალური შეზღუდვების წყაროა ბევრი ადამიანისთვის და, შესაბამისად, ეკლესიის სწავლება ც მნიშვნელოვან როლს თამაშობს პიროვნების დამოკიდებულებების, ღირებულებებისა და ქცევების ფორმირებაში. მაგალითად, კანგარა (2004) იკვლევს იმ საშუალებებს, რომლითაც ეკლესია სოციალური კონტროლის დაწესებას ცდილობს თავის მრევლზე, რომელსაც ზრდასრულთა სექსუალობაზე შეზღუდვების დაწესებამდე მივყავართ. არაკონფორმისტ მრევლს აეკრძალა საეკლესიო მსახურებაში მონაწილეობის მიღება და, შესაბამისად, ეკლესიიდან განიდევნა. თუმცა, ის, თუ რა დოზით ახდენს გავლენას რელიგია ინდივიდების დამოკიდებულებაზე გენდერული ემანსიპაციისა და სექსუალური ქცევის მიმართ, დამოკიდებულია ეკლესიის სპეციფიკურ დოქტრინებზე და ინდივიდის პირად ჩართულობასა და მიჯაჭვულობაზე რელიგიური ინსტიტუტების მიმართ. ამ გზით, ზოგიერთი კვლევის თანახმად, არსებობს კორელაცია გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებს/სექსუალურ ქცევასა და რელიგიურ მოვალეობებს შორის; მაგრამ არ დასტურდება, რომ რელიგია ერთადერთი ფაქტორია, რომელიც გავლენას ახდენს ახალგაზრდების გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებზე (Odimegwu, 2005).

სხვადასხვა სოციალურ-დემოგრაფიული ფაქტორის გავლენა გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებზე გამოვლინდა სამხრეთ-აღმოსავლეთ აზიაში ჩატარებულ ერთ-ერთ კვლევაში (Yoshida, 2011). კვლევის ჰიპოთეზა იყო, რომ სხვადასხვა სოციალურ-ეკონომიკური დემოგრაფიული ცვლადი გავლენას მოახდენდა დამოკიდებულებებზე; მაგალითად, ქალები ნაკლებ დაუჭრდნენ მხარს გენდერულ უთანასწორობას, ვიდრე კაცები; განათლება გონებას გაუნათებდა ხალხს და მხარს დაუჭერდა თანასწორობას. მაგრამ, მეორე მხრივ, შესაძლებელია, რომ განათლება გაზრდის უთანასწორობას ინდივიდის ნიჭიერებაზე ან სოციალურ მიღწევებზე ხაზის გასმით (Kane1995). უამრავ ხალხთან შეხვედრის შესაძლებლობის გამო, ურბანულ გარე-

მოში მცხოვრები რესპონდენტები უფრო მეტად დაუჭერდნენ მხარს გენდერულ თანასწორობას, ხანშიშესული მოსახლეობა უფრო კონსერვატიული იქნებოდა, ოჯახურ მდგომარეობასა და რელიგიას, ასევე ექნებოდა გავლენა იმ დაშვებით, რომ მუსლიმები უფრო პატრიარქალურები არიან. კვლევის შედეგებმა აჩვენა, რომ სხვადასხვა გამოცდილების მქონე მუსლიმებს განსხვავებული დამოკიდებულებები აქვთ გენდერული თანასწორობის მიმართ, ისევე როგორც არა-მუსლიმებს. გენდერულ აღქმებზე გავლენის მქონე ფაქტორები განსხვავდება არა მხოლოდ ქვეყნების, არამედ რეგიონების მიხედვითაც კი. რამდენად ნეგატიურია თუ პოზიტიური რელიგიის გავლენა, დამოკიდებულია სოციალურ-დემოგრაფიული გამოცდილების სხვაობაზე (Yoshida, 2011).

გენდერული თანასწორობა საქართველოში

ეს ნაწილი მიზნად ისახავს გენდერული თანასწორობის მდგომარეობის შესწავლას საქართველოში. ვინაიდან ქართველი ახალგაზრდების გამოცდილება მეტწილად ფორმირებულია ადგილობრივი სპეციფიკური ფაქტორების მიერ, გადავწყვიტეთ წინამდებარე კვლევაში კონტექსტზეც გვესაუბრა. 1991 წელს საბჭოთა კავშირისგან დამოუკიდებლობის მიღების შემდეგ, საქართველომ სწრაფი ეკონომიკური, პოლიტიკური და სოციალური ცვლილებები განიცადა და ბოლო ორი ათწლეულის მანძილზე პოლიტიკური და ეკონომიკური განვითარების გზით ნაბიჯები გადადგა დემოკრატიულობისკენ. თუმცა, ქვეყანა კვლავაც მიეკუთვნება ტრადიციულ/ჩაკეტილ საზოგადოებას ტრადიციული კულტურით, სადაც პატრიარქალური ნორმებია გაბატონებული და მიიჩნევა, რომ ქალები, მათი გენდერული როლების გამო, საოჯახო საქმეებში და ბავშვების აღზრდაში უნდა იყვნენ ჩართულნი; მათ არ მოეთხოვებათ პოლიტიკურ და სოციალურ ცხოვრებაში აქტიურობა (Japaridze 2012).

საბჭოთა კავშირის პერიოდშიც კი ქალების „გათავისუფლები-სა“ და მხარდაჭერის დეკლარაცია მათთვის თანაბარი უფლე-

ბების მინიჭების გზით (როგორცაა მაგალითად, მუშაობის უფლება) სინამდვილეში ორმაგ სამუშაო დატვირთვას უდრიდა – მუშაობა ემატებოდა ქალის ტრადიციულ მოვალეობებს შინამეურნეობაში. შედეგად, საბჭოთა კავშირის ნგრევის შემდეგ, ეს ფორმალური თანასწორობა გაქრა, ხოლო ქალების მონყვლადობა უფრო თვალსაჩინო გახდა. სამოქალაქო ომის, ეკონომიკური კოლაფსის, ინფლაციის, უმუშევრობის, კორუფციის, შეიარაღებული კონფლიქტისა და ქვეყნის ერთი მეხუთედის დე ფაქტო დაკარგვის შედეგად, საქართველომ ასევე დაკარგა მამაკაცის, როგორც ოჯახის მარჩენალის ცნება; ბევრი ქალი ოჯახის ერთადერთ მარჩენალად იქცა. თვითდასაქმებული ქალები ძირითადად არაფორმალურ ეკონომიკურ აქტივობებში ჩაერთვნენ და ვერანაირი სარგებელი ვეღარ ნახეს საკუთარი განათლებისა და კვალიფიკაციისგან (ჩიტაშვილი და სხვ., 2010)

დისკუსიები გენდერული თანასწორობისა და ქალების გაძლიერების შესახებ საქართველოში 1994 წელს დაიწყო, როდესაც საქართველომ მოახდინა (CEDAW) რატიფიკაცია (გაფრინდაშვილი და სხვ., 2014). ამის შემდეგ 1995 წლის პეკინის კონფერენციაზე საქართველო შეუერთდა ქვეყნებს, რომლებიც მუშაობდნენ სამოქმედო გეგმაზე ქალთა მდგომარეობის გაუმჯობესებისთვის, ხოლო 2002 წელს საქართველო CEDAW-ს დამატებით პუნქტს შეუერთდა (ჯაფარიძე და სხვ., 2006). გარდა ამისა, საქართველომ მოახდინა დოკუმენტის „მილენიუმის განვითარების პროგრამა საქართველოში“ (2007) რატიფიკაცია, რომელის თანახმადაც, საქართველოს მთავრობამ აიღო პასუხისმგებლობა დასაქმებაში გენდერული განსხვავების აღმოსაფხვრელად და ქალების პოლიტიკაში ჩართულობისთვის თანასწორი შესაძლებლობების უზრუნველსაყოფად. ორივე მიზანი 2015 წლისთვის უნდა შესრულდეს.

2006 წელს სახელმწიფომ მიიღო კანონი ოჯახში ძალადობის წინააღმდეგ (საბედაშვილი 2007), ხოლო 2010 წელს მიიღო კანონი გენდერული თანასწორობის შესახებ (Duban, 2010), რომელიც ითვალისწინებს ქალების უსაფრთხოების, შრომის

ბაზარზე თანასწორობის და ქალების პოლიტიკაში ჩართულობის უზრუნველყოფას. ზემოთ აღნიშნული კანონების მიღების პროცესმა ძალიან გრძელი მოსამზადებელი გზა გაიარა, რომელიც ითვალისწინებდა ადგილობრივი არასამთავრობო და საერთაშორისო დონორი ორგანიზაციების ჩართულობას. აღსანიშნავია, რომ მიუხედავად ოჯახში ძალადობის წინააღმდეგ და გენდერული თანასწორობის შესახებ კანონების ოფიციალურად მიღებისა, პარლამენტის წევრებისა და სახელისუფლებლო ორგანოების წარმომადგენლების ნაწილი შეუფერებელ ხუმრობებს გამოთქვამდა ამ კანონების მნიშვნელობის შესახებ, რადგან არ ესმოდათ მათი უდიდესი მნიშვნელობა (ჩიტაშვილი და სხვ., 2010).

ოჯახში ძალადობის კრიმინალიზებისთვის, კონკრეტული ცვლილებები საქართველოს კრიმინალური კოდექსშიც შევიდა 2012 წელს. ეს ცვლილებები მოიცავდა სადამსჯელო ღონისძიებებს ოჯახში ძალადობის შემთხვევაში და გულისხმობდა საზოგადოებრივი სამსახურის დაკისრებას მოძალადისთვის ასი ან ორასი საათის ოდენობით, თავისუფლების შეზღუდვას ერთი წლით, ან თავისუფლების აღკვეთას ერთ წლამდე.

გარდა ბოლო ათწლეულის მანძილზე გატარებული მთელი რიგი საკანონმდებლო ცვლილებებისა, საქართველოში ქალთა საკითხებზე მომუშავე არასამთავრობო ორგანიზაციების (საქართველოში არსებული არასამთავრობო ორგანიზაციების დაახლოებით 12%) ძირითადი კონცენტრაცია იყო გენდერული ცნობიერების ამაღლება ქართველ ქალებში საგანმანათლებლო აქტივობებით (რუსეცკი 2007). „საქართველოში არსებული არასამთავრობო ქალთა ორგანიზაციების მუშაობისა და სამუშაო სტრუქტურის შეფასების“ ანგარიშის (ჟლენტი 2013) მიხედვით, ბოლო ხუთი წლის განმავლობაში, ყველაზე აქტიუალური თემებია ოჯახში ძალადობა, ქალის სამართლებრივი და სოციალური უფლებები, ქალის მონაწილეობა სოციალურ, პოლიტიკურ და სამოქალაქო ცხოვრებაში, ქალთა დასაქმება და პროფესიული განვითარება და გენდერული სტერეოტიპები. თუმცა, საქართველო კვლავაც ბოლო ადგილებზეა გენდერუ-

ლი თანასწორობის თვალსაზრისით (ბენდელიანი 2012). ქალთა მიმართ ოჯახში ძალადობის საკითხები ეროვნული კვლევა საქართველოში (ჩიტაშვილი და სხვ. 2010) განიხილავს ოჯახური ძალადობის მიზეზებსა და შედეგებს, ასევე ქართველ ქალთა აღქმებს და დამოკიდებულებებს ოჯახურ ძალადობასთან დაკავშირებით. ამ კვლევის ფარგლებში ჩატარებული გამოკითხვის შედეგად გამოვლინდა, რომ ყოველი მეთერთმეტე გათხოვილი ქალი ფიზიკური ძალადობის მსხვერპლი ყოფილა, ხოლო 34.7%-ს რამდენჯერმე მიუღია სხეულის დაზიანება (უმეტესობა 45-49 ასაკობრივი ჯგუფის წარმომადგენელია). გამოკითხვამ ასევე ცხადყო, რომ, ქალების 50.7%-ის აზრით, კარგი ცოლი უნდა ემორჩილებოდეს ქმარს მაშინაც კი, თუ არ ეთანხმება მის გადაწყვეტილებებს, ხოლო 45%-ის აზრით, კაცმა ცხადად უნდა დაანახოს ცოლს/პარტნიორს, რომ ისაა ოჯახის თავი.

2009 წლის გენდერისა და თაობები ტალღა 2 ანგარიში (ბადურაშვილი და სხვ., 2009) ნათელ სურათს გვაძლევს ოჯახში გენდერული როლების განაწილების შესახებ საქართველოში. კვლევამ აჩვენა, რომ კაცების 25% სრულად არის პასუხისმგებელი ფინანსური რესურსების ალოკაციაზე, ხოლო ქალები მამაკაცი პარტნიორებისგან იღებენ ფინანსურ შემწეობას. 2006 წელს ჩატარებული იმავე კვლევის შედეგებთან შედარებით, 2009 წლის მონაცემებმა აჩვენა, რომ კაცის დომინანტური როლი შინამეურნეობის ფინანსური ბიუჯეტიერების საკითხში 4.1 პუნქტით შემცირდა, მაგრამ მაინც არ ჩამოვიდა 20%-ს ქვემოთ. თუმცა, ოჯახების 59%-ს თანახმად, შინამეურნეობის ბიუჯეტზე ორივე პარტნიორი თანაბრად იყო პასუხისმგებელი. გარდა ტრადიციული დამოკიდებულებებისა, ანგარიშის ავტორები თანასწორობას განიხილავდნენ მწირი ფინანსური რესურსების ჭრილშიც, რომელიც უმეტესობა ქართული ოჯახისთვის წარმოადგენს რეალობას. შინამეურნეობის შეზღუდული ბიუჯეტი, უმეტესწილად, ძირითადი საჭიროებების დასაკმაყოფილებლად გამოიყენება, რაც არ ითვალისწინებს არც კაცის და არც ქალის ინდივიდუალურ მოთხოვნილებებს. გენ-

დერული ასიმეტრიის ინდექსის შედეგების თანახმად, ქართულ ოჯახში უთანასწორობის ყველაზე მაღალი მაჩვენებელი მაშინ ფიქსირდება, როდესაც თითოეული პარტნიორი ანაზღაურებად სამსახურში მუშაობს. გარდა ამისა, ქალები უფრო მეტად ითვალისწინებდნენ თავიანთი მამაკაცი პარტნიორის აზრს დროსთან დაკავშირებით, რასაც ისინი ანაზღაურებად სამსახურში ატარებდნენ. გენდერული ასიმეტრიის ინდექსი ცხადყოფს, რომ ძირითადი ფაქტორები, რაც გავლენას ახდენს ქალის ავტონომიურობასა მათ მიერ სამსახურში გატარებულ დროსთან მიმართებაში, არის დასახლების ტიპი, ბავშვების რაოდენობა, და განათლების დონე. სოფლის ტიპის დასახლებებში, ალბათობა, რომ კაცი მონაწილეობას მიიღებს თავისი პარტნიორის დასაქმებასთან დაკავშირებული გადაწყვეტილების მიღებაში, უფრო მეტია, ვიდრე ურბანულ დასახლებებში. ბევრი შვილის ყოლა ასევე ზრდის იმის შესაძლებლობას, რომ ქმარი ჩაერევა იმ საკითხში, რომელიც მისი ცოლის დასაქმებასთანაა დაკავშირებული. გარდა ამისა, რაც უფრო მეტადაა ქალი განათლებული, მით უფრო ნაკლებად შეუძლია მის პარტნიორს მის დასაქმებასთან დაკავშირებულ საქმეში ჩაერიოს. კიდევ ერთი მნიშვნელოვანი საკითხი, რომელსაც აღნიშნულ კვლევაში გაესვა ხაზი, არის გენდერული სხვაობა საშინაო საქმეებთან დაკავშირებით. კვლევის შედეგების თანახმად, საშინაო საქმეების ძირითადი ნაწილი ქალზე მოდის. მაშინ, როცა კაცების ჩართულობა 24%-ით შემოიფარგლება (ტრადიციული მამაკაცური საქმის ჩათვლით, როგორცაა სახლის რემონტი). კაცები, ძირითადად, პასუხისმგებელი იყვნენ გადასახადების გადახდაზე (54.7%) და უფრო მეტად აქტიურობდნენ საკვების ყიდვისა (30.9%) და ერთობლივი სოციალური აქტივობების დაგეგმვის (22.4%) საკითხებში. მათი მონაწილეობა საჭმლის მომზადებაში, დასუფთავებასა და რეცხვაში ძლივს აღწევდა 1.5%-ს. მნიშვნელოვანი განსხვავება თაობებს შორის გენდერული დამოკიდებულებების თვალსაზრისით არ დაფიქსირებულა. „თაობებისა და ღირებულებების“ კვლევის (სუმბაძე 2011) თანახმად, ახალგაზრდების 62% 18-24 ასაკობრივ ჯგუფში

ეთანხმება მოსაზრებას, რომ გადაწყვეტილება ოჯახში მამაკაცმა უნდა მიიღოს თავისი სურვილების შესაბამისად; მეორე ასაკობრივ ჯგუფში (40-50 წელი) ამ მოსაზრებას 66.7% ეთანხმება, ხოლო მესამე ასაკობრივ ჯგუფში (60-70 წელი) ეს მაჩვენებელი 77.5% პროცენტამდე იზრდება.

საქართველოში ქალები პასიურად მონაწილეობენ პოლიტიკაში, რაც მტკიცდება იმ ფაქტით, რომ საკანონმდებლო და აღმასრულებელი ორგანოები ძირითადად კაცებით არის დაკომპლექტებული (ბაგრატია 2012). ქალები დაბალი წარმომადგენლობა გადაწყვეტილების მიმღებ პოზიციებზე პირდაპირ უკავშირდება გენდერული უთანასწორობის სიმწვავეს, რაც ასე ცხადია ქვეყანაში. 1 ოქტომბრის საპარლამენტო არჩევნების შემდეგ, ქალებმა 18 მანდატი მიიღეს, რაც საერთო საპარლამენტო მანდატების 12%-ს შეადგენს. ეს შედეგი პრეცედენტულია საქართველოს საპარლამენტო ისტორიაში (ბაგრატია 2012). მიუხედავად იმ ფაქტისა, რომ ხელისუფლება და ქალთა ორგანიზაციები არ ხარჯავენ სახსრებს საქართველოში გენდერული უთანასწორობის მხარდაჭერაზე, ქვეყნის არასასურველი პოზიცია საერთაშორისო ინდექსებში და გენდერული თანასწორობის სუსტი წარმომადგენლობა ეროვნულ გამოკითხვებში გვაიძულებს ვიკვლიოთ ქართველ ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებები და აღქმები გენდერულ თანასწორობასთან დაკავშირებით.

საქართველოში გენდერული თანასწორობის გამოწვევები

ლიტერატურაზე მუშაობის დროს წავანყდით პრობლემას, რომელიც დაკავშირებული იყო საქართველოში გენდერულ თანასწორობაზე, გენდერულ პოლიტიკასა და ახალგაზრდების გენდერული ცნობიერების შესახებ არსებული კვლევების ნაკლებობასთან. ამ საკითხმა განაპირობა ადგილობრივ კონტექსტზე უფრო მეტი ინფორმაციის მოპოვების აუცილებლობა, რათა მხოლოდ დასავლურ ლიტერატურაზე დაყრდნობით არ განგვეხორციელებინა კვლევა. ამ მიზნით გადაწყდა ინფორმა-

ციის მიღება სიღრმისეული ინტერვიუების საშუალებით გენდერული თანასწორობის სფეროს ექსპერტებთან – გენდერის კვლევის პროფესორები, აქტივისტები და დამოუკიდებელი მეცნიერები, რომლებიც მუშაობენ გენდერსა და გენდერულ თანასწორობაზე საქართველოში.

შევარჩიეთ რვა ექსპერტი მათი გამოცდილების მიხედვით. ექსპერტებთან ჩატარებული ინტერვიუები მიზნად ისახავდა ამოეცნო ექსპერტების აღქმები და წარმოდგენები გენდერულ საკითხებთან დაკავშირებით საქართველოში. თითოეული ინტერვიუ განხორციელდა წინასწარ შემუშავებული სადისკუსიო გზამკვლევით.

საქართველოში ქალთა უფლებებზე მომუშავე აქტივისტებსა და გენდერის ექსპერტებთან ჩატარებულმა ინტერვიუებმა გვაჩვენა, როგორ აფასებენ გენდერულ საკითხებსა და ლგბტ უფლებებზე მომუშავე პირები საქართველოში არსებულ სიტუაციას და რაში ხედავენ გამოსავალს გენდერული პოლიტიკის სოციალურ ტრანსფორმაციასა და დანერგვასთან დაკავშირებული პრობლემების გადასაჭრელად.

ექსპერტების ინტერვიუების ანალიზმა გამოავლინა, რომ გენდერული თანასწორობის შესახებ ცნობიერება და წარმოდგენა უზომოდ არადამაკმაყოფილებელია, მაგრამ ფემინიზმი უფრო მეტად მიუღებელი და უცხოა საზოგადოებისთვის, ვიდრე გენდერული თანასწორობა. ფემინიზმსა და გენდერულ თანასწორობაზე არასწორი წარმოდგენის არსებობას რამდენიმე ახსნა აქვს. ერთ-ერთი ყველაზე მეტად გავრცელებული მცდარი წარმოდგენა ფემინიზმს დასავლეთის მიერ თავს მოხვეულ ფენომენად წარმოაჩენს, რომელიც ემუქრება ადგილობრივ ტრადიციებსა და ქართველობას ეროვნული და ტრადიციული იდენტობებისაგან საზოგადოების გაძარცვის გზით. ამ ფართოდ გავრცელებული აზრის დასამარცხებლად ექსპერტებმა შექმნეს საკუთარი კონტრარგუმენტები, რათა დაემტკიცებინათ ფემინიზმის „ქართველობა“. მათი აზრით, რთულია ერთმანეთს დაუპირისპირო ახალგაზრდებისა და ხანშიშესული

მოსახლეობის დამოკიდებულება გენდერულ თანასწორობასთან დაკავშირებით. ექსპერტები არ მიიჩნევენ ახალგაზრდებს ერთგვაროვან ჯგუფად და გამოყოფენ ორ დომინანტ დისკურსს გენდერთან დაკავშირებით, რომელიც ეხება ახალგაზრდების მსოფლმხედველობას, როგორც კონსერვატიულს და ლიბერალურს.

გარდა ამისა, ექსპერტები ხედავენ გენდერული უთანასწორობის სხვადასხვა ფორმასა და სივრცეს. პირველ რიგში, ექსპერტების აზრით, ხელისუფლება უნდა იყოს პასუხისმგებელი, რომ უთანასწორობის წინააღმდეგ სწრაფი და გააზრებული ქმედებები განახორციელოს. მიუხედავად ხელისუფლების პროგრესული ნაბიჯებისა, მათი მცდელობები ამაოა, თუ მათ პრაქტიკაში არ განახორციელებ. მეორე, გენდერული უთანასწორობა ვლინდება ქალთა მიმართ ძალადობაში, კერძოდ კი, ოჯახური ძალადობაში. ექსპერტები ხაზს უსვამენ იმ პრობლემებსა და წინააღმდეგობებს, რომელთა გამოც ვერ ხერხდება ოჯახური ძალადობის პრევენცია ან მასზე რეაგირება. ეს წინააღმდეგობები მოიცავს ადგილობრივი პოლიციელების არასენსიტიურობასა და პატრიარქალურ აზროვნებას, სოციალურ-ეკონომიკურ პრობლემებსა და პრაქტიკული მექანიზმების არარსებობას კანონმდებლობაში. ექსპერტების თანახმად, გენდერული უთანასწორობის კიდევ ერთი გამოვლინებაა გენდერული როლების განაწილება, რაც იწვევს ქალი პოლიტიკური ლიდერების ნაკლებობას. ექსპერტების აზრით, პრობლემის გადაჭრა შესაძლებელია საზოგადოების ცნობიერების ამაღლების გზით, რომლის მიღწევაც შესაძლებელია მედიის, საგანმანათლებლო დაწესებულებების, არასამთავრობო ორგანიზაციებისა და ხელისუფლების საშუალებით.

თავი 2

ახალგაზრდების გენდერული დამოკიდებულება და აღქმაში საქართველოში – რაოდენობრივ მონაცემთა ანალიზი

შესავალი

ბევრი საერთაშორისო კვლევა (LaFont 2010; Lewis and Clift 2001) ცხადყოფს, რომ ახალგაზრდები საზოგადოების პროგრესული ძალაა სოციალური ცვლილების ეპოქასა და სოციალური და კულტურული მნიშვნელობების ტრანსფორმაციის პირობებში, რასაც გენდერული როლებისადმი უფრო ლიბერალურ დამოკიდებულებამდე მივყავართ. მიჩნეულია, რომ მთელი რიგი სხვადასხვა ფაქტორი, მათ შორის, გენდერი, განათლება, დასახლების ტიპი, დასაქმება და რელიგია გავლენას ახდენს გენდერული თანასწორობის, ოჯახსა თუ საზოგადოებაში გენდერული როლების გააზრებაზე. შესაბამისად, წინამდებარე თავი მიზნად ისახავს: ა) განსაზღვროს აქვთ თუ არა ქართველ ახალგაზრდებს უფრო ლიბერალური დამოკიდებულება მთელი რიგი გენდერული საკითხებისადმი და ბ) გამოიკვლიოს არსებული გენდერული დამოკიდებულებების დეტერმინანტები.

სიტუაციური ანალიზი ჩატარდა, რათა დაგვედგინა აქვთ თუ არა დღესდღეობით ახალგაზრდებს ლიბერალური დამოკიდებულება მთელი რიგი გენდერული საკითხების მიმართ. ეს წინა თავში აღინიშნა, რომ გარკვეული დრო გავიდა მას შემდეგ, რაც დაინერგა საერთაშორისო და ადგილობრივი პროგრამები გენდერულ საკითხებზე საქართველოში; ბუნებრივია, ამის შედეგად ახალგაზრდა თაობა ახალ იდეებსა და ცნებებს გაეცნო ოჯახსა და საზოგადოებაში გენდერულ როლებთან დაკავშირებით. შესაბამისად, ჩვენ ვივარაუდეთ, რომ დღეს საქართველოში ახალგაზრდა ქალებსა და კაცებს უფრო ლიბერალური დამოკიდებულებები უნდა ჰქონოდათ, ვიდრე ძველ თაობას და 1990-იანი წლების ახალგაზრდობას ჰქონდა. აღნიშნული

ვარაუდის შესამოწმებლად ჩვენ შედარებითი (in-time perspective analysis) ანალიზიც განვახორციელებთ, რამაც შედარებითი აღწერითი სტატისტიკა გვიჩვენა გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებსა და შეხედულებებზე 1996 წლიდან მოყოლებული 2010 წლის ჩათვლით. აღნიშნული წლების შედარებამ საშუალება მოგვცა, დაგვენახა შეიცვალა თუ არა სხვადასხვა თაობის ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებები და შეხედულებები გენდერულ საკითხებთან მიმართებაში.

შედარებითი ანალიზის შედეგად გამოვლენილი ტენდენციების ასახსნელად განვახორციელებთ ლიტერატურის მიმოხილვის შედეგად **იდენტიფიცირებული სოციო-დემოგრაფიული ფაქტორების ანალიზი** არსებულ ტენდენციებთან მიმართებაში. კერძოდ, გამოვიყენებთ 2010 წლის მონაცემები გამოვლენილი გენდერული შეხედულებების განმსაზღვრელი ფაქტორების გამოსაკვლევად. 2010 წლის კავკასიის ბარომეტრის მონაცემთა ბაზა შეიქმნა იმ მიზეზით, რომ ეს იყო ერთადერთი არსებული ბაზა, რომელიც საშუალებას გვაძლევდა გამოგვეკვლია კრიტიკული საკითხების მთელი რიგი, რომლებსაც არ მოიცავდა სხვა მონაცემთა ბაზები. გარდა ამისა, 2010 წელი არის კარგი პერიოდი იმისთვის, რომ დავინახოთ, რამდენად შეიცვალა ახალგაზრდა თაობის აღქმა გენდერულ საკითხებთან დაკავშირებით გენდერული თანასწორობის პოლიტიკისა და პროგრამების დანერგვა-შემუშავების საფუძველზე. **სოციო-დემოგრაფიული ფაქტორების ანალიზის** შედეგად, რომელიც ჩატარდა დასკვნითი სტატისტიკური ანალიზის მეშვეობით, გამოვლინდა ცვლადების მთელი რიგი, რომლებიც გავლენას ახდენენ გენდერული შეხედულებების ჩამოყალიბებაზე. კვლევის შედეგებმა მოგვცა მყარი საფუძველი შემდგომი თვისებრივი კვლევის ჩასატარებლად, რაც მომდევნო თავებშია წარმოდგენილი.

ძირითადი მიგნებები და დასკვნები

კვლევის შედეგებმა ცხადყო, რომ მიუხედავად საქართველოში ბოლო ოცი წლის მანძილზე მომხდარი პოლიტიკური, სოციალ-

ური და ეკონომიკური ცვლილებებისა, ტრადიციული შეხედულებები და სტერეოტიპები გენდერულ პრეფერენციებსა და როლებთან დაკავშირებით კვლავაც მყარად არსებობს დღევანდელ ახალგაზრდობაში. ისეთ საკითხებს, როგორებიცაა ქალიშვილის თუ ვაჟიშვილის ყოლა, განათლებასა და დასაქმებაში გენდერული განაწილება, გენდერული როლები ოჯახში, ქალების პირადი ცხოვრება მათი სექსუალური თავისუფლების ჩათვლით, ახალგაზრდები კვლავაც მკაცრ ტრადიციულ ჩარჩოებში განიხილავდნენ. ეს შედეგი გვეხმარება ავხსნათ, რატომ არიან ქალები საქართველოში უმუშევარი მოსახლეობის უმრავლესობა და რატომ არის ამ ქალების უმეტესობა დასახლისი (კავკასიის ბარომეტრი 2010, 2011). საქართველოში, სადაც გენდერული თანასწორობა კვლავაც შორეული მიზანია, გასაკვირი არ არის, რომ გენდერული სტერეოტიპები გამჯდარია როგორც ახალგაზრდა ქალებში, ასევე კაცებში. გენდერული სოციალიზაცია ადრეულ ასაკშივე ხდება როგორც ოჯახში, ასევე სხვა სოციალურ ინსტიტუტებში. ეს ფენომენი მიუთითებს გენდერულ საკითხებზე ცოდნისა და ცნობიერების ნაკლებობას საქართველოში როგორც ოჯახში, ასევე სასკოლო განათლებაში (ხომერიკი 2012). მიუხედავად იმ ფაქტისა, რომ მოცემული კვლევის მონაწილე, როგორც მდებარეობითი, ასევე მამრობითი სქესის ახალგაზრდები ღიად არ ავლენდნენ გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებს, უფრო დეტალური ანალიზი ცხადყოფს, რომ გენდერს გავლენა ჰქონდა ტრადიციული და უფრო ლიბერალური შეხედულებების გადანაწილებაზე. ბევრი კვლევა (მაგ. Asencio 1999) მიუთითებს, რომ როგორც წესი, ქალებთან შედარებით, კაცები ტრადიციული გენდერული როლების უფრო დიდი აგიტატორები არიან და უფრო მეტად აქვთ ნეგატიური დამოკიდებულება, როდესაც ინდივიდები მიღებული ნორმებიდან უხვევენ. გენდერის გარდა, აღმოჩნდა, რომ გენდერული შეხედულებების ფორმირებისთვის დამატებით დეტერმინანტებს ზოგიერთ შემთხვევაში დასახლების ტიპი, განათლება, დასაქმება და რელიგია წარმოადგენს.

ზოგადად, **განათლებაში** არსებობს თანაბარი გადანაწილება

გენდერული თვალსაზრისით. უმაღლეს განათლებაშიც კი ახალგაზრდა ქალები და კაცები თანაბრად არიან წარმოდგენილნი. ამან სავარაუდოდ გავლენა მოახდინა გენდერულ შეხედულებებზე იმ საკითხთან დაკავშირებით, აქვთ თუ არა ბიჭებს უფრო მეტი უფლება მიიღონ უმაღლესი განათლება. უმრავლესობა არ დაეთანხმა ზემოთ აღნიშნულ მოსაზრებას, რაც ნიშნავს, რომ ახალგაზრდების დიდი ნაწილისათვის განათლება თანაბრად მნიშვნელოვანია ორივე სქესისთვის. თუმცა, უფრო დეტალური ანალიზი აჩვენებს, რომ ეს ტენდენცია უფრო მეტად ქალების შეხედულებების ხარჯზე ჩამოყალიბდა. მაშინ, როცა ქალების უმრავლესობა არ ეთანხმება განათლებაზე არათანაბარ უფლებებს, ახალგაზრდა კაცების მნიშვნელოვანი ნაწილი მიიჩნევს, რომ ბიჭებს უფრო მეტი უფლება უნდა ჰქონდეთ მიიღონ უმაღლესი განათლება. ამ შემთხვევაში, მათი საკუთარი **გენდერი** იქცა ტრადიციული აზროვნების განმაპირობებელ ფაქტორად. გარდა ამისა, **დასაქმების სტატუსი** (როგორც დამოუკიდებელი ცვლადი), ასევე განსაზღვრავს ამ საკითხისადმი დამოკიდებულებას. კერძოდ, მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ დასაქმებული ახალგაზრდების უმრავლესობა ემხრობა ზემოთ აღნიშნულ მოსაზრებას, დაუსაქმებელი ახალგაზრდობა თანასწორობის მომხრეა. ეს აღმოჩენა ეწინააღმდეგება მოსაზრებას, რომ დასაქმება კარგი პრედიქტორია ლიბერალური გენდერული შეხედულებებისთვის (Plutzer 1988; Wilson and Smith 1995; Dugger 1991; Mason et al. 1976; Herring and Rose 1993; Mason and Lu 1988; Tallichet and Willits 1986; Thornton et al. 1983; Wilson and Smith 1995). თუმცა უნდა აღინიშნოს, რომ სამეცნიერო ნაშრომებს შორის ეს შეუსაბამობა შესაძლოა აიხსნას უმუშევრობის კონტექსტითა და მძიმე ეკონომიკური მდგომარეობით, როდესაც ოჯახის ნებისმიერი წევრის ნებისმიერი ტიპის სამუშაო გადამწყვეტი მნიშვნელობისაა.

რაც შეეხება **დასაქმებას როგორც დამოკიდებულ ცვლადს**, აქ საქმე სხვაგვარადაა. მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ უმუშევარი ახალგაზრდობის რიცხვი საკმაოდ მაღალია, მაინც შესამჩნევია მნიშვნელოვანი გენდერული განსხვავებები. როდესაც

განვიხილევთ ქალების უმუშევრობის ტიპების განმსაზღვრელი ფაქტორები, გაირკვა, რომ **რელიგია** ერთ-ერთი მთავარი ფაქტორია. რელიგიასთან დაკავშირებულ ცვლადებს შორის, რელიგიურ ცერემონიებზე დასწრება მნიშვნელოვანი ცვლადი იყო 2010 წელს. 2011 წელს კი დაფიქსირდა, რომ ქალების მთავარი აქტივობის ტიპი (სტუდენტი, დიასახლისი, უმუშევარი, თვითდასაქმებული, დასაქმებული) აიხსნებოდა დასახლების ტიპით, განათლებითა და რელიგიით – რელიგიის მნიშვნელობით ყოველდღიურ ცხოვრებაში. კერძოდ, აღმოჩნდა, რომ დედაქალაქში ცხოვრება ხშირად განსაზღვრავდა ახალგაზრდა ქალების არჩევანს განათლებასთან დაკავშირებით; უმუშევარი ქალების უმეტესობა შეინიშნება ურბანულ დასახლებაში, ხოლო დიასახლისის პოზიცია უფრო ხშირია სოფლის ტიპის დასახლებებში. აგრეთვე, საინტერესო აღმოჩენაა, რომ იმ ქალების უმეტესობა, რომელსაც არ აქვს განათლება ან აქვს დაწყებითი და საშუალო განათლება, დიასახლისია. ეს შედეგები ასახავს CEDAW-ს (ქალების მიმართ დისკრიმინაციის აღმოფხვრის კომიტეტი) კომიტეტისთვის 2006 წელს წარდგენილი ჩრდილოვანი ანგარიშის მიგნებებს. ანგარიშის თანახმად, გოგონები, რომლებიც ადრეულ ასაკში ქორწინდებიან, ვერ ასრულებენ განათლებას. ანგარიშში ასევე აღნიშნული იყო, რომ სოფლის ტიპის დასახლებებში აღინიშნებოდა იძულებითი ქორწინების შემთხვევებიც. ეს ასევე ხსნის სოფლად დიასახლისების დიდ რაოდენობას, მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ აღნიშნული შედეგები 2006 წლის მონაცემებს ეყრდნობა, ხოლო ჩვენი კვლევის შედეგები 2010 წელს არის მიღებული, მაინც მნიშვნელოვანია ზემოთ აღნიშნულ კვლევაში გამოვლენილი ტენდენციების მიზეზების ძიება. ეს განსაკუთრებით აზრს იძენს იმის გათვალისწინებით, რომ 1996 წლის შემდეგ არსებული ტრენდი გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებთან დაკავშირებით არ შეცვლილია. პირიქით, განათლების მესამე საფეხურის მქონე ქალების უმეტესობა უმუშევარია. თუ გავითვალისწინებთ საქართველოში უმუშევრობის დონეს და სამიზნე ჯგუფის ასაკს, ეს ყველაფერი ლოგიკურად აიხსნება.

გამოვლინდა დიასახლისებზე **რელიგიის** გავლენის საინტერესო ტენდენცია. ისინი, ვინც რელიგიას არ მიიჩნევს მნიშვნელოვან ან ძალიან მნიშვნელოვან ფაქტორად თავიანთ ცხოვრებაში, ძირითადად, დიასახლისები არიან. ამის საპირისპიროდ, მიჩნეულია, რომ დაუსაქმებელი ქალის ყოველდღიურ ცხოვრებაში რელიგიას მნიშვნელოვანი როლი აქვს. ლიტერატურის მიმოხილვა გვთავაზობს, რომ, ზოგადად, რელიგია დაკავშირებულია გენდერულ შეხედულებებსა და დამოკიდებულებებთან. თუმცა, სამეცნიერო ნაშრომების დიდი ნაწილი კონცენტრირებულია რელიგიურობას, ადამიანის გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებსა და სექსუალურ ქცევას შორის კორელაციის დადგენაზე (Odimegwu 2005; Thornton and Camburn 1989; Brinkerhoff and MacKie 1985). შესაბამისად, ვინაიდან, დასაქმების საკითხებთან დაკავშირებული შეხედულებები არ წარმოადგენს გენდერული სტერეოტიპების რადიკალურ გამოვლინებას, განსაკუთრებით უმუშევრობის მაღალი დონისა და სამიზნე ჯგუფის ასაკის გათვალისწინებით, გასაკვირი არაა, რომ რელიგიასა და მოცემულ დამოკიდებულ ცვლადს შორის არ არის იგივე კორელაცია, როგორსაც ამას ლიტერატურა გვთავაზობს.

კვლევის შედეგები, ასევე ემთხვევა გენდერული შეხედულებებს ამ საკითხის გარშემო. კერძოდ, ახალგაზრდობის უმეტესობას მიაჩნია, რომ როდესაც სამუშაო ადგილები მწირია, კაცებს დასაქმების უფრო მეტი შესაძლებლობები უნდა ჰქონდეთ. **გენდერი** მთავარი განმაპირობებელი ფაქტორია ამ ტენდენციის ასახსნელად. მაშინ როცა, კაცების უმეტესობა სრულად იზიარებს აზრს, რომ მათ უფრო მეტი უფლება აქვთ იმუშაონ, ქალების უმრავლესობა არ ეთანხმება ამ მოსაზრებას და მიაჩნია, რომ ორივე სქესის წარმომადგენლებს თანაბარი უფლებები უნდა ჰქონდეთ ამ საკითხში. მონაცემთა ანალიზმა აჩვენა, რომ როდესაც ვიკვლევთ გენდერულ შეხედულებებს განათლებისა და დასაქმების შესახებ, სხვადასხვა გავლენის მქონე ფაქტორებს შორის, გენდერი კვლავაც ძლიერი განმსაზღვრელი ფაქტორია. პრინციპში, ამ საკითხთან მიმართებაში ქალებს უფრო ლიბერალური შეხედულებები აქვთ, ვიდრე

კაცებს. ამის მსგავსად, ანალიზმა ასევე აჩვენა, რომ ქალები კაცებზე ოდნავ უფრო ლიბერალურები არიან ისეთი საკითხის განხილვისას, როგორცაა *ბავშვის სასურველი სქესი*. მაშინ, როდესაც კაცების დიდი ნაწილი ბიჭის ყოლას ამჯობინებს, ქალების უმრავლესობისთვის მომავალი შვილის სქესს არ აქვს მნიშვნელობა. და ბოლოს, ისინი, ვინც განსაკუთრებით ამჯობინებენ ქალიშვილის ყოლას, უმცირესობაში არიან ორივე გენდერულ ჯგუფში. როგორც ვხედავთ, ამ შემთხვევაშიც ამ სიტუაციის ყველაზე გონივრული ახსნა კვლავაც რესპონდენტების გენდერია.

ოჯახში გენდერული როლების ანალიზისას, კვლევის შედეგები აჩვენებს, რომ როგორც კაცების, ასევე ქალების უმრავლესობა ეთანხმება იმ მოსაზრებას, რომ კაცს გააჩნია ყველაზე მნიშვნელოვანი როლი ოჯახში. გენდერული ასიმეტრიის ინდექსის თანახმად, ხდება კაცების (ე.ი. „ქმრების“) აზრის გათვალისწინება ქალის შრომასთან მიმართებაში (ბადურაშვილი და სხვები, 2009), რაც გულისხმობს, რომ გადანყვეტილების მიღება ექსკლუზიურად კაცის როლია. გენდერული ჯგუფების შედარებისას ვლინდება, რომ ქალები უფრო მეტად ანიჭებენ უპირატესობას თანასწორობას გადანყვეტილების მიღებისას, ვიდრე კაცები, თუმცა არც ერთი ჯგუფის წევრები არ ანიჭებენ უპირატესობას ქალებს გადანყვეტილების მიღების პროცესში. ასევე, მნიშვნელოვანია აღინიშნოს, რომ მიუხედავად ორივე გენდერულ ჯგუფში არსებული ერთსულოვანი გენდერული დამოკიდებულებებისა, ქალების ჯგუფში უფრო ნაკლებად შეინიშნებოდა გენდერულად მოტივირებული შეხედულებები, ვიდრე მამაკაცების შემთხვევაში. ეს შედეგები სრულად ასახავს რეალობას. 2009 წლის გენდერისა და თაობის ტალღა 2 ანგარიში (ბადურაშვილი და სხვები, 2009) გვთავაზობს ნათელ სურათს, თუ როგორაა გადანაწილებული ოჯახში გენდერული როლები საქართველოში. ამ კვლევამ აჩვენა, რომ კაცების 25% სრულად არის პასუხისმგებელი ფინანსური რესურსების განაწილებაზე, ხოლო ქალები მამაკაცი პარტნიორებისგან იღებენ ფინანსურ შემწეობას. ეს შედეგები, ასევე ემთხვევა საქა-

რთველოში ქალთა მიმართ ოჯახში ძალადობის საკითხების ეროვნული კვლევის მიგნებებს (ჩიტაშვილი და სხვ. 2010). ეს წინა თავებში აღინიშნა, ამ გამოკითხვის შედეგად გამოვლინდა, რომ, ქალების უმეტესობის აზრით, კარგი ცოლი უნდა ემორჩილებოდეს ქმარს, მაშინაც კი, თუ მის გადაწყვეტილებებს არ ეთანხმება; ხოლო 45% მიაჩნდა, რომ კაცმა აშკარად უნდა დაანახოს ცოლს/პარტნიორს, რომ ის არის ოჯახის თავი.

კიდევ ერთი მნიშვნელოვანი განმსაზღვრელი ფაქტორია **დასახლების ტიპი**. სოფლად მცხოვრები ახალგაზრდები უფრო მეტად ავლენდნენ გენდერულ შეხედულებებს ოჯახში გენდერული როლების შესახებ. ეს მიგნება ეთანხმება სხვადასხვა კვლევის შედეგებს (LaFont 2010), რომელის თანახმადაც, ისეთ გარემოში, რომელიც თანამედროვე ტექნოლოგიებს, ინფორმაციას და საერთაშორისო იდეებს გვთავაზობს, ახალგაზრდები უფრო მეტად აფასებენ გენდერულ თანასწორობას, ვიდრე, ისინი, რომლებიც უფრო იზოლირებულ ადგილებში ცხოვრობენ. ეს უკანასკნელი კი, როგორც წესი, ეხება სოფლის ტიპის და, ზოგ შემთხვევაში, ურბანულ დასახლებებსაც, განსაკუთრებით კი განვითარებად ქვეყნებში.

იგივე შეიძლება ითქვას გენდერულ როლებზე სოციალურ და პოლიტიკურ ცხოვრებაში. როგორ მონაცემთა ანალიზი ცხადყოფს, წინა წლებში ისეთი მენეჯერული პოზიციები, როგორებიცაა პოლიტიკური ლიდერი ან აღმასრულებელი ლიდერი, ექსკლუზიურად მამაკაცისთვის შესაფერის პოზიციად იყო აღქმული. იგივე ტენდენცია იკვეთება წლების განმავლობაში. 2011 წელსაც კი, როდესაც ახალგაზრდებს ეკითხებოდნენ ხმის მიცემის დროს გენდერული პრეფერენციების შესახებ, უმრავლესობა მამაკაცს ირჩევდა. ეს გასაკვირი არაა, რადგან პრაქტიკაშიც იგივე მტკიცდება. ქალების პასიურობა პოლიტიკურ ცხოვრებაში, ცხადია, საქართველოს აღმასრულებელ და საკანონმდებლო ორგანოების მაგალითზე, რომლებიც უმეტესწილად კაცებისგან არის დაკომპლექტებული (ბაგრატია 2012).

კვლევის შედეგებმა ქალების პირადი ცხოვრებისა და სექსუალური თავისუფლების შესახებ ცხადყო **განათლების** მნიშვნელობა ქალების სექსუალური ცხოვრების შესახებ ლიბერალური შეხედულებების ფორმირების საკითხში. რაც უფრო მეტად იყო განათლებული რესპონდენტი, მით უფრო ნაკლებ ჰქონდა მას გენდერულად მოტივირებული მოსაზრება. კიდევ ერთი მნიშვნელოვანი დეტერმინანტია **დასახლების ტიპი**. დედაქალაქსა და ურბანულ დასახლებებში მცხოვრები ახალგაზრდები უფრო ნაკლებად ავლენდნენ გენდერულად მოტივირებულ შეხედულებებს ოჯახში გენდერული როლებისა და ქალების პირადი ცხოვრების შესახებ. სოფლებში ნაკლებად უჭერდნენ მხარს ტრადიციული იმიჯისა და სტერეოტიპებისგან განსხვავებულ შეხედულებებს ქალთა პირადი ცხოვრების შესახებ. ეს აღმოჩენა შეესაბამება ამ საკითხზე ჩატარებულ ადრეულ კვლევებს, რომლებშიც განათლება და დასახლების ტიპი (დედაქალაქი და ურბანული ტერიტორიები) გავლენას ახდენდა ახალგაზრდების განსხვავებულ იდეებსა და ცოდნაზე (Odimegwu 2005). ეს აყალიბებს კონკრეტულ საკითხებზე კონკრეტული მიმართულებების შეხედულებებს. მაგალითად, ნამიბიაში ჩატარებული ახალგაზრდების შესახებ ერთ-ერთი კვლევის თანახმად, პრივილეგირებულ ურბანულ გარემოში ცხოვრება გავლენას ახდენს გენდერული თანასწორობისა და სექსუალური უფლებების შესახებ შეხედულებების ფორმირებაზე ნამიბიაში (LaFont 2010).

თავი 3

ოჯახში გენდერული როლების გადანაწილება

შესავალი

აღნიშნული თავი ოჯახში გენდერული როლებისა და მოვალეობების გადანაწილებას ეხება. საქართველოს სამ ქალაქში (თბილისი, თელავი, ზუგდიდი) ჩატარებული ფოკუს-ჯგუფების მონაწილე ახალგაზრდებმა საკუთარი მოსაზრებები, შეხედულებები და დამოკიდებულებები გადმოგვცეს ოჯახში მამაკაცებისა და ქალების როლების, მოვალეობებისა და სასურველი ვალდებულებების შესახებ. დისკუსია როგორც საქართველოში არსებული ოჯახების მოდელისა და დამკვიდრებული პრაქტიკის, ისე მონაწილეებისთვის სასურველი ოჯახური მოდელის გარშემო მიმდინარეობდა.

სხვადასხვა კვლევა აჩვენებს, რომ ოჯახის შიგნით წევრების სტატუსი იმ აქტივობებისა და ვალდებულებების განმსაზღვრელია, რომლებსაც ოჯახის წევრები ითავსებენ და ერთმანეთში ინაწილებენ. უმეტეს შემთხვევაში, ოჯახში მამაკაცები გადანაწილების მიმდებარე და ოჯახის ძირითად შემომტანად მიიჩნევიან. მაშინ, როდესაც ქალების მთავარ ვალდებულებად ოჯახის მოვლა, სახლის საქმეები და ბავშვების აღზრდა მიიჩნევა. მაშინაც კი, როდესაც ქალები ანაზღაურებულ სამსახურში ერთვებიან, მათი საოჯახო მოვალეობები და დატვირთვა კი არ მცირდება, არამედ ქალები იძულებულნი ხდებიან სამსახურთან ერთად საოჯახო და რეპროდუქციული როლიც შეიტავსონ რასაც ქალები „ორმაგ დატვირთვამდე“ (double burden) მიყავს.

თუმცა თანამედროვე კვლევები ოჯახში როლების გადანაწილების მხრივ სიტუაციის გაუმჯობესების ტენდენციასაც აჩვენებს. როგორც აღმოჩნდა ასე თუ ისე იზრდება იმ მამაკაცთა რიცხვი, რომლებიც სრულიად იზიარებენ საოჯახო და ბავშვის მოვლასთან დაკავშირებულ მოვალეობებს.²³ მაგ-

23 “Evolving Men? Men, Families, Gender Equality and Care“, <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/family/docs/Barker.pdf> (07.10.2014)

ალითად, ზოგიერთ განვითარებად ქვეყანაში (ჩილე, მექსიკა, ბრაზილია, რუანდა, ინდოეთი და ა.შ.) უმაღლესი განათლების მქონე მამაკაცები უფრო აქტიურად ერთვებიან საშინაო საქმეებში, ვიდრე ისინი, ვისაც საშუალო ან დაწყებითი სკოლის განათლება აქვს; ახალგაზრდა მამაკაცები ასაკოვან მამაკაცებთან შედარებით, მეტად ინანილებენ ოჯახის საქმეებს; აგრეთვე, ის მამაკაცები, რომელთა ოჯახებშიც მამები დედებს ეხმარებოდნენ, მიიჩნევენ, რომ მამაკაცი თანაბრად უნდა ერთვებოდეს ოჯახის საქმეების შესრულებაში.²⁴ რა მდგომარეობაა ამ მხრივ საქართველოში კარგად ჩანს ბოლო 2 წლის მანძილზე ჩატარებული საზოგადოებრივი გამოკითხვების შედეგად.

მაგალითად 2013 წელს UNDP-ის მიერ გაეროს ერთობლივი პროგრამის „გენდერული თანასწორობის ხელშეწყობისთვის საქართველოში“ ფარგლებში მომზადებული ანგარიში ცხადყოფს, რომ საქართველოში სახლში არსებული საქმე, რომელიც ოჯახის წევრების მოვლას (საჭმლის მომზადება, ოჯახის ავადმყოფი წევრის მოვლა, ბავშვის მოვლა და ა.შ.) და სახლის მონესრიგებას უკავშირდება (სახლის დალაგება, სარეცხის გარეცხვა/გაფენა და ა.შ.). უფრო მეტიც, ქართული საზოგადოებისთვის ქალისა და მამაკაცის მოვალეობები ერთმანეთისგან მკვეთრად გამიჯნულია და საოჯახო საქმეები ორ განსხვავებულ კატეგორიად აღიქმება – „კაცური“ და „ქალური“ საქმეების კატეგორიად (კაჭკაჭიშვილი, 2014).

ძირითადი მიგნებები და დასკვნები

წინამდებარე თავში დადასტურდა ჩვენი ჰიპოთეზა, რომ როგორც ახალგაზრდა კაცები, ასევე ქალები საკუთარ მდგომარეობას პატრიარქალურ ქრილში განიხილავენ. უფრო მეტიც, ძალიან ცოტა მათგანი თუ აყენებს კითხვის ნიშნის ქვეშ იმ კულტურულ მოდელებს, რომლებიც მათ გენდერულ წარმოდგენებს განაპირობებს. ეს მიგნებები ადასტურებს

24 “Evolving Men? Men, Families, Gender Equality and Care“, <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/family/docs/Barker.pdf> (07.10.2014)

ოჯახის შიგნით შრომის მკაცრ განაწილებას, როდესაც კაცი გადანყვეტილების მიმღები და ოჯახის მარჩენალია, ხოლო ქალი ძირითადი მოვალეობა ოჯახის წევრებზე ზრუნვა და ოჯახური საქმეების გაძღოლაა.

ფოკუსჯგუფის მონაწილეებმა განაცალკევეს ტრადიციული და თანამედროვე ოჯახები. მათ მიერ აღწერილი ტრადიციული ოჯახი, პრინციპში, პატრიარქალური ოჯახია, სადაც ოჯახის თავი არის კაცი, რომელსაც უფრო მეტი უფლებები და ძალაუფლება აქვს, ვიდრე სხვა წევრებს და სადაც არსებობს ოჯახში შრომის გენდერული გადანაწილება. მხოლოდ რამდენიმე ქალმა რესპონდენტმა აღნიშნა, რომ ასეთი ოჯახი პატრიარქალურია და კრიტიკული კომენტარიც გააკეთა პატრიარქალური სოციალური მოწყობის შესახებ. მეორე მხრივ, ჩვენი რესპონდენტების მიერ აღწერილ თანამედროვე ოჯახში არსებობს გენდერული თანასწორობა და, შესაბამისად, ოჯახის წევრებზე თანაბრად არის გადანაწილებული როლები და მოვალეობები. ბევრი რესპონდენტი ტრადიციულ ოჯახში მოიაზრებდა „ქართულ ოჯახს“, ხოლო თანამედროვე ოჯახში – „არაქართულ ოჯახს“. აქედან გამომდინარე, პატრიარქალური ოჯახი აღიქმება ჭეშმარიტ ქართულ ოჯახად, რომელიც უნდა დავიცვათ თანამედროვე ღირებულებების გავლენისგან. ამ მიდგომის ახსნა შესაძლებელია ჩატერჯეს (1989) თეორიით, რომლის თანახმადაც, კონსერვატიული პოზიციები ტრადიციას ეყრდნობა, რომელიც უნდა დაიცვა თანამედროვე, გლობალური კულტურის დეგენერაციისგან.

რესპონდენტების დამოკიდებულებები ოჯახში ქალებისა და კაცების მოვალეობის შესახებ მეტწილად ყალიბდება მათი შეხედულებებით გენდერულ როლებთან დაკავშირებით. ფოკუსჯგუფის მონაწილეების წარმოდგენა ოჯახში სამუშაოს გენდერული ნიშნით განაწილების შესახებ, აიხსნება გენდერული როლებისადმი დამოკიდებულებების მიდგომით. აღნიშნული მიდგომა ადამიანების გენდერულ დამოკიდებულებებს ოჯახში შრომის განაწილებასთან აკავშირებს და ამტკიცებს, რომ უფრო ეგალიტარიანული ღირებულებების მქონე ადამი-

ანები მეტად იქნებიან ოჯახში შრომის თანაბარი განაწილების მომხრენი (Presser, 1994). კვლევის შედეგების თანახმად, სახლში შრომის გენდერული განაწილება დამოკიდებულია რესპონდენტების მიერ მასკულიზაციისა და ფემინურობის აღქმაზე. მაგალითად, ფოკუს-ჯგუფის მონაწილეთა მიხედვით, კაცის მოვალეობა ოჯახის რჩენა, და ნაკლები ჩართულობა საოჯახო საქმეებში. შესაბამისად, ის კაცები, რომლებიც ვერ აკმაყოფილებენ კაცის როლის მოთხოვნებს გაბატონებულ მნიშვნელობით, და ასრულებენ „ქალურ საქმეს“, საფრთხეს უქმნიან მათ მასკულიზაციას და მამაკაცობას. ვინაიდან ოჯახის რჩება კაცის მოვალეობაა, დასაქმება მამაკაცურობის მთავარი დეტერმინანტი ხდება. მაშინ, როცა ქალისთვის დასაქმება არჩევანია. თუ ქმარი უმუშევარია და, შესაბამისად, ვერ ასრულებს იმ მოთხოვნას, რაც მისი გენდერული როლითაა განპირობებული – ეს ოჯახში ძლიერი დაძაბულობის მიზეზი ხდება. კვლევაში ჩანს, იმის და მიუხედავად, რომ ზოგიერთი მონაწილე დომინანტური გენდერული როლების ნეგატიურ ასპექტებს ამჩნევს, რომლებიც კაცებსა და ქალებს კონკრეტულ მოლოდინსა და მოვალეობებს აკისრებს, უმეტესობა თავს იკავებს კითხვის ნიშნის ქვეშ დააყენონ ეს დისკრიმინაციული გენდერული პრაქტიკა; ნაცვლად ამისა, ისინი წუნუნებენ სხვადასხვა გარემოებაზე, როგორცაა უმუშევრობა, რაც ხელს უშლის გამყარებული გენდერული როლების შეუფერხებლად შესრულებას. ქალი აღიქმება საოჯახო საქმეების უპირველეს შემსრულებლად. ეს გენდერული წარმოდგენები, რომლებიც ქალებსა და კაცებს განსხვავებულ მოვალეობებს და როლებს აკისრებს, გამოიყენება იერარქიული გენდერული წყობის გასამყარებლად და გასამართლებლად ოჯახში და მის მიღმა.

კვლევის შედეგებმა ცხადყო, რომ კაცების დამოკიდებულება ოჯახში გენდერული როლებისა და მოვალეობების მიმართ განსხვავდებოდა იმის მიხედვით, თუ რა იყო განხილვის საგანი – მათი ოჯახი თუ სხვისი. როდესაც საქმე „სხვის ოჯახს“ ეხებოდა, მამაკაცი რესპონდენტები უფრო მეტ მოქნილობასა და ღია დამოკიდებულებას ამჟღავნებდნენ ქალებისა და კაცების

მოვალეობებისა თუ როლების მიმართ, მაგრამ როცა საქმე მათ საკუთარ ოჯახს ეხებოდა, მათი შეხედულებები ძლიერ გენდერულ წარმოდგენებს ემყარებოდა.

ჩატერჯეს (1989) თეორიული ჩარჩის მიხედვით, ნაციონალიზმი არ მოიცავს მხოლოდ და მხოლოდ პოლიტიკურ ბრძოლას ძალაუფლებისთვის, არამედ – დომინანტობას ადამიანის მატერიალური და სულიერი ცხოვრების ვირტუალურად ყველა ასპექტზე. ჩატერჯე (1989) განიხილავს სახლს (შინამეურნეობა, ოჯახი) როგორც სოციალური მოწყობის შიდა ნაწილს, რომელიც განასახიერებს სულიერ კულტურას, რომელიც თავის მხრივ ფემინური ბუნებით ხასიათდება. შესაბამისად, სახლის ფემინიზაცია მთავარი ინსტრუმენტია გენდერული წყობისა და მამაკაცური დომინანტობის შესანარჩუნებლად. ქალები მთავარი აქტორები არიან, რომლებიც ინარჩუნებენ და ხელახლა ქმნიან „კაცის სამყაროს“ სახელად ერი. ამ მიზეზით ქალების ემანსიპაცია და დამყარებული იერარქიული გენდერული როლების გამოწვევა საფრთხეს უქმნის ერის გენდერულ მოწყობას, რომელიც მშვენივრადაა მორგებული მამაკაცის ინტერესებზე.

თავი 4

ქალების დასაქმება, პროფესიული განვითარება და პოლიტიკური მონაწილეობა

შესავალი

არაერთი კვლევა ადასტურებს იმას, რომ დასაქმების ბაზრის გენდერული ასპექტები მეტად აქტუალური და პრობლემური საკითხია. ქალთა გაძლიერება და შრომით ბაზარზე მათი ჩართულობის გაზრდა მნიშვნელოვანია განვითარებული ეკონომიკის ფორმირებისთვის, ქვეყნების მდგრადი განვითარებისა და, ასევე ქალების, კაცების, ოჯახებისა თუ თემების ცხოვრების ხარისხის გაუმჯობესებისთვის.²⁵ ათასწლეულის განვითარების პროგრამა ქალებისა და გოგონების ეკონომიკურ გაძლიერებას, სიღარიბესთან ბრძოლის რეალურ საშუალებად და მსოფლიო კეთილდღეობის „გასაღებად“ ხედავს.²⁶

შესაბამისად, აღნიშნული თავი კვლევის მონაწილეთა მოსაზრებებსა და დამოკიდებულებებს მოიცავს საქართველოში ქალების ეკონომიკური და პოლიტიკური ჩართულობის შესახებ.

ძირითადი მიგნებები და დასკვნები

აღნიშნულ თავში ფოკუსჯგუფის რესპონდენტებმა ორ მნიშვნელოვან საკითხზე იმსჯელეს. პირველი ეხებოდა ქალების დასაქმებას და მასთან დაკავშირებულ ისეთ თემებს, როგორებიცაა პროფესიული არჩევანის თავისუფლება და პროფესიული დანინაურების/განვითარების შესაძლებლობები. მეორე მხრივ, კვლევის რესპონდენტებმა ქალთა პოლიტიკური მონაწილეობის და წარმომადგენლობის საკითხი განიხილეს. დისკუსიის ორივე ნაწილში მონაწილეები, მეტწილად, კონცენტრირებული

25 <http://www.unwomen.org/en/partnerships/businesses-and-foundations/womens-empowerment-principles>

26 <http://www.worldbank.org/mdgs/gender.html#>

იყვნენ ქართულ სოციალურ და კულტურულ კონტექსტზე. უნდა ითქვას, რომ ზევით ხსენებულ ორ თემასთან მიმართებაში, რესპონდენტების მოსაზრებებს შორის მნიშვნელოვანი განსხვავება არ აღნიშნულა, არც ფოკუს-ჯგუფის ჩატარების ადგილისა (თბილისი, ზუგდიდი, თელავი) და არც მონაწილეთა ასაკობრივი კატეგორიის მიხედვით (16-19, 20-25). რაც შეეხება გენდერის ნიშნით განსხვავებულ პოზიციებს, შეიძლება ითქვას, რომ კვლევის მონაწილე ახალგაზრდა ქალების გარკვეული რაოდენობა, კაცებთან შედარებით, უფრო თავისუფალია გენდერული სტერეოტიპებისგან ქალების დასაქმებასა და პოლიტიკაში ჩართულობასთან დაკავშირებით. ასევე, ის უკეთ ახდენს ქალების მიმართ დისკრიმინაციული პრაქტიკის იდენტიფიცირებას.

კვლევის შედეგებმა ცხადყო, რომ საჯარო სფერო კვალავაც კაცებითაა დომინირებული. მაგალითად, რესპონდენტებს მიაჩნდათ, რომ სამსახური ქალისთვის მხოლოდ არჩევანს წარმოადგენდა მაშინ, როცა კაცისთვის, ეს მოვალეობაა. ქალის მალალმა ჩართულობამ საზოგადოებრივ ცხოვრებაში შესაძლოა, ბიძგი მისცეს მათ ემანსიპაციას და გაათავისუფლოს ისინი ოჯახური კონტროლის მარწმუნებისგან. სახლი არის სფერო, სადაც კაცებს შეუძლიათ საკუთარი პატრიარქალური ძალაუფლება ხელშეუხებლად შეინარჩუნონ. მაშინ, როცა საჯარო სფერო საჯარო კანონით რეგულირდება, რომელიც თავისი არსით პროგენდერულად ეგალიტარიანული უნდა იყოს (Chatterjee, 1989). რესპონდენტები ავლენდნენ მთელ რიგ გენდერულ წარმოდგენებს მამაკაცური დომინანტობისა და საზოგადოებრივ სფეროში ქალთა ნაკლები ჩართულობის ასახვებად. თუ უმუშევრობა საფრთხეს უქმნის კაცის მასკულინობას მისი მამაკაცური მოვალეობის შეფერხებით, ქალების შემთხვევაში, პირიქითაა, მათი გენდერული როლის შესრულებისთვის საფრთხის შემცველი მუშაობაა, რომელიც მათ ოჯახური საქმეებიდან წყვეტს.

იმ მიზეზთა შორის, რომლებიც ბიძგს აძლევენ ქალის პროფესიულ განვითარებას, ზოგიერთი რესპონდენტი ასახელებს

ქალის გენდერულ მოვალეობას, როგორცაა ოჯახის წევრებზე ზრუნვა, ბავშვების აღზრდა, საოჯახო საქმეების გაძღოლა, რაც ქალის პირველად მოვალეობადაა აღქმული. აქედან გამომდინარე, ქალობა უთანაბრდება კერძო სფეროს, რადგან ჩვენი რესპონდენტების თანახმად, ქალი იმის მიხედვით ფასდება, როგორი ოჯახი ჰყავს და არა მისი კარიერის მიხედვით. იმის მიზეზად, რომ ქალებისთვის დამქანცველია პოლიტიკაში ჩართულობა, რესპონდენტები ასახელებენ *გენდერულ წარმოდგენებს*, რომლებიც ზღუდავენ ქალს მხოლოდ კერძო სფეროთი და მის უპირველეს მოვალეობად ბავშვების აღზრდას მოიაზრებენ.

ქალების ემანსიპაციისთან დაკავშირებული ქოჭმანი და შესაბამისი გენდერული წარმოდგენები კონელის (2005) მოსაზრებით შეიძლება აიხსნას, რომლის თანახმადაც ტრადიციულ საზოგადოებაში, სადაც მამაკაცს მოეთხოვება იყოს ოჯახის მთავარი მარჩენალი, სოციალურ-ეკონომიკური უთანასწორობა აფერხებს კაცების შესაძლებლობებს არ უღალატონ საზოგადოების მოლოდინებს. ეს შეუსაბამობა რეალობასა და მოლოდინებს შორის ეჭვ ქვეშ აყენებს მათ მასკულინობას. ქართული პატრიარქალური სისტემა აერთიანებს იძულებით ძალაუფლებასა და საღი აზრის ძალას. დომინანტური გენდერული წყობის განმტკიცება გავრცელებული *გენდერული წარმოდგენებით* ხდება, რაც, თავის მხრივ, ამართლებს მჩაგვრელ გენდერულ როლებს, რომლებიც ქალებს მხოლოდ ვინრო, კერძო სფეროში აქცევენ.

თავი 5

ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულება სექსუალობის მიმართ

შესავალი

წინამდებარე თავი მიმოიხილავს ფოკუს-ჯგუფის მონაწილეების დამოკიდებულებებს ქალის სექსუალობის მიმართ და მათ გენდერულ წარმოდგენებს, რომლებიც თავად რესპოდენტების მიერ იქნა გაჟღერებული შემზღუდავი გენდერული ნორმების გასამართლებლად ქალის არჩევანთან დაკავშირებით. სოციალურ მეცნიერებებში არსებობს ორი მთავარი პრიზმა, რომლითაც შეიძლება სექსუალობის შესწავლა: სექსუალობის სოციოლოგია და გენდერის კვლევები (ზედანი 2012). ჩვენ ორივე მათგანს ვიყენებთ სექსუალობის მიმართ ქართველი ახალგაზრდების დამოკიდებულებების სხვადასხვა განზომილების შესასწავლად. წინამდებარე თავი მოიცავს დამოკიდებულებებს ქალების სექსუალობის, ქორწინებამდე სექსის, სექსუალური ურთიერთობებისა და დედობის მიმართ. და ბოლოს, ჩვენ ვიკვლევთ გზებს, რომლებითაც არტიკულირებენ და ასაბუთებენ ახალგაზრდები დამოკიდებულებებს ქალის სექსუალობის მიმართ.

მთავარი მიგნებები და დასკვნა

კაცები სხვადასხვა საშუალებით ცდილობენ პატრიარქალური სოციალური წესრიგისა და გენდერული წყობის შენარჩუნებას. აღნიშნული თავი ხაზს უსვამს იმ საშუალებებს, სადაც ქალების ავტონომია მნიშვნელოვნად არის შეზღუდული მათი გენდერისა და სექსუალობისთვის თავსმოხვეული წინააღობების გამო. კვლევის შედეგები ასახავს ქალების კონსტრუირებას და ქალის სექსუალობის რეგულირებისა და მართვის მცდელობებს მათი „არასწორი გზისგან“ დაცვის მიზნით. ფოკუს-ჯგუფის მონაწილეების აზრით, ქალების მოკრძალებულობის დაკარგვა და მათი სექსუალურ თავისუფლებაში ჩართვა საფრთხეს

უქმნის ქართულ ტრადიციებსა და კულტურას. გენდერული წარმოდგენები, რომლებსაც ჩვენი კვლევის მონაწილეები იყენებენ, ხელს უშლის ქალების სექსუალურ ავტონომიას და ამყარებს სექსუალურ შეზღუდვებს. ამ თავში ჩვენ ვაკვირდებით თანამედროვე/გლობალური და ტრადიციულ/ადგილობრივი გენდერული რწმენებს – დიქოტომიას. ქალების სექსუალობაზე დაკვირვების დისკრიმინაციული პრაქტიკა ხელს უწყობს ქალების შევიწროებას. ქალების სექსუალობის კონტროლის რაციონალიზაცია და გამართლება ხშირად გენდერული წარმოდგენების საშუალებით ხდება, რაც, თავის მხრივ, წარმოადგენს ტრადიციული თუ ადგილობრივი კულტურის საფრთხესთან გამკლავების საშუალებას (იხ. „გენდერის მონაცემები“) (Narayan, 1997).

ქალების სექსუალობის მიმართ რესპონდენტების დამოკიდებულება შეიძლება სექსის თანამედროვე გამოყენების ბაუმანისეული 1998 აღწერით აიხსნას. ფოკუსჯგუფის რესპონდენტებს აქვთ მიდრეკილება ეროტიულობა რეპროდუქციულ ფუნქციებს ან სიყვარულს დაუკავშირონ და სრულიად გამორიცხავენ ქალის სურვილს. შესაბამისად, რესპონდენტები ასკვნიან, რომ ქალისთვის მიუღებელია ჰქონდეს ურთიერთობა სურვილის გამო. სიამოვნების ცნება და სექსის პოსტმოდერნული გამოყენება არ ფიგურირებს ქართველი რესპონდენტების ქალების სექსუალობასთან დაკავშირებულ დისკურსში. მაშინ, როცა კაცებს აქვთ უფლება ჰქონდეს სექსუალური აქტი მხოლოდ და მხოლოდ სიამოვნებისთვის. ფოკუსჯგუფების მონაწილეები დედობას ქალობასთან აიგივებენ და, შესაბამისად, ქალის არსს დედობაში ხედავენ. ეს მიდგომა არ ითვალისწინებს უშვილო ქალებს, რომლებიც დედობის ცნების მიღმა დგანან და, შესაბამისად, იწვევს მათ მარგინალიზაციას.

დასკვნა

გენდერული თანასწორობის შესახებ ქართველი ახალგაზრდების ცოდნის, აღქმისა და დამოკიდებულების კვლევა

მიზნად ისახავდა ქართველი ახალგაზრდების გენდერული დამოკიდებულებებისა და რწმენების იდენტიფიცირებას (ა) ოჯახში გენდერული როლების, (ბ) ქალების კარიერის, და (გ) სექსუალობის შესახებ. ამისთვის, უპირველეს ყოვლისა, ჩვენ გამოვიყენეთ რელევანტური თეორიული ცნებები გენდერის, გენდერული თანასწორობის, *გენდერული წარმოდგენების*, სექსუალობისა და ოჯახის შესახებ.

კვლევის ჰიპოთეზის დასამტკიცებლად, რომ თანამედროვე საქართველოში ახალგაზრდა ქალებსა და კაცებს უფრო ლიბერალური დამოკიდებულებები ექნებოდა, ვიდრე ძველ თაობას, ჩვენ ჩავატარეთ რაოდენობრივი მონაცემების ანალიზი. სიტუაციური ანალიზი შედარებით აღწერით სტატისტიკას გვთავაზობს გენდერული შეხედულებებისა და დამოკიდებულებების შესახებ 1996 წლიდან. შედარებამ აჩვენა, რომ 1996 წლიდან 2010 წლის ჩათვლით გენდერული შეხედულებები არ შეცვლილა. არაეგალიტარიანული გენდერული დამოკიდებულებების მიზეზების გასარკვევად, ჩვენ გავანალიზეთ მათი განმსაზღვრელი ფაქტორები, რომლებიც იკვლევდა გენდერულად მოტივირებულ შეხედულებებზე გავლენის მქონე მთელ რიგ ცვლადებს. რაოდენობრივმა ანალიზმა ცხადყო, რომ მიუხედავად პოლიტიკური, სოციალური და ეკონომიკური ცვლილებებისა, რაც საქართველომ ბოლო ოცი წლის განმავლობაში განიცადა, ტრადიციული შეხედულებები და გენდერული წარმოდგენები კვლავაც არსებობს ქართველ ახალგაზრდებში. ახალგაზრდები მკაცრ ტრადიციულ ჩარჩოებში განიხილავენ ისეთ საკითხებს, როგორებიცაა ვაჟიშვილის თუ ქალიშვილის ყოლა, გენდერული განაწილება განათლებისა და დასაქმების საკითხებში, გენდერული როლები ოჯახში და ქალების პირადი ცხოვრება მათი სექსუალური თავისუფლების ჩათვლით.

გარდა ამისა, თვისებრივმა კვლევამ მიმოიხილა რესპონდენტების დამოკიდებულებები ქალისა და კაცის მოვალეობების მიმართ ოჯახში. ჩატერჯეს (1989) თეორიული ჩარჩოს მიხედვით, რომელიც გამოყენებულ იქნა ჩვენი რესპონდენტების

დამოკიდებულებების ასახსნელად ოჯახში შრომის გენდერული განაწილებისა და გენდერული წარმოდგენების ასახსნელად, სახლი არის სოციალური წყობის შიდა ნაწილი, რომელიც სულიერი კულტურის სიმბოლოა. გენდერული სოციალური წყობისა და მამაკაცური დომინანტობის შესანარჩუნებლად აუცილებელია სახლის ცნების ფემინიზაციის კონტროლი. ქალები წარმოადგენენ „მამაკაცის სამყაროს“ მთავარ შემანარჩუნებელ და შემქმნელ ძალას, რომელსაც ერი ენოდება; შესაბამისად, გამონგევა არსებული იერარქიული გენდერული როლებისადმი საფრთხეს უქმნის ერის გენდერულ სოციალურ მოწყობას. კვლევის შედეგები ცხადყოფს ოჯახში შრომის მკაცრ განაწილებას, სადაც კაცები გადანყვეტილების მიმღებნი და ოჯახის მარჩენალები არიან, ხოლო ქალის მთავარი მოვალეობა ოჯახის წევრებზე ზრუნვა და საოჯახო საქმეებია.

კვლევამ გვიჩვენა, რომ ტრადიციული ოჯახის რესპონდენტებისეული აღწერა სწორედ რომ პატრიარქალურ ოჯახს მოიცავს, როდესაც ოჯახის მეთაური არის კაცი, რომელიც უფრო მეტ ძალაუფლებასა და უფლებებს ფლობს, ვიდრე სხვა წევრები და სადაც მყარად არსებობს შინამეურნეობაში შრომის გენდერული განაწილება. მხოლოდ რამდენიმე რესპონდენტმა აღნიშნა, რომ ასეთი ოჯახი პატრიარქალურია და კრიტიკული შენიშვნებიც გააკეთა იერარქიული სოციალური მოწყობის მიმართ. მეორე მხრივ, ჩვენი რესპონდენტების მიერ აღწერილი თანამედროვე ოჯახი ისეთ ოჯახს გულისხმობდა, სადაც მიღებულია გენდერული თანასწორობა და, შესაბამისად, როლები და მოვალეობები თანაბრად არის განაწილებული ოჯახის წევრებს შორის. რესპონდენტების უმრავლესობა ტრადიციულ ოჯახში გულისხმობდა „ქართულ ოჯახს“, ხოლო თანამედროვე ოჯახში – „არაქართულ ოჯახს“. შესაბამისად, პატრიარქალური ოჯახი აღქმულია ჭეშმარიტ ქართულ ოჯახად, რომელიც უნდა დაიცვა თანამედროვე ღირებულებების გავლენისგან. ამ მიდგომის ახსნა შესაძლებელია ჩატერჯეს (1989) თეორიით, რომელიც ამბობს, რომ კონსერვატიული პოზიცია ტრადიცი აზეა დამყარებული, რომელიც უნდა დაიცვა თანამედროვე,

გლობალური კულტურის დეგენერაციისგან.

კვლევის შედეგად გამოვლინდა ტენდენცია, რომ „კარგი“ ქართველი ქალი არის ოჯახისთვის თავდადებული, მორჩილი, მოსიყვარულე, მოყვარული, მზრუნველი ცოლი და დედა. გარდა ამისა, რესპონდენტების უმეტესობა დედობას ქალობასთან აიგივებს. რესპონდენტების არგუმენტებში დომინირებს გენდერული წარმოდგენები, თითქოს ქალები უნდა იქცეოდნენ „დედობრივი ინსტინქტების“ შესაბამისად. ეს ნიშნავს, რომ ხდება ქალის არსის აღქმა მხოლოდ როგორც დედის, იმის გაუთვალისწინებლად, რომ შვილების ყოლის სურვილი თანდაყოლილი და დამახასიათებელი არ არის ქალებისთვის, შვილებზე ზრუნვა კი – ისეთი რამაა, რაც ქალს ავტომატურად ეძლევა. დედობის კულტი უშვილო (შვილების არ მოსურნე) ქალების მარგინალიზებას ახდენს, რადგან ისინი მიიჩნევიან არც ისე ქალურებად. ასევე მარგინალიზებულია ისეთი ქალიც, რომელიც ბავშვს ამვილებს, რადგან მათ ბრალი ედებათ დედობრივი დეპრივაციის გამონწვევაში. ზოგიერთი ფემინისტის თანახმად, გენდერული უთანასწორობის გადასაჭრელად „უნდა აიკრძალოს ქალის სხეულის გამოყენება სახეობის რეპროდუქციისთვის (Schott, 1986; Firestone, 1970). შესაბამისად, ზოგისთვის რეპროდუქცია საკვანძო მნიშვნელობისაა პატრიარქატისთვის. მაშინ, როცა სხვების აზრით, დედობაში პატრიარქალური მახასიათებლები უნდა დაბრუნდეს (Firestone, 1970; Rich, 1977).

„დასაქმების, პროფესიული განვითარებისა და პოლიტიკური მონაწილეობის“ შესახებ თავი ცხადყოფს, რომ საჯარო სფერო კვლავაც მამაკაცების მიერაა დომინირებული. რესპონდენტებს აჟღერებდნენ მთელ რიგ გენდერულ წარმოდგენებს კაცების დომინანტობის არგუმენტირებისა და საჯარო სივრცეში ქალების ნაკლები ჩართულობის ხელშესაწყობად. გენდერული წარმოდგენები მოიცავენ იმ მოსაზრებასაც, რომ უმუშევრობა საფრთხეს უქმნის მამაკაცის მასკულიზობას მათი მთავარი ოჯახური მოვალეობის უგულვებელყოფით; ხოლო ქალის გენდერულ როლს საფრთხეს უქმნის დასაქმება, რადგან ხელს უშლის ქალს საოჯახო საქმეებში. ქალობა უთანაბრდება

კერძო სფეროს, ვინაიდან, ჩვენი რესპონდენტების აზრით, ქალი ფასდება იმით, როგორი ოჯახი ჰყავს და არა მისი კარიერით. შედეგად, რესპონდენტები აჟღერებდნენ გენდერულ წარმოდგენებს, რომლებიც ქალს კერძო სფეროთი ზღუდავს. დაშვება, რომ ქალის უპირველესი პასუხისმგებლობა ბავშვზე ზრუნვაა, აფერხებს ქალების პოლიტიკაში ჩართულობას. ქალების ემანსიპაციისა და საჯარო სფეროში თანასწორი მონაწილეობისადმი ეჭვი აიხსნება კონელის (2005) მოსაზრებით, რომლის თანახმადაც, ტრადიციულ საზოგადოებაში, სადაც კაცები ოჯახის მთავარი მარჩენალები არიან, ეკონომიკური სიდუხჭირე ხელს უშლის კაცებს დააკმაყოფილონ/გაამართლონ საზოგადოების მოლოდინი. შესაბამისად, მათ მასკულიზობას ანგრევს რეალობასა და მოლოდინს შორის არსებული განსვლა.

თავი „ახალგაზრდობის დამოკიდებულება სექსუალობის მიმართ“ ცხადყოფს, რომ ქალების ავტონომია მნიშვნელოვნადაა შეზღუდული, მათ სექსუალობაზე დაკისრებული წინააღმდეგობების გამო. კვლევის შედეგებმა გამოამჟღავნა ქალობის კონსტუირებისა და ქალების სექსუალობის რეგულაციასა და მართვის ფენომენის არსებობა, რომელიც დაიცავს მათ „არასწორი გზით“ სიარულისგან. ფოკუსჯგუფი მონაწილეთა აზრით, ქალის მოკრძალებულობის დაკარგვა და მათი ჩართვა სექსუალურ თავისუფლებაში საფრთხეს უქმნის ქართულ ტრადიციებსა და კულტურას. *გენდერული წარმოდგენები*, რომლებსაც ფოკუსჯგუფის მონაწილეები ავლენდნენ, ხელს უწყობს ქალის სექსუალური ავტონომიის არარსებობას და აძლიერებს სექსუალურ შეზღუდვებს. სიამოვნებისა და სექსის პოსტმოდერნული გამოყენება არ ფიგურირებს ქართველი რესპონდენტების დისკურსში, რომელიც ქალის სექსუალობას ეხება., მაშინ, როცა კაცებს აქვთ უფლება მონაწილეობა მიიღოს სექსუალურ აქტში მხოლოდ და მხოლოდ სიამოვნების მიღებისთვის. დომინანტური გენდერული როლი ფართოდ გავრცელებული *გენდერული წარმოდგენებით* მყარდება, რაც, თავის მხრივ, ამართლეს გენდერული როლების შეზღუდვას, რომელიც ქალის თავისუფლების არეს კერძო სფეროთი ზღუდავს.

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APPENDIX 1

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR EXPERTS WORKING ON GENDER AND WOMEN'S ISSUES

Respondent's personal details –name/surname, occupation, organization/group, experience in working on the issue:

Discussion topic – Gender policy in Georgia

[The discussion of this topic will cover the following issues: Georgian legislation with regard to gender issues, State Policy, effectiveness and shortcomings of the current gender policy, ways of improving the situation.]

- First of all, please, briefly describe the situation in Georgia in terms of gender equality. Please provide reasons.
- Please state your views on the measures taken by the State for promoting the development of gender policy in Georgia. Please explain why.
- What measures should be undertaken by society and the State to improve the policy on gender equality?

Discussion topic – Society's attitude towards gender equality

[The discussion of this topic will cover the following issues: Society's attitudes and changes, cultural values, stereotypes and traditions entrenched in society.]

- In your opinion, does society have a correct understanding of a) the meaning and basic principles of gender equality, b) feminism and its basic principles? Please explain why.

- Please list the stereotypes that are most common in Georgian youth/older generations with respect to the roles of men and women. Please provide reasons why they are so widespread.
- Which generation is more sensitive to the idea of equality – younger or older? How would you explain this fact?

Discussion topic – Social institutions contributing to the development of gender sensitive/insensitive attitudes/views in society

[The discussion of this topic will cover the following issues: Effect and role of social institutions (family, school, church, media, peers) on the attitudes and views of Georgian youth.]

- In your view, is there a significant [correlative] link between a person’s education level and his/her gender sensitivity level? [Note: probe the respondent about what type of knowledge he/she means when talking about education; e.g. reading and writing skills, secondary/higher education, civic education, special gender education, personal intelligence level, frequency of reading literary and scientific books, etc.];
- Do you have any information about the teaching of a gender component in Georgian schools as an independent or incorporated subject or in any other form [e.g. in a civic education textbook]? Do you think that incorporating a gender component in school curriculums will significantly enhance gender sensitivity in future generations? Why?
- In your opinion, is there a significant [correlative] link between a person’s religiosity and his/her gender sensitivity level?
- In your view, is it possible to enhance the level of gender sensitivity in Georgian youth (even if a gender component is introduced in school curricula), while a significant portion of those youth regularly go to church?

- In your opinion, is there a significant [correlative] link between a person's place of residence (capital, town, village) and his/her gender sensitivity level?
- Do you think that views on gender issues of youth living in cities and of youth living in villages differ significantly? Please briefly explain/substantiate your answer.
- Do you think that Georgian youth today have different stereotyped views on gender according to their sex? [Girls tend to have more stereotyped views on gender than boys and vice versa]; Please briefly explain/substantiate your answer.
- In your view, what topics should be particularly focused on when studying the gender views and sensitivity of Georgian youth? Please list these topics and explain why.

APPENDIX 2

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE FOR YOUNG PARTICIPANTS

Welcoming remarks: First of all, I would like to thank you for your participation in the focus group discussion.

My name is _____ and during the next hour and a half I will be moderating this focus group.

I would like to briefly introduce the purpose of this study for which you were invited here today. We are interested in your attitudes and views on the roles, functions and duties of men and women in Georgia and the expectations society has placed on them.

During the focus group I will present several situations about which I would like to hear your opinions and attitudes. The focus group will continue for about an hour and a half and I would like to ask you to actively participate in the discussion.

Please remember that there is no correct or incorrect idea/answer, your opinion is extremely valuable to us. Please turn off your phones and please accept again my deep thanks for your participation.

The first situations that I will present to you, one after another and which will be the topic of our discussion, will concern the family.

Section A) Family [Distribution of gender roles, sharing of tasks, upbringing of children, traditional/non-traditional.]

Situation No. 1.

Please imagine the following situation: mother, father and children (school age sister and brother). Both parents work and both come home in the evening.

In your opinion, what happens during one regular evening in this fam-

ily: **Who does what? [Why?]**

- **Note for the moderator:** Probe participants as much as possible and ask them to explain their answers. Ask them frequently why they hold a certain view, on what basis, etc.

Situation No. 2.

Please imagine the following situation: only a woman works in a family, supporting her spouse and infant child. The husband is temporarily unemployed. What do you think is happening while the woman is at work: **Who cares for the child? Who cooks dinner and does household chores [laundry, cleaning, etc.]? [Why?] What is your attitude towards this situation in a family? [Why?]**

- **Note for the moderator:** Ask the above questions one by one and try to elicit detailed explanations from the participants about their views and attitudes.

Situation No. 2.Traditional and modern families

Now, I will read an excerpt “traditional and modern family” from a fifth grade textbook and I would like to ask you to discuss this subject.

Traditional family – “A man was the head in all families; he had more rights than female and younger male members of the family”.

Question No. 1: How common is this type of family in Georgia? What do you like/dislike about such family? [Why?] What would you change/ not change in such a family? [Why?]

Question No. 2: Now let’s talk about a **modern family**; what do you think a modern family means/is like [in general, theoretically]?

- **Note for the moderator:** Please first make the participants talk about the concept of a modern family in general (from a global perspective). What a modern family means, how the

roles and functions are distributed in a modern family. Probe the participants as much as possible to obtain from them detailed explanations of their views and attitudes. After they have discussed this subject, ask them to talk more specifically based on the situation in Georgia and ask the following:

Questions: What does a modern family look like in Georgia [specifically?] How common is this type of modern family in Georgia? How acceptable is this type of family in Georgia? What do you like/dislike in such a family [Why?] What would you change/ not change in such a family [Why?].

Situation No. 3.

Please imagine the following situation: a family has a son and a daughter who live in their parents' apartment. The apartment is registered in the father's name who decided to re-register his property (the apartment) to his son's name. Why do you think the father did not take into consideration his daughter?

→ **Note for the moderator:** Only after the participants answer the first question and express their own view on this situation should you probe them and ask the following question - **Are the daughter's rights violated when the property is not left to her?**

Section B) Women outside the home [career, professional development, women in politics.]

Situation No. 1.

Please imagine the following situation: a woman has a political career. She is offered a ministerial position in one of the ministries. She has a husband and child (children). In your opinion, how would the situation develop? **Should the woman accept the post? [Why?]**

→ **Note for the moderator:** This question concerns a woman's political career. Try as much as possible to encourage the participant to discuss women's involvement in politics, their attitudes towards women politicians; how necessary it is to have women in politics, etc. Also encourage them to discuss women in the role of **leaders; what it means to be a woman leader; what their attitude is to this issue and why.**

Situation No. 2.

Please imagine the following situation: A husband works in a family, whose salary is sufficient to support his wife and children of school age. Unexpectedly, his wife gets a job offer for the first time in her life. The husband does not like this offer. **In your view, how will the situation develop? Why do you think the husband is unhappy? Should the woman take the offer? [Why?]**

Situation No. 3

Please imagine the following situation: a new financial department was created in private company X. The head of the department is to be appointed from an employee who received higher education in finance abroad, has been working for company X for at least five years and has been named Employee of the Year at least once. It turned out that only two employees meet those criteria: Natalia K. and Irakli B. [both of whom are equally competent]. The head of the department will be appointed by secret ballot conducted by the Board of Directors and all the employees will participate in the voting. **In your view, how will the situation develop? Who will be elected/ not be elected? [Why?]**

→ **Note for the moderator:** This question concerns the positions of equally competent men and women. Manage the discussion of the participants in such a way as to obtain infor-

mation on **how equal the rights of men and women are in Georgia in the sphere of employment and if they enjoy the same rights, what are the reasons for that.**

Situation No. 4.

Please imagine the following situation: Your son wants to become a hairdresser. Would you welcome his choice, and why? What would be your advice to him?

In your opinion, is there a profession which does not suit men? Or women? Please name these professions.

Note for the moderator: Encourage the participants to list the professions that are not suitable for men or women. Ask them to specify in their answers whether they consider those professions to be unsuitable for men and women only in Georgia or in general. Why may a particular profession not be suitable for women/men?

Section C) Sexuality [women's sexual freedom, to have children out of wedlock, other rights].

Situation No. 1

Please imagine the following situation: a sister and a brother who are both adults. The sister lives separately with her boyfriend and the brother lives with his girlfriend [both of them live in relationships without marriage/engagement]. The parents constantly criticize the daughter for living with her boyfriend without being married and demand that she formalize her relationship; however they do not have such demands with respect to their son. **In your view, why do the parents criticize only their daughter? And what should the daughter do? [Why?]**

→ **Note for the moderator:** Probe the participants about how topical the problem presented is in the above situation in

Georgia, and where (in the capital, regions?). Why is the subject so topical? Ask them to express their attitudes on cohabitation and what they consider to be correct – marriage or cohabitation? Probe the participants about why women are required to formalize their relationships.

Situation No. 2

Imagine the following situation: A young woman had more than one sexual partner and none of the relationships was serious or long-term. Then the woman met a young man, they liked each other and started dating. During one of their conversations they touched upon the issue of sexual partners. The woman said that she had had several sexual partners. **In your opinion, how would the man react to that? [Why?]**

→ **Note for the moderator:** Probe the participants about how they would react themselves in this situation. Or if the woman was their daughter or sister, to what extent they would interfere in her private life and why. Would they approve or disapprove of such a life-style. Also ask them: **Is a woman's sexual freedom acceptable for you or for people around you? If yes, then why? If not, then why not?**

Situation No. 3

Please imagine the following situation: A woman and a man got married. The woman does not want to have a child yet. The people around her, including her husband, criticize her and insist she become pregnant. **What do you think about the woman's decision? [Why?]** **What do you think about the behavior of the people around her? [Why?]** **Does a woman have the right to choose when to become a mother and/or whether or not to become a mother at all?**

Situation No. 4

Please imagine the following situation: A husband has frequent sexual contact with his wife despite the fact that the wife does not want to have sexual contact [for different reasons]. **In your opinion, does this situation constitute violence against a woman? [Yes/no- Why?]** **Do you think a woman has the right to refuse to have a sexual relationship with her husband?**

- **Note for the moderator:** Obtain as much information as possible and encourage the participants to talk about a woman's right to refuse to have a sexual relationship, spousal obligations, and then ask: **When there is forced sexual intercourse, can it be considered as rape?**