



Enhancing Gender Equality in Georgia



MEN AND GENDER RELATIONS IN GEORGIA

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, women's emancipation has been strengthened globally, which in turn has boosted gender equality. Nevertheless, men are still ahead of women when it comes to education, employment, income rates, distribution of managerial positions and social attitudes. Such patterns and gender perceptions are handed down from generation to generation. There are numerous cases where both male and female parents say to their sons: "You are a man and you should be strong and brave ... Why are you crying like a girl?! ... Your wife should obey you ... If someone hits you," retaliate and so on. These masculine perceptions and messages burden young boys and if they grow up in such environments, they will try to be dominant, strong, and unbreakable in relations with the opposite sex. However, men will inevitably encounter situations in which he will be unable to demonstrate his bravery and will consider himself inferior. What will happen in such cases? There is a great possibility that the same human being will then start to think about his weakness and will consider himself unworthy and inadequate. Ultimately, he will try to restore his reputation with others by means of force. And that is the end of the cycle starting with the parents' expectations of their child to be "a real man" and consequently finishing with the individual becoming a violent man. Unfortunately, this cycle repeats itself often and is transferred from fathers to son, hence establishing a culture of increased hegemony of masculinity, which is widespread in the Caucasus. One of the key stereotypes is that of the "Caucasian" male, which is quite often used as a synonym for a strong, dominant, and sometimes physically assertive man.

The goal of the survey "Men and Gender Relations in Georgia" is to gather data on men's attitudes towards gender equality; and to describe their experience of and engagement in household activities and in such social practices, which involve residing together and sharing household responsibilities with a spouse or partner. The survey also gathered data from women in order to make a comparison of the opinions expressed by both genders. The Institute of Social Studies and Analysis (ISSA) conducted the survey within the framework of the UN Joint Programme to Enhance Gender Equality in Georgia. The present research is based on a similar survey conducted by Promundo, which was successfully administered in Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico, Rwanda and Bosnia. The methodology of IMAGES (International Men and Gender Equality Survey) were used in all these countries. We hope that the findings of the survey will provide a basis for effectively planning such programs which will facilitate the engagement of men in establishing gender equality, as well as increasing the awareness of the public at large and changing attitudes to gender equality.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The goal of the survey is to gather data on both men and women's attitudes and practices on a wide variety of topics related to gender equality. The findings of the survey can be used to plan programs effectively and raise public awareness of the need for men's involvement in achieving gender equality.

The study includes both quantitative and qualitative components. The qualitative component was implemented using a focus-group method and was aimed at revealing the empirical indicators for gender equality in line with the purpose of this study. Georgia's population aged 18 and above was taken as the general population for the quantitative research. The sample size totaled 2408 respondents. Respondents were interviewed face-to-face (due to the sensitive and private nature of some interview questions) and a questionnaire was also used. The survey was conducted in 11 regions of Georgia. The sample size makes it possible to extrapolate the survey results to the whole of Georgia as well as to individual regions.

The data was analyzed using one-dimensional and multidimensional methods (frequency distribution, mode, mean, correlation and factor analysis, etc).

The survey 'Men and Gender Relations' is based on the IMAGES (International Men and Gender Equality Survey) research conducted by PRO-MUNDO. The main findings are presented below.

Distribution of the Responsibilities in the Household

It is important to study respondents' expectations and dispositions towards the distribution of household activities in order to evaluate men's involvement in household activities. For this purpose, all the respondents, irrespective of their marital status, were asked how household activities were, or should be, distributed between them and their spouses or partners. The following pattern of the distribution of the

household responsibilities has been revealed: laundry, cleaning the house or apartment, maintaining hygiene in the family, cooking and looking after children are considered to be female jobs, whereas repairing and fixing household items is traditionally considered a male job.

The survey reveals that this work distribution pattern is based on behavior learnt during adolescence. The vast majority of girls (85-92%) are taught the so-called female jobs (cooking, cleaning the apartment, maintaining hygiene, doing laundry) during adolescence. The activities boys are encouraged to learn are maintaining personal hygiene, agricultural work, cleaning the yard and looking after younger siblings.

The existing practices of men's involvement in household activities correspond overall to the respondents' attitudes and expectations. These various practices are evaluated on the basis of the answers received from the respondents living with spouses or partners. Moreover, the comparison of men and women's responses is a crucial aspect of such evaluation.

Men are mostly involved in: fixing household items (reported by 90% of men and 84% of women), paying utility bills (reported by 84% of men and 76% of women), and buying food (30% of men and 19% of women). According to the respondents, men are much less involved in cleaning the apartment (reported by 20% of men and 11% of women) and cooking (30% of men and 19% of women). The lowest involvement of men is reported in maintaining hygiene in the apartment (reported by 18% of men and 11% of women).

It is interesting to note that 86% of men and 72% of women are satisfied with the existing model of the distribution of household activities. This indicates that unequal gender participation in the household activities is a socio-cultural standard and is characterized by a high level of adaptability.

Parenthood and Involvement in Childbirth

The survey reveals that men and women do not take joint responsibility during the child's (or children's) upbringing. Raising a child is considered to be the women's natural responsibility.

In a lot of cases (varying between 30% and 42%), fathers never prepare food, change diapers, or bathe children aged 0 to 6. They are mostly responsible for activities that are unrelated to bathing or cooking and require being outdoors. These activities include playing with or talking to their child, taking the child to the playground and reading books to them. However, except playing and talking, these activities are performed by fathers several times a month rather than on a daily basis. The percentage of men who take care of their 0-6 year-old child on a daily basis (cooking, changing diapers or clothes, bathing and taking them to kindergarten or school, taking them to entertainment venues and reading) does not exceed 18%.

In the case of involvement in taking care of 7 - 12 year-old children, playing is replaced by talking with children. The latter include activities which most of the fathers (81%) are involved with on a daily basis. In the case of 7 - 12 year olds, the daily involvement of men in the activities such as cooking, doing laundry and reading books decreases and does not exceed 7%. The share of men who take 7 - 12 year-old children to school, play with them, help them with their homework, cook, do laundry and talk with their teachers once a week or several times a month, does not exceed 34%.

Compared to the previous age groups, the fathers' involvement in the upbringing of 13-18 year old adolescents is even less. The share of men involved in daily activities such as selecting reading books, talking with schoolteachers, helping their children with homework if necessary and washing their clothes, does not exceed 5%.

Gender Attitudes

The survey shows that the distribution of social roles in society is strictly determined by gender, on the basis of which individuals are entrusted with specific duties and responsibilities. In particular, a majority of the respondents single out the following gender roles:

- A woman's main responsibility is taking care of her family
- A mothers' responsibility is to take care of

her children (changing diapers, bathing and feeding the child or children)

- Men have the last say in their family
- Women are obliged to tolerate verbal abuse in order to sustain the integrity of the family, etc.

89% of the respondents agree that a woman's main responsibility is to take care of the family. It is important to note that an equal number of men and women agree with this statement. 77% of respondents agree with the statement: "Changing diapers, bathing and feeding children are the mothers' responsibility." 78% agree that "men have the last say in the family." Fewer women share this view (70%) compared to men (88%).

Relationship Dynamics

The study shows that 69% of men and 16% of women report sexual experience before the age of 18. Women have had much fewer occasional partners than men whereby 95% of women state that they have not had an occasional partner, whereas only 49% of men deny the existence of an occasional partner.

Parents did not talk about safe sex with 83% of the respondents before the age of 18. The topic is taboo with both boys and girls. 85% of girls and 81% of boys had not talked about safe sex with their parents before the age of 18. The survey shows that the practice of informing adolescents about safe sex has been gradually changing in Georgia over the last 50 years. 91% of men and 90% of women aged 65 and above state that as adolescents they were not informed about safe sex by their parents. However, 67% of boys and 82% of girls aged 18-24 state that their parents did not talk to them about safe sex. Therefore, it is evident that some progress has been made in terms of providing information about this topic to children. However, this trend is not very prominent.

70% of the respondents believe that women are responsible for avoiding unplanned pregnancy. This view is shared by 69% of men and 71% of women. 76% consider that men and women should jointly decide what kind of contraceptives to use. This belief is shared by 74% of men and 77% of women. 28% of respondents (men - 30%; women - 27%) state that it is unacceptable for them that their spouses request the use of condom.

According to 45% of men living with a spouse or partner, their spouse or partner has had an induced abortion at least once. The decision about the induced abortion was made with the participation of men in 37% of cases.

Pre-natal sex selections (as a rule, for the desire to have a son) has also been revealed by this research. 9% of women living with a partner or spouse say that they have sought an abortion for the sole purpose of pre-natal sex selection, whereas only 2% of men report that their partner or spouse sought an abortion for this reason. A high proportion of women who reported having sought an abortion affirmed that a male partner was the initiator of the decision to seek an abortion.

54% of men said that they had accompanied their pregnant spouse or partner to doctors' appointments. Only 5% of men, however, attended the birth of their child in the hospital delivery room.

Intimate Partner Violence

According to the respondents' reports, violent practices by a husband or partner directed against his wife or partner can be broken down into two factor groups:

- Severe violence, such as physical and psychological (verbal) violence;
- So-called "mild" psychological (verbal) violence (like shouting, using profanities, making negative comments etc.)

Threatening the wife or female partner with a gun or a knife is a marginal case between the two above-described factors, which means that it is not considered to be either a mild or severe violent practice.

Using profanities, shouting and driving the wife or partner to tears with abusive comments, is a much more common practice compared to other forms of violence. As shown by the factor analysis, these are considered to be mild violence.

A majority of men (66%) state that they have shouted at their wife or partner at least once; 44% have used profanities to their wife at least once; 38% has at least once driven his wife or partner to tears with negative comments. 12-15% noted that they have pushed their wife or partner or slapped her in the face at least once. Practices such as hitting the wife or partner with the fist or an object, kicking her, dragging her along the ground, applying pressure to the throat, as well as threatening with a gun or a

knife are relatively less common incidences.

In terms of sexual violence, the attitudes of the respondents do not demonstrate empathy towards the victims: 36% of male and 31% of female respondents agree with the following statement: "Women are raped because they recklessly put themselves into such a position". According to the survey, 34.8% of men and 23% of women believe that in some cases women are willing to be raped. Furthermore, 53% of men and 45% of women believe that if a woman does not resist the attack physically it cannot be considered to be an act of rape. Besides, 39% of male and 36% of female respondents believe that it is women with a "bad reputation" that are raped.

Both female and male respondents said that they have experienced sexual violence from their spouses. In this case, sexual intercourse against a person's will was used as an indicator of the violence undertaken. Compared to men, women experience sexual violence more often. 23% of women answered that they had sex with their partner or spouse unwillingly at least once, whereas the share of men having sex with their spouses unwillingly constituted to 11%.

Segregation of Georgia's population according to their attitudes to gender equality

The survey shows that male and female respondents' actual experience of relationships is related to their attitudes towards gender equality. The men with a negative attitude towards gender equality are almost never or rarely involved in household activities or child-care. On the other hand, although women with 'loyal' attitudes towards gender equality take responsibility for housework, the majority (65%) declare that they equally share childcare responsibilities with their husband or partner.

The population of Georgia can be broken down into three groups according to attitudes towards gender equality:

- The group with a positive attitude to gender equality (i.e. the loyal)
- The group with a negative attitude to gender equality (i.e. the resistant)
- The group with an undecided attitude to gender equality (i.e. the opportunists).

The groups were singled out according to their responses to the below statements:

- Changing diapers, bathing and feeding children are a mothers' responsibility
- The man has a final say in the family;
- The woman should endure verbal abuse to maintain the integrity of the family.

"The loyals" are the people who fully disagree with statements 2 and 3 and partially or fully agree with statement 1. "The resistant" are those who fully or partially agree with all the statements. "The opportunists" agree inconsistently with the above statements.

The shares of "the loyal", "the resistant" and "the Opportunists" among respondents are 3.7%, 45.5% and 50.8%, respectively.

The "loyal" group is comprised of: a) a vast majority of women (81%); b) 77% of respondents have attained higher education, c) as compared with the other groups the prevalent share of individuals are under 45. The "resistant" group is comprised of a) majority of men (53%); b) 69% of respondents are without higher education; c) as compared with the other groups the prevalent share of individuals are above 65 (23%). The "opportunist" group is comprised of a) a majority of women (57%); b) 51% of respondents have attained higher education; c) as compared with the other groups the prevalent share of individuals are 18-24 and 25-34 (23% and 20%, respectively).

Therefore, Georgia's population is basically inconsistent in terms of the acceptance of gender equality and is composed of individuals with a negative attitude. The share of gender equality supporters is too small. The latter attitude is mainly demonstrated by young women with a higher education.

The aforementioned groups' experience regarding the household activities corresponds to each group's attitudes:

- Doing laundry - Compared to "the Loyal", the Resistant and Opportunist groups consist of a large share of married women who carry out this activity without their husbands' participation ("the Resistant" - 90%, "the Opportunist" - 81%, "the Loyal" - 73%)
- Buying food – Most married women from the "Loyal" group (63%) state that they and their husbands or partners equally share this duty. This kind of practice is

decreased among married "Opportunist" women (53%), and is least common in the group of "the Resistant" (46%)

- Cleaning the house or apartment - Although the vast majority of married women from the group of "the Loyal" (81%) state that cleaning the apartment is mainly or solely their own responsibility, more married females from the groups of "the Resistant" and "the Opportunists" claim the activity as their main duty. (93% and 86%, respectively)
- Maintaining family hygiene - "the Loyal" group includes the highest percentage of women who share this activity with their partners or husbands (19%). The men's actual experience coincides with the picture described by these women.
- Cooking - According to 67% of married women from "the Loyal" cooking is mainly or solely their responsibility, whereas the duty rests upon 88% of women from "the Resistant" and 76% of "the Opportunist" women. The actual experience of men corresponds to the picture described by the women.
- Child care - The majority of married women who accept gender equality (65%) state that they and their partner or spouse equally share this duty. On the contrary, the majority of women from the "the Resistant" group (69%) maintain that child-care is mainly or solely their responsibility. The same is reported by 57% of 'the Opportunist' women. The practices of women in different groups coincide with the male practices in the same groups. For example, only 5% of married men from the "Resistant" group state that taking care of a child is mainly or solely their responsibility in the family.

Therefore, the experience of those respondents who accept gender equality shows the highest level of men's involvement in household activities. However, even 'the Loyal' group maintains the model based on gender imbalance, what can be terms a "patriarchal" pattern of household duties.

Comparison of Gender-Determined Practices and Value Orientations since 1945 until the Present Days

To determine the pace and character of changes observed in gender practices from the second half of the twentieth century up to present, several analyzable periods have been

singled out. To discuss the values and gender roles typical to these periods we rely on the responses of those survey participants, whose childhood coincides with the given periods. These are:

- i. The analyzable period of 1945-1973. The ideas about this period are based on the dispositions and attitudes of 55 year-olds and above
- ii. The analyzable period of 1974 – 1983 will be evaluated on the basis of answers provided by 35-54 year-old respondents
- iii. The analyzable period of 1984 – 1994 will be analyzed on the basis of 25-34 year-old respondents' reports
- iv. The period from 1995 to present. Description of this period is based on the a) information provided by 18-24 year-old respondents about their parents' practices, and b) information provided by 18 - 34 year-old respondents about their own family practices and the distribution of functions within their own families.

The periods singled out for the analysis are conditional and characterized by the inaccuracy of statistics available during several transitional years. Differentiation of the above periods by age group is undertaken in order to analyze social reality - a common approach in quantitative research.

Comparison of the analytical periods mentioned above provides the following information:

- Equal involvement in child care is most common among the parents of the older generation (55 year old and above) whose family practices correspond to the period of 1945-1973;
- The father's involvement in child care is the least intense during the third analyzable period (1984-1994);
- As for the current period, the mother's direct involvement in childcare is most intense. This period is also characterized by maximum involvement of grandparents in child care. The number of cases of mutual child care with the participation of both parents is the lowest in this period. This might be a manifestation of destructive trends in the traditional family structure, since joint parental care is lessened in parallel with increased care from individual family members.

The analysis of the findings from the periods mentioned above points to the existence of two categories of practices:

- The first category of practice occurs in families which demonstrate certain patterns of gender involvement. In particular, the sequence of analyzable periods shows a gradual decrease in the total non-involvement of men, which points to men's increased participation in child care activities. These practices include buying food and taking care of children.
- The other category of practices is not linked to the pace of change in gender relations. The corresponding patterns change slightly, but the logic behind the changes does not depend on changes in the singled-out analyzable periods. Time bound and socio-cultural aspects of social developments which have affected men's involvement in other household activities, have no impact on these practices and continue to exist in their initial form. These practices include doing laundry and cleaning the apartment, bathroom and toilet (activities that are conditionally called 'chores' in the survey).

Some weak trends are observed in the last analyzable period regarding apartment cleaning and doing laundry. However, the practices related to maintaining family hygiene (bathroom and toilet cleaning) are different in its entirety. Total denial of men's participation in this activity reaches its peak in the third analyzable period (91% - in 1983-1994). In the current period, the indicator decreased to 87%, although it still exceeds the percentage for 1945-1973. Therefore, it could be assumed that compared to the current period, men were more involved in these activities in 1940-1960.

The model for the distribution of the various household activities shows that the changes observed in men's involvement are quite superficial: only some practices and common beliefs have changed. On the other hand, the practices which reflect culturally determined gender bias have not, actually, undergone any liberalization from the second half of the 20th century up to the present. On the contrary, in 1980 – 1990, the patriarchal attitudes towards these practices reached its peak. The weak sign of liberalization observed in the last analyzable period does not indicate a change in general attitudes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	iii
Executive summary	iv
The purpose and objective of the study	1
Research Methodology	2
2.1. Sample characteristics	2
2.2. Research Instrument	2
Research Findings	4
3.1. Respondents’ socio-demographic characteristics	4
3.2. Distribution of Responsibilities in the Household	4
3.3. Decision making in the family	9
3.4. Men’s involvement in children’s upbringing	9
3.5. Attitudes to gender equality	12
3.6. Family relations	16
3.7. Intimate partner violence	21
Comparison of gender practices and value orientations from 1945 till present	26
4.1. Description of gender-based practices and value orientations from 1945 to 1973	26
4.2. Description of gender-determined practices and value orientations in the period 1974-1983	27
4.3. Description of gender determined practices and value orientations in the period 1984-1994	28
4.5. Comparison of gender determined practices and value orientations by identified periods	30
Attitudes to gender equality and practices of involvement in child care and domestic activities	32
5.1. Social and demographic profile of the groups with different attitudes to gender equality	32
5.2. Distribution of domestic activities in the groups with different attitude to gender equality	33

1

THE PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The goal of the survey is to gather data on men's and women's attitudes and practices on a wide variety of topics related to gender equality. The findings of the survey can be used to plan programs effectively and raise public awareness about the necessity of men's involvement in achieving gender equality.

The main **objectives** are as follows:

1. Identification of the practices of men's involvement in household activities and their comparison with women's involvement;
2. Identification of the practices of men's involvement in child care;
3. Acceptance of the main standards of gender equality;
4. Evaluation of various forms of gender-based violence;
5. Description of family relations between men and women, including sexual relations.

2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study involves both quantitative and qualitative components.

The population of Georgia (18 years and above) was used as the general population for quantitative research. Respondents were surveyed in face-to-face interviews with questionnaires. Questionnaires were used to elicit responses on the most sensitive issues in order to minimize the risk of insincere responses. Qualitative research was conducted using a focus-group methodology (or group discussion method). Since focus groups were complementary to the quantitative research in the given study, the group discussions preceded the survey. In particular, these discussions identified the individual characteristics of the issue to be studied in light of the situation in Georgia. These were later used as a basis for constructing the questionnaire.

2.1. Sample characteristics

Quantitative research:

Sample size: 2408 respondents. The sample size was determined by the need to ensure sample representativeness for the whole of Georgia. Furthermore, it is possible to speak about a more or less high level of confidence at the regional level (In this respect, the level of confidence is highest for Tbilisi (see Table 1).

Sample base: Georgia's voting lists for 2012.

Sample design: Multistage stratified (cluster) sampling. This model ensures the representativeness of geographic and demographic characteristics. The proportion of sample distribution by Tbilisi and 10 other regions ensured a more or less equal value of sampling errors.

At the first stage of sample formation the entire population was split into strata (territorial and demographic units). Quotas for each stratum were distributed proportionately to the number of the population aged 18 and above. Consequently, a detailed sample scheme providing for citizens' distribution by regions, districts, towns and villages was formed.

Fieldwork (i.e. interviewing) was carried out in households. Respondents were selected using the Kish table. This instrument ensures a maximum randomness of sampling, which is a necessary precondition for obtaining reliable data.

Qualitative research:

Five group discussions were held with the participation of:

- representatives of NGOs working on gender equality issues;
- adult women with different social and demographic profiles;
- adult men with different social and demographic profiles.

Tbilisi: 3 focus groups were conducted with the participation of representatives of NGOs working on gender equality issues (1 focus group), adult women with different social and demographic profiles (1 focus group) and adult men with different social and demographic profiles (1 focus group).

Kakheti: 2 focus groups were conducted with the participation of adult women with different social and demographic profiles (1 focus group), adult men with different social and demographic profiles (1 focus group).

2.2 Research Instrument

For the purpose of quantitative research, a research instrument (in this case, questionnaire) was developed in parallel with the sample design. The research instrument was adapted from the questionnaire developed by Promundo Institute and ICRW. This questionnaire was used in a number of countries (Brazil, Chile, Croatia, Mexico and Rwanda) to study men and women's attitudes to gender violence, distribution of household activities, men's involvement in parenting and gender equality. The questionnaire was adapted to the situa-

Table 1. Sample distribution

	Geographic units	Sample size	Value of error (Confidence level 95%)
1	Tbilisi	547	4.2%
2	Adjara	230	6.5%
3	Guria	100	9.8%
4	Imereti	230	6.5%
5	Kakheti	245	6.3%
6	Mtskheta-Mtianeti	100	9.8%
7	Racha Lechkhumi and Kvemo Svaneti	100	9.8%
8	Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti	240	6.3%
9	Samtskhe-Javakheti	180	7.3%
10	Kvemo Kartli	230	6.5%
11	Shida Kartli	200	6.9%
	Total number of respondents	2402	2.0%

tion in Georgia. The peculiarities of the Georgian situation were identified in the course of the focus group work.

This structured questionnaire contained different types of questions (closed-ended, semi-closed and, in some cases, open-ended questions).

The Qualitative research used a semi-structured (guideline) questionnaire. In total, 3 types of guideline were developed for different focus groups (NGOs working on gender equality issues, adult men and women with different social and demographic profiles).

3

RESEARCH FINDINGS

3.1. Respondents' socio-demographic characteristics

The survey collected specific information about the respondents' socio-demographic characteristics, including their marital status, employment and level of education (see Table 2).

The data showed the following differences between men and women in terms of their socio-demographic characteristics:

- The share of married women is larger compared to married men (about 72% of men and about 82% of women). The share of single persons is 28% in the case of men and about 19% in case of women.
- Compared to men, there are more respondents with secondary vocational education in the women's group (25%, of women against 17% of men);
- Men are in a better position than women in terms of employment: 52% of men are employed compared to 28% of women (assuming any form of employment, including self-employment). Subsequently, 26% of men and 46% of women are unemployed;
- These two groups also differ in terms of personal income. The average personal monthly income is 261 GEL for men and 136 GEL for women. 45%, of women and 29% of men state that they have no personal income. In general, the survey shows a high level of poverty among the respondents: The personal monthly income of over a third of respondents (34%) fluctuates between 10 and 250 GEL.

Therefore, we can see that women are in a worse economic state than men. Although the education level achieved by women is higher than that of men, the rate of unemployment is higher among women. In addition, the personal monthly income for women is lower than that of men.

3.2. Distribution of Responsibilities in the Household

Respondents living with their spouses or partners were asked the following question: "How are household activities distributed between you and your spouse or partner in case of need?" The distribution of responsibilities can be evaluated on the basis of reports provided by the respondents living with their spouse or partner. The comparison of female and male respondents' answers is important for the evaluation of men's practices in terms of participation in household activities.

Male involvement in household activities (according to men's and their spouse's partner's reports) typically consists of activities such as spending the family budget (buying food, paying utilities) and fixing household items. Maintenance of hygiene in the family, cleaning the apartment, cooking and taking care of children are mostly carried out by women.

The survey shows that men's reports differ greatly from their spouse or partner's in terms of male participation in household activities (regarding all the listed activities). In particular, men report more active involvement compared to women. The difference, though, is most striking in the case of purchasing food and cooking. 79% of men state that they are actively involved in purchasing food, whereas only 67% of women report the same. 30% of men state that they actively participate in cooking, whereas their statements are confirmed by only 19% of women (see Table 3).

In addition to evaluating the various practices of the men's involvement in household activities, the survey is aimed at describing not only the current, but also the past and anticipated future practices for the entire group of respondents. For this purpose, irrespective of their marital status respondents were asked how household activities were, are or would be distributed between them and their partners. The data show that this three dimensional picture of the distribution of the household

Table 2. Marital status, employment and level of education

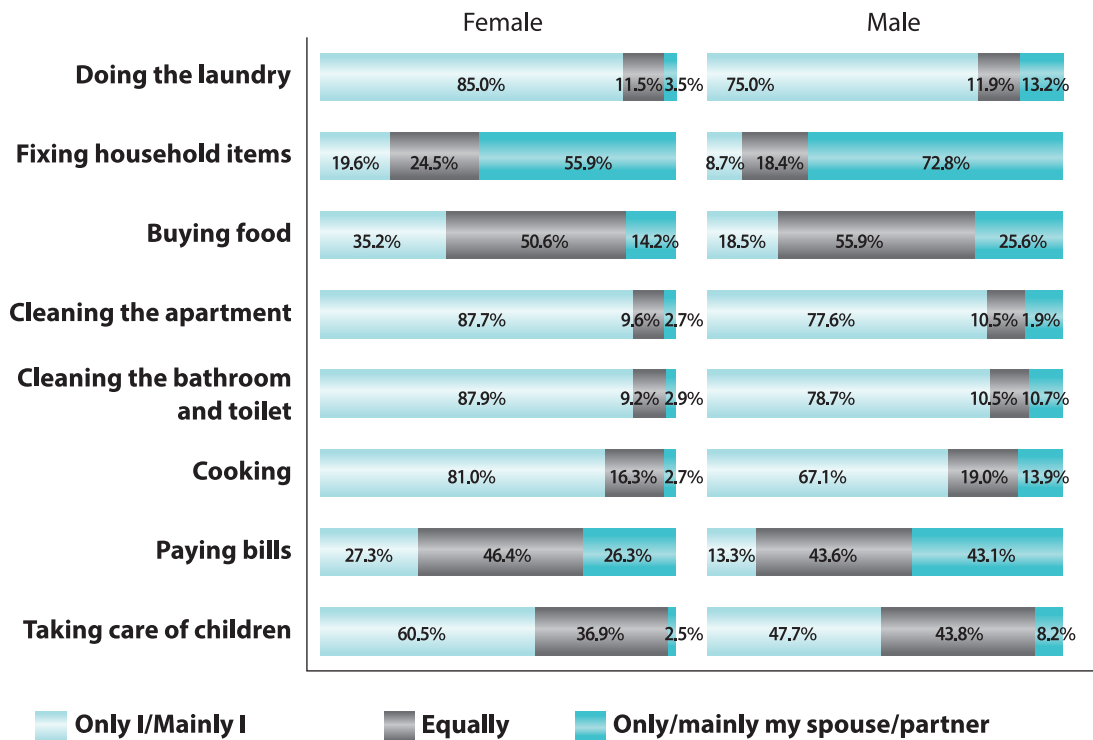
	men	women
	%	%
Marital status		
Married	72	81.5
Single	28	18.5
Level of Education		
Have not received education, have never gone to school	0.2	0.2
Have no formal education, but I can read and write	0.1	0.3
Elementary education (including 4 grades)	0.7	0.2
Secondary education, incomplete	3.6	4.4
Secondary education (10-11 grades)	35.1	28
Secondary vocational education	17.1	24.6
Higher education, incomplete	9.6	6.7
Higher education	33.7	35.5
Employment /Social status		
Employed	52.2	28.1
Unemployed	25.8	45.9
Still studying	5.7	5.2
Pensioner	15.8	20.6
Other	0.4	0.3
Personal monthly income		
10-100 GEL	7.3	7.2
101-150 GEL	16.8	21.9
151- 250 GEL	6.9	7.4
251 -400 GEL	12.8	7.7
401 -1000 GEL	18.2	6.8
More than 1000 GEL	3.4	1.0
Refused to answer	4.7	2.3
Has no personal income	29.0	45.0
Has no stable income	0.9	0.6

Table 3. Men’s involvement in the household activities

Reports provided by men and women	Laundry	Fixing household items	Purchasing Food	Cleaning the apartment	Cleaning the bathroom	Cooking	Paying utilities	Taking care of children
Men’s reports: I am the only one who is involved/ it is basically me who is involved/ we are equally involved	21% N=150	90% N=637	79% N=561	20% N=144	18% N=129	30% N=211	84% N=599	48% N=329
Women’s reports : Only my husband is involved/ it is basically my husband who is involved/ we are equally involved	15% N=107	84% n=620	67% N=490	11% N=83	11% N=82	19% N=143	76% N=560	40% N=281

Diagram 1. Various practices of distribution of responsibilities for household activities between men and women

How are responsibilities distributed/would be distributed between you and your spouse/partner...



activities (giving a past, present, and future perspective) does not differ from the existing model. For example, the percentage of women mainly responsible for cooking is 81% against 14% of men. This is similar in the case of doing laundry (85% of women state that they are mainly responsible for doing laundry). Apart-

ment cleaning is the responsibility of 88% of women and 12% of men, whereas fixing household items is the responsibility of 73% of men and 20% of women (see Diagram 1).

It is clear that household activities are grouped according to gender as "female" or "male" activities. 'Female activities' include doing laun-

Diagram 2. Factor analysis of gender-based distribution of household activities

Gender based distribution of the household

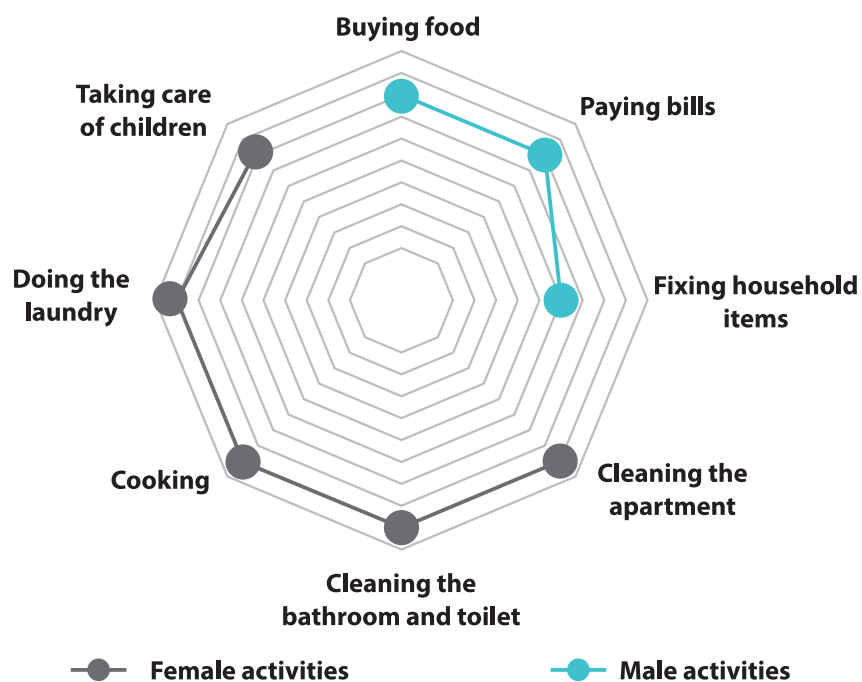
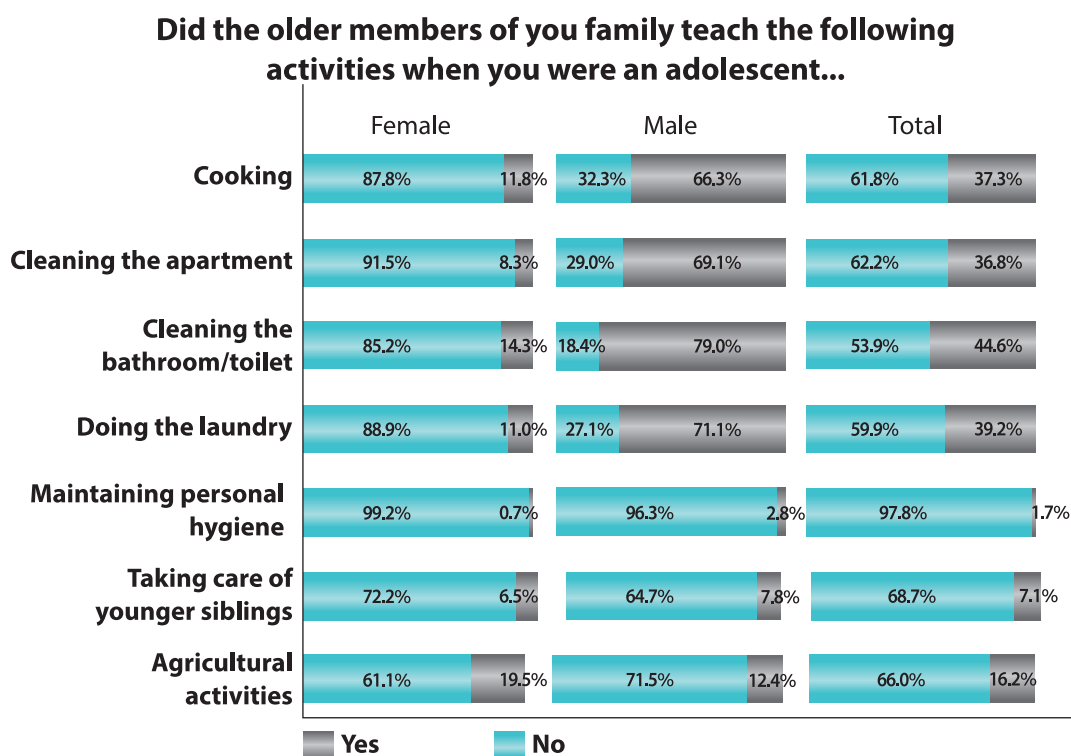


Diagram 3. Patterns of participation in household activities learned during adolescence



dry, cleaning rooms, cooking and looking after children. 'Male activities' include fixing household items, buying food and paying utilities.

Gender-related segregation of household activities is also confirmed by factor analysis. This method of analysis groups gender sensitive activities (See Diagram 2).

The survey shows that the majority of girls are taught the so-called female activities (cooking, cleaning the apartment, cleaning the bathroom, doing the laundry). At the same time, girls are taught more than boys to look after younger siblings - 72% of women and 65% of men report that they were taught by their parents to do so before reaching the age of 18. The activities which are encouraged for boys are the following: Maintaining personal hygiene (96% of male respondents say that they were taught to develop relevant habits when they were young), agricultural activities (71% of male respondents say they were trained in this in the past) and cleaning the yard (as stated by 68% of men) (see Diagram 3 and Table 5).

The survey demonstrates that the patriarchal practice observed in the performance of household activities by female and male respondents a) is not acknowledged (in terms of general attitudes) as dramatically unequal and b) is not perceived as discriminatory at all. In particular, men and women have almost an identical attitude towards men's actual involvement in the household activities. 58% of men believe that they and their partner or spouse are equally or more involved in household activities, whereas 57% of women indicate that their partner or spouse is equally or more involved in household activities.

Furthermore, married men are more satisfied with the existing model of the distribution of household responsibilities than their wives or partners (86% of men against 72% of women) (See Table 4).

Factors such as age, education and employment profile of the respondents do not have a significant impact on the evaluation of the patterns of distribution of household activities and satisfaction with this model.

Table 4. Attitudes towards the involvement of men in household activities and satisfaction with the distribution patterns

	According to men	According to women
Men who are equally or more actively involved in the household activities	58%	57%
Satisfaction with the distribution of the household activities	86%	72%

The above table shows that patriarchal gender stereotypes are strong in Georgia. Furthermore, a clear majority does not demonstrate a critical attitude to these stereotypes and does not acknowledge it as a causal factor of inequality.

Despite the above table, the cultural model of gender-based distribution of household activities has undergone some changes and has become milder in terms of its patriarchal character. In particular, compared to women aged 65 and above, the share of household activities performed without the participation of spouses

or partners somewhat decreases among young, 18-24 year-old married women. For example, 74% of this age group state that they do laundry without their husband's help, whereas the same is said by 89% of women aged 65 and above. However, it is also apparent that a) in the group of 18-24 year old women, a differentiated practice of participation in household activities is still prevalent; b) the patriarchal model of participation in household activities is actually unchangeable in the men's group, irrespective of age (see Table 5).

Table 5. Models for the distribution of household activities between the spouses or partners by gender and age

	Gender		Age %						Total
			18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and above	
Doing Laundry	Female	I	74.1	88.0	83.9	87.9	86.5	89.0	85.1
		Equally	18.7	9.8	13.5	8.5	10.8	7.3	11.4
		Spouse/partner	7.2	2.2	2.7	3.5	2.7	3.7	3.6
	Male	I	10.4	9.2	14.2	15.2	16.3	14.8	13.2
		Equally	19.2	14.1	9.9	9.0	10.5	8.0	12.0
		Spouse/partner	70.3	76.6	75.9	75.8	73.2	77.2	74.8
Fixing household items	Female	I	8.4	13.8	15.0	28.8	22.4	31.5	19.6
		Equally	27.5	26.8	26.8	17.7	29.3	19.8	24.6
		Spouse/partner	64.1	59.4	58.2	53.5	48.3	48.8	55.8
	Male	I	74.1	88.0	83.9	87.9	86.5	89.0	85.1
		Equally	18.7	9.8	13.5	8.5	10.8	7.3	11.4
		Spouse/partner	7.2	2.2	2.7	3.5	2.7	3.7	3.6
Buying food	Female	I	19.2	30.5	31.7	43.4	44.2	44.3	35.2
		Equally	63.5	53.8	52.9	45.5	42.2	44.3	50.7
		Spouse/partner	17.4	15.7	15.4	11.1	13.6	11.4	14.2
	Male	I	26.9	22.3	16.9	25.7	32.5	28.8	25.6
		Equally	62.6	61.4	59.9	52.5	46.4	51.3	55.9
		Spouse/partner	10.4	16.3	23.2	21.8	21.2	20.0	18.5
Cleaning Apartment	Female	I	79.9	88.8	86.4	90.4	88.4	91.5	87.6
		Equally	14.0	9.4	11.3	7.6	8.8	6.1	9.6
		Spouse/partner	6.1	1.8	2.3	2.0	2.7	2.4	2.8
	Male	I	5.6	6.6	12.7	14.6	19.7	13.6	11.8
		Equally	19.4	14.2	10.6	5.6	3.9	8.0	10.5
		Spouse/partner	75.0	79.2	76.8	79.8	76.3	78.4	77.6

Cleaning the bathroom	Female	I	77.2	90.6	87.3	89.4	90.5	92.0	87.9
		Equally	16.8	7.6	9.5	9.1	6.8	4.9	9.1
		Spouse/partner	6.0	1.8	3.2	1.5	2.7	3.1	2.9
	Male	I	4.9	6.5	11.3	14.4	17.8	10.8	10.7
		Equally	22.0	8.6	10.6	7.2	5.9	8.2	10.6
		Spouse/partner	73.1	84.9	78.2	78.5	76.3	81.0	78.7
Cooking	Female	I	68.7	81.7	78.8	84.8	85.0	86.7	80.9
		Equally	25.9	16.5	18.9	13.6	12.2	9.6	16.3
		Spouse/partner	5.4	1.8	2.3	1.5	2.7	3.6	2.8
	Male	I	7.7	9.2	11.3	16.7	23.2	17.0	13.9
		Equally	30.2	21.7	18.4	11.1	15.2	15.1	18.9
		Spouse/partner	62.1	69.0	70.2	72.2	61.6	67.9	67.2
Paying bills	Female	I	8.4	18.2	27.3	31.7	37.4	44.2	27.3
		Equally	54.2	49.8	43.2	48.2	40.1	41.2	46.3
		Spouse/partner	37.3	32.0	29.5	20.1	22.4	14.5	26.4
	Male	I	45.5	43.5	41.5	44.0	48.7	35.2	43.1
		Equally	49.4	45.1	43.7	36.8	38.7	46.9	43.5
			5.1	11.4	14.8	19.2	12.7	17.9	13.4

3.3. Decision making in the family

How equal are men and women in the family when it comes to decision making? Respondents had the opportunity to discuss this issue retrospectively and to compare the past and present experience of their family.

Decision making was discussed in terms of the following issues: spending money to buy food, clothes, and other items for the family, providing education to children, doing sports, etc.

The survey shows that, as a rule, spouses jointly participate in decision making. This has been reported by both female and male respondents. It is essential to point out that the practice of joint decision making is more prevalent now than in the past. At the same time, however, there are certain areas in which women exercise greater independence and vice versa. For instance, women are more independent than men when making decisions regarding buying food, clothes and household appliances; whereas men's independence in the decision making process increases relative to women's in case of issues like deciding the future of the children. (See Diagrams 4, 5):

3.4. Men's involvement in children's upbringing

One of the issues covered by the survey is men's involvement in the upbringing of their children falling under the following age groups: 0-6, 7-12 and 13-18.

The men's daily involvement in the upbringing of children aged 0-6 is limited to playing and talking to them. 90% of men say that they talk or play with their children on a daily basis. The share of men who cook and change diapers or clothes for their children, bathe and take them to kindergarten or school or for entertainment, and who read books to them on a daily basis does not exceed a total of 18%.

When men are involved in the childcare of their 7-12 year-old children, playing with children is replaced by talking with them. The latter is the only activity in which fathers are involved on a daily basis. The share of fathers involved in activities such as cooking, doing laundry and reading books to their 7-12 year-olds decreases and does not exceed 7%.

The fathers less actively participate in the upbringing of 13-18 year-old children compared to other age categories. No more than 4% of men participate in daily activities such as the

Diagram 4. Distribution of the decision-making actors on various issues related to the family during adolescence

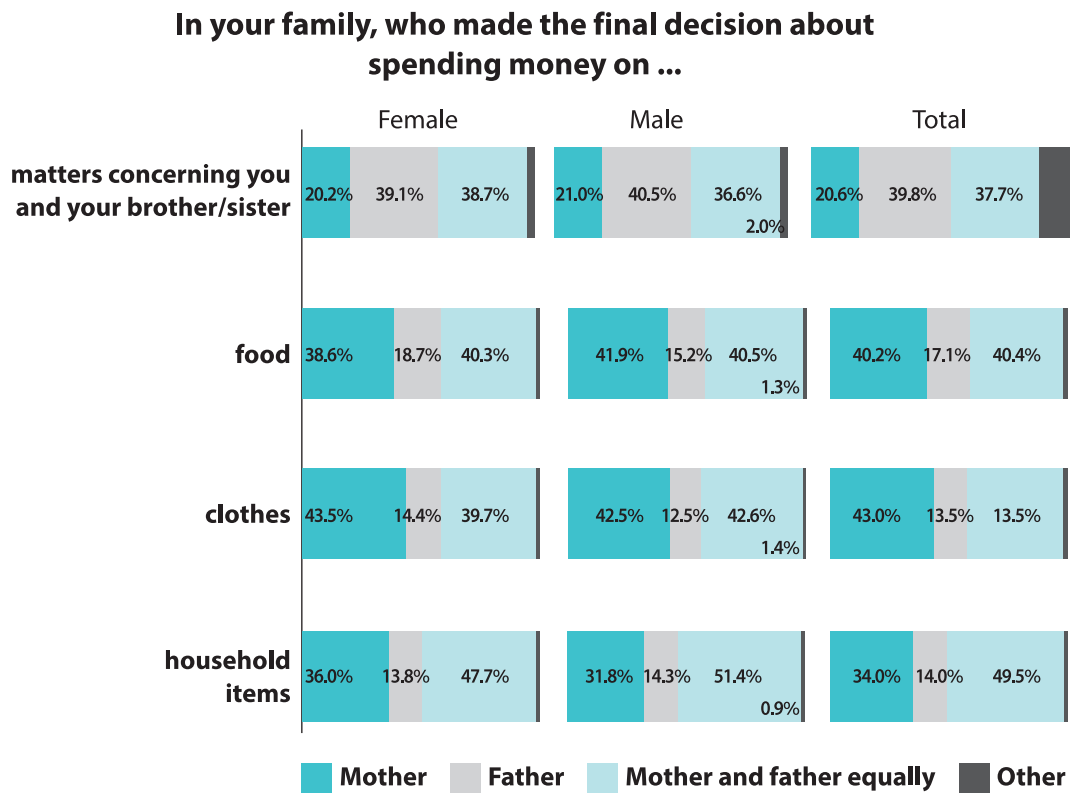
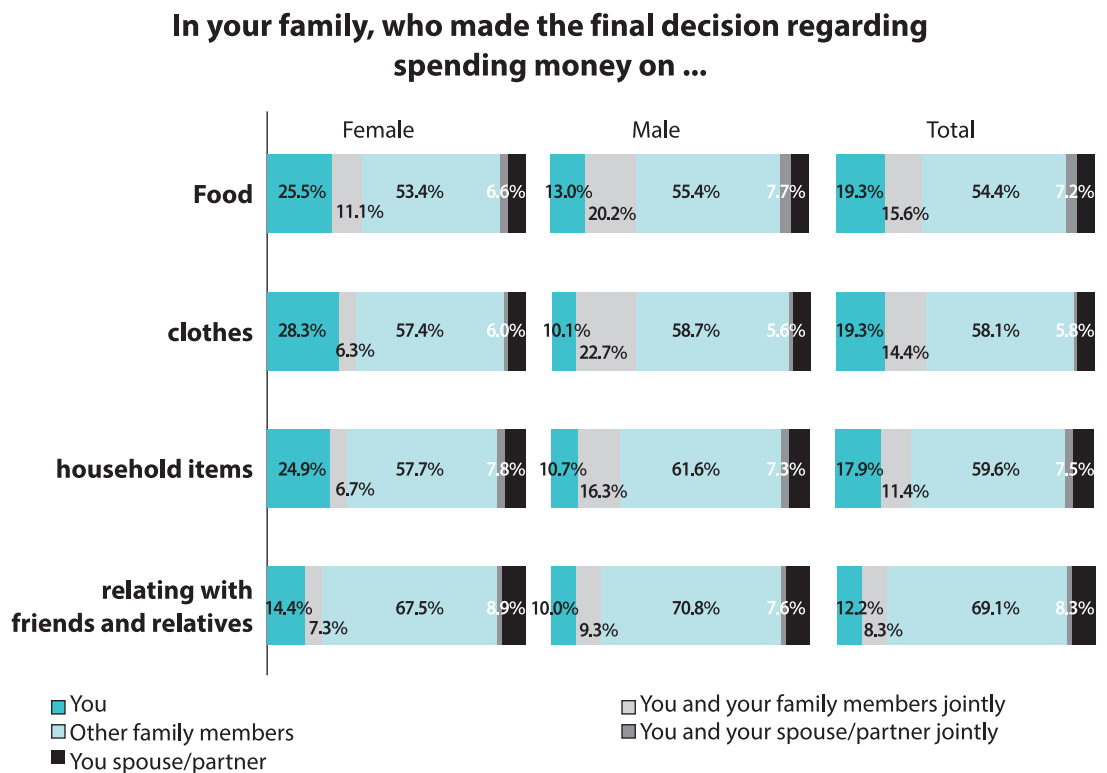


Diagram 5. Distribution of decision making about various issues in the family



selection of reading materials, talking with to teachers, helping with homework and doing laundry.

It seems that fathers are more involved in childcare activities that are unrelated to maintaining hygiene norms, cooking or that which require being outdoors. These include talking

or playing with children, taking the child to the playground and reading to children. However, except for playing or talking, the rest of these activities are performed by fathers several times a month, rather than on a daily basis (see Table 6).

Table 6. Men’s reports about their involvement in children’s upbringing

Children from 0 to 6	Almost every day	Once a week/ several times a month	More rarely than several times a month	Almost never
Talking/playing with children	90% N=111	7% N=9	2% N=3	-
Cooking for children	15% N=19	24% N=29	27% N=33	34% N=42
Changing clothes/diapers for children	17% N=21	26% N=32	26% N=32	30% N=37
Bathing the child	12% N=14	26% N=32	21% N=25	42% N=51
Staying at home with children in case the spouse gets sick	26% N=32	43% N=53	18% N=22	13% N=16
Taking children to/from school/ kindergarten	18% N=19	21% N=22	8% N=9	53% N=57
Taking children to the playground	18% N=22	52% N=62	16% N=19	13% N=16
Reading to children	11% N=14	30% N=37	15% N=19	43% N=53
Children from 7 to 12				
Playing/doing exercises with children	48% N=43	34% N=30	18% N=16	-
Talking with children	81% N=71	17% N=15	2% N=2	-
Staying at home with children in case the spouse gets sick	31% N=27	35% N=31	30% N=26	5% N=4
Taking children to/from school	64% N=86	12% N=16	14% N=19	10% N=13
Helping with homework	26% N=23	34% N=30	28% N=25	11% N=10
Taking children to the playground	14% N=12	42% N=37	36% N=32	9% N=8
Cooking	7% N=6	21% N=18	25% N=22	48% N=42
Doing the laundry	6% N=5	7% N=6	6% N=5	82% N=73
Reading to children	7% N=6	32% N=28	25% N=22	37% N=33
Talking to the teacher	5% N=4	33% N=29	19% N=17	44% N=39
Children from 13 to 18				
Playing/doing exercises with children	15% N=19	30% N=38	27% N=34	28% N=36
Talking about problems	42% N=53	39% N=50	13% N=16	6% N=8
Selecting reading literature	0.8% N=1	29% N=37	35% N=44	35% N=45
Talking to the teacher	3.1% N=4	24% N=31	24% N=30	49% N=62
Helping with homework	4% N=5	32% N=41	30% N=38	34% N=43
Jointly attending cultural events	-	17% N=22	44% N=56	39% N=49
Cooking	8% N=10	13% N=17	22% N=28	57% N=72
Doing laundry	4% N=5	6% N=7	6% N=7	85% N=108

3.5. Attitudes to gender equality

To investigate attitudes toward gender equality, the study used a so-called gender equality scale, which consists of several different statements. These statements concern gender relations and perceptions of masculinity, sexuality and reproductive health.

The survey shows that the distribution of social roles is clearly gender-affected, which means that there are gender-specific obligations and responsibilities. In particular, the existence of gender roles is quite acceptable to most re-

spondents. These gender roles are:

- Taking care of the family is a women’s primary responsibility;
- Changing diapers, giving the children a bath and feeding them are a mothers’ responsibility;
- The man has the final say in the family;
- The women should endure verbal abuse to maintain the integrity of the family.

The following are specific responses regarding statements on gender equality or inequality:

89% of respondents agree with the statement that taking care of the family is the woman’s

Diagram 6. Female and male participants’ attitudes towards the statement, “taking care of the family is the woman’s primary responsibility”

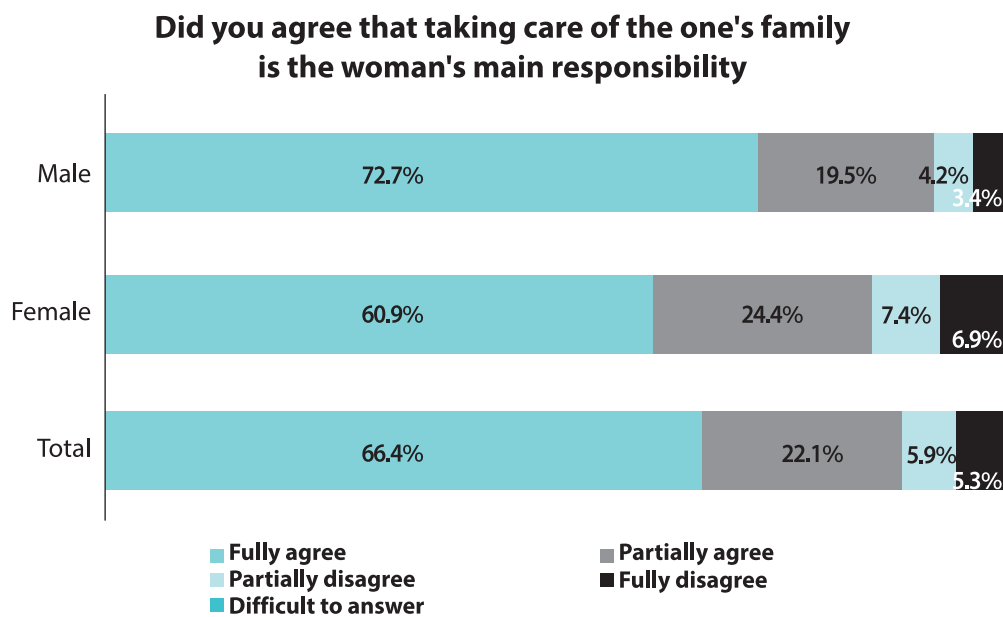


Table 7. Attitudes towards the statement “Taking care of the family is the woman’s main responsibility” by gender and age groups

Do you agree that taking care of one’s family is the woman’s main responsibility?								
Gender		Age groups						Total
		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	
Female	Agree	77,0%	88,2%	82,5%	83,1%	88,8%	92,1%	85,2%
	Disagree	22,1%	11,8%	17,5%	16,4%	11,2%	7,0%	14,4%
	Difficult to answer	1,0%			0,5%		0,9%	0,4%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Male	Agree	90,8%	92,8%	89,8%	94,8%	90,2%	94,1%	92,2%
	Disagree	9,2%	6,7%	10,2%	4,7%	9,8%	5,9%	7,6%
	Difficult to answer		0,5%		0,5%			0,2%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

primary responsibility. 93% of men and 86% of women fully or partially agree with this statement. Compared to women of the older generation, fewer younger girls (aged 18-24) agree with the statement that the woman's main responsibility is taking care of the family. Among 18-24 year-old girls 77% think that the woman's main responsibility is taking care of her family, whereas among female respondents aged 25 and above the share of respondents who think that the woman's main responsibility is to take care of her family is no less than 83% in any age group. As for the male respondents, responses to this statement do not demonstrate any progress in terms of their attitudes towards gender equality. The share of male respondents who believe that taking care of the family is the main responsibility of the woman is no less than 90% in every age

group (see Diagram 6 and Table 7):

The statement, "Changing diapers, giving children a bath and feeding them are a mother's responsibility" is agreed with by 77% of the respondents. A roughly equal number of men and women agree with this statement (81% and 76% respectively). The findings show that the cultural stereotype which deems childcare as only a woman's responsibility has somewhat changed over time in the case of both women and men. In the 18-24 year-old age group, the share of those who believe that childcare is mainly a woman's responsibility decreases in comparison with the group of older respondents. However, even in the group of 18-24 year-old respondents a clear majority of individuals hold the position that childcare is mainly a woman's responsibility. (See Diagram 7 and Table 8).

Diagram 7. Responses to the statement: "Changing diapers, giving children a bath and feeding them are a mother's responsibility"

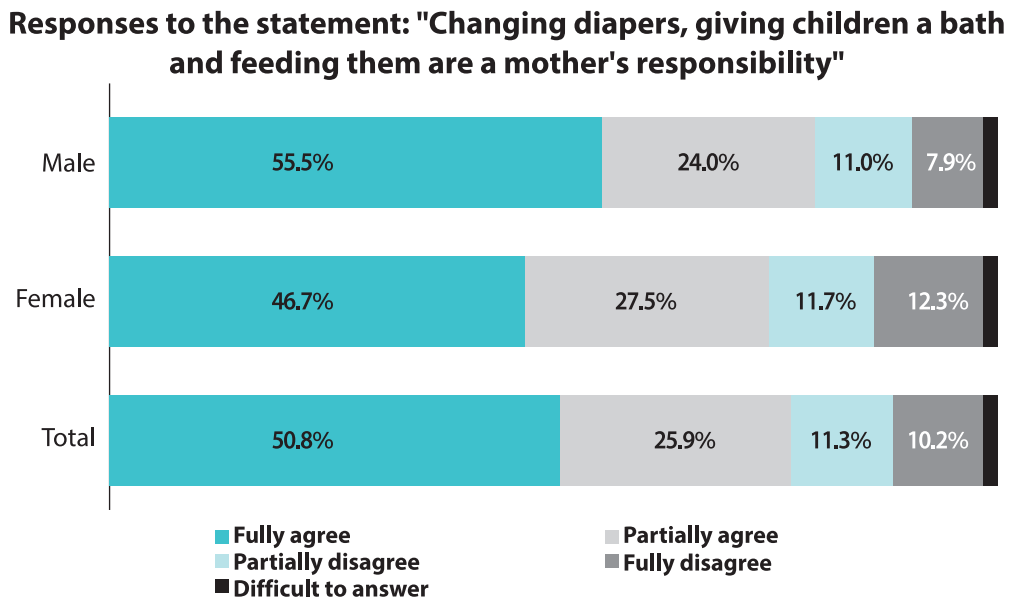


Table 8. Responses to the statement according to which "Changing diapers, giving children a bath and feeding them are a mother's responsibility" (arranged by age and gender)

Do you agree that changing diapers, giving children a bath and feeding them are a mother's responsibility?								
Gender		Age groups						Total
		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	
Female	Agree	69,6%	73,4%	70,6%	71,7%	76,9%	84,0%	74,2%
	Disagree	28,9%	24,1%	28,9%	26,0%	21,9%	13,1%	24,0%
	Difficult to answer	1,5%	2,5%	0,4%	2,3%	1,2%	2,8%	1,8%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Male	Agree	73,4%	76,1%	78,9%	79,7%	81,0%	89,8%	79,5%
	Disagree	23,6%	23,4%	19,7%	19,8%	16,0%	9,1%	18,9%
	Difficult to answer	3,1%	0,5%	1,4%	0,5%	3,1%	1,1%	1,6%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

78% of respondents agree with the statement, “The man has the final say in the family”. Agreement with this statement is shared by fewer women than men (71% against 88%). Furthermore, compared to women, men’s gender role patterns are relatively stable and change slowly, which gives credence to the idea that men are more conservative. Also, the factors that gradually cause the liberalization of women’s beliefs do not affect the men’s opinions to such a great extent. (See Diagram 8 and Table 9).

A large majority of respondents (80%) partially or fully disagree with the statement “Women’s empowerment means that men lose rights.” It seems that seeing a negative correlation between men’s and women’s rights is considered an extreme inequality and is not supported.

Most respondents (52%) fully or partially share the opinion that gender equality has been already achieved. However, the share

of respondents who fully agree does not exceed 16%. It is apparent that the population’s attitudes towards gender equality has somewhat changed for the last four or five decades. In particular, the share of individuals who think that gender equality has been already achieved has decreased among both women and men (see Diagram 9 and Table 10).

The majority of the respondents (58%) believe that striving for gender equality is beneficial for every member of society. The share of individuals who fully or partially share the opinion that “Fighting for gender equality is only beneficial for rich people” is 23%. If we look at the dynamics of answers to the given statement, we will see that the beliefs correlate to the age groups (see Diagram 10 and Table 11):

A significant majority of the respondents (80%) partially or fully disagree with the statement: “Normally, women deserve beating more than men.”

Diagram 8. Responses to the statement “The man has the final say in the family”.

Do you agree with the statement "The man has the final say in the family"

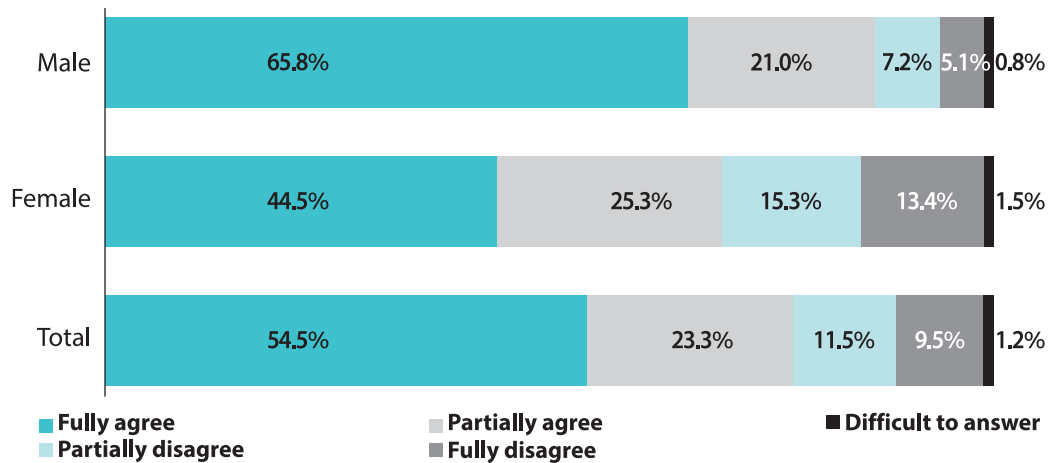


Table 9. Men and women’s responses to the statement “The man has the final say in the family” (by age and gender groups)

Do you agree that the man has the final say in the family?								
Gender		Age groups						Total
		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	
Female	Agree	58,0%	67,2%	65,5%	67,6%	78,8%	83,3%	69,7%
	Disagree	40,5%	31,1%	33,2%	31,5%	19,4%	14,4%	28,7%
	Difficult to answer	1,5%	1,7%	1,3%	0,9%	1,8%	2,3%	1,6%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Male	Agree	84,7%	86,7%	85,7%	86,5%	85,9%	92,5%	87,0%
	Disagree	14,4%	12,9%	12,2%	12,0%	14,1%	7,5%	12,2%
	Difficult to answer	0,9%	0,5%	2,0%	1,6%			0,8%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Diagram 9. Attitude to gender equality in the current period

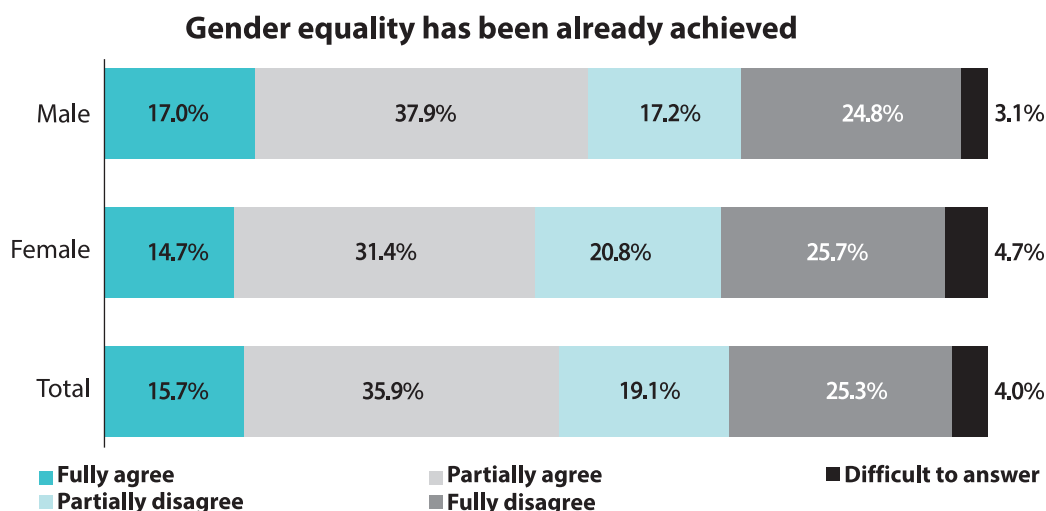


Table 10: Responses to the statement “Gender equality has been already achieved” by gender and age

Do you agree that gender equality has been already achieved?								
Gender		Age groups						Total
		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	
Female	Agree	42,9%	43,3%	48,9%	54,8%	54,1%	50,0%	48,8%
	Disagree	55,1%	54,2%	48,1%	38,8%	44,1%	37,9%	46,5%
	Difficult to answer	2,0%	2,5%	3,0%	6,4%	1,8%	12,1%	4,7%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Male	Agree	42,4%	51,9%	55,8%	63,2%	54,9%	64,5%	54,9%
	Disagree	54,6%	44,3%	42,2%	34,7%	41,5%	32,3%	42,1%
	Difficult to answer	3,1%	3,8%	2,0%	2,1%	3,7%	3,2%	3,0%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Diagram 10. Responses to the statement according to which fighting for gender equality is only beneficial for rich people

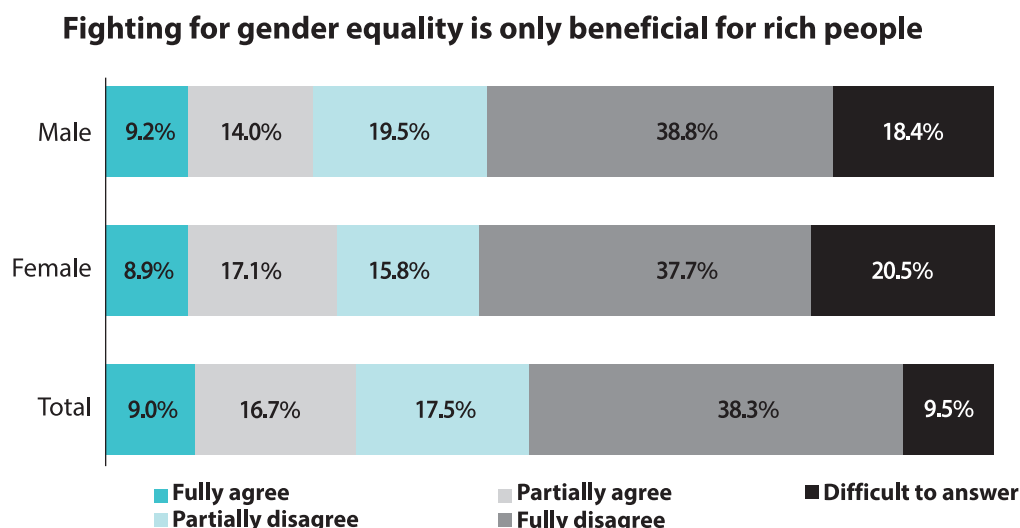
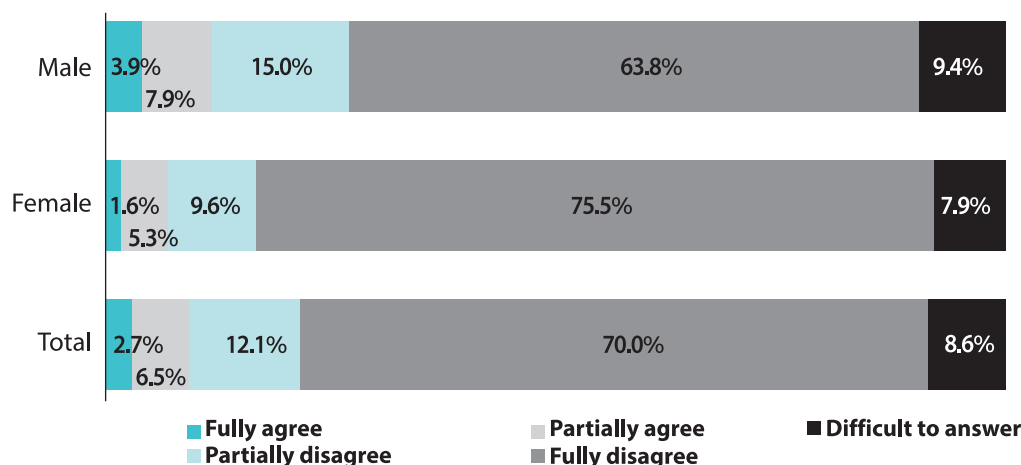


Table 11. Responses to the statement “Nowadays, fighting for gender equality is only beneficial for rich people” by gender and age groups

Do you agree that Nowadays, fighting for gender equality is only beneficial for rich people?								
Gender		Age groups						Total
		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	
Female	Agree	24,4%	29,8%	28,2%	22,4%	27,2%	23,4%	26,0%
	Disagree	62,0%	55,5%	56,0%	57,1%	52,7%	37,9%	53,6%
	Difficult to answer	13,7%	14,7%	15,8%	20,5%	20,1%	38,8%	20,5%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Male	Agree	20,5%	19,5%	29,9%	21,8%	27,4%	23,0%	23,2%
	Disagree	61,1%	64,3%	53,7%	65,3%	54,9%	47,6%	58,3%
	Difficult to answer	18,3%	16,2%	16,3%	13,0%	17,7%	29,4%	18,5%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Diagram 11. Attitudes to physical violence against women (by gender)

Do you agree that normally women deserve beating more than men



Negative attitudes toward physical violence are maintained even when it comes to family integrity. Only 14% of men and 10% of women agree that, “The woman should endure physical abuse to maintain family integrity”. However, when it comes to verbal (psychological) abuse, 65% of men and 53% of women agree with the following statement: “The woman should endure verbal abuse to maintain family integrity”.

An equal number of women and men (on average, 40%) agree with the statement: “You need to be physically strong to be a man”.

3.6 Family relations

Parents do not talk about safe sex with 83% of the Georgian population before they reach the age of 18. The topic of sex is taboo with both boys and girls. The survey shows that the

practice of informing adolescents about safe sex has been gradually changing in Georgia over the last 50 years. 91% of individuals aged 65 and above state that their parents did not provide them with information on sex when they were adolescents. The share of individuals with whom parents discussed safe sex has gradually increased. The more the man is involved in various household practices, the higher the indicator for providing adolescents with information on sex. It has been revealed that 40% of respondents have had sexual experience before the age of 18.

69% of men and 16% of women have had sexual relations before the age of 18. There is statistically significant correlation between the respondents’ gender and having had sexual experience before the age of 18 (see Diagrams 12, 13, 14 and Table 13).

23% of the respondents state that they had a casual partner at least once. In this respect,

Table 12. Responses to the statement “Normally, women deserve beating more than men” (by age and gender)

Do you agree that normally, women deserve beating more than men?								
Gender		Age groups						Total
		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	
Female	Agree	3,9%	4,2%	6,4%	7,8%	7,6%	12,2%	7,0%
	Disagree	89,7%	87,0%	86,8%	86,8%	85,3%	74,6%	85,1%
	Difficult to answer	6,4%	8,8%	6,8%	5,5%	7,1%	13,1%	8,0%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Male	Agree	10,5%	8,6%	8,1%	8,3%	16,6%	19,3%	11,8%
	Disagree	81,1%	85,7%	82,4%	83,4%	73,0%	65,2%	78,7%
	Difficult to answer	8,3%	5,7%	9,5%	8,3%	10,4%	15,5%	9,5%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Diagram 12. Various Practices of providing Adolescents with Information on Safe Sex

Did your parents talk to you about safe sex before you reached 18?

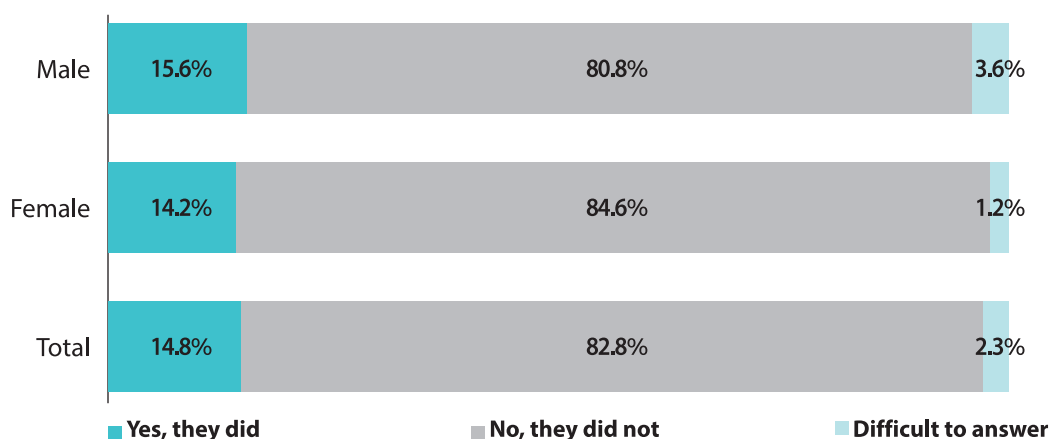


Diagram 13. Impact of fathers’ involvement in household activities on providing information to adolescents about safe sex

Did your parents talk to you about safe sex before you reached 18?

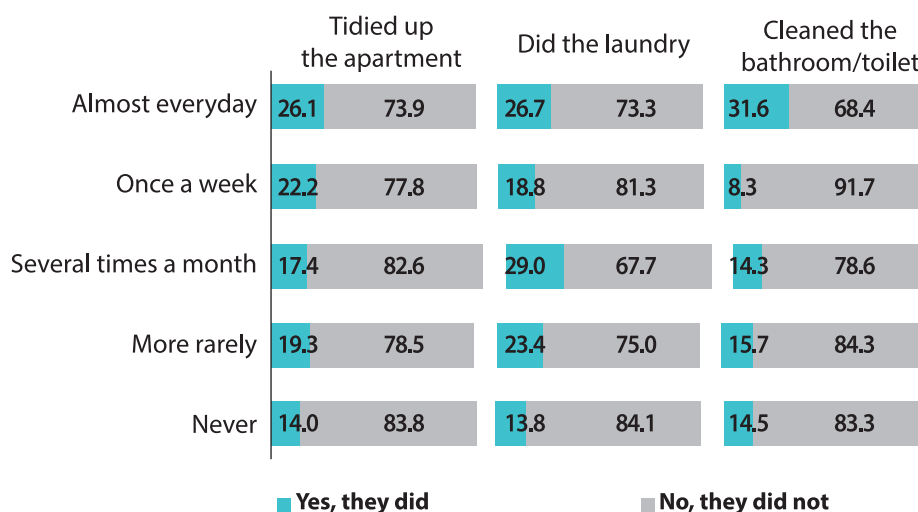
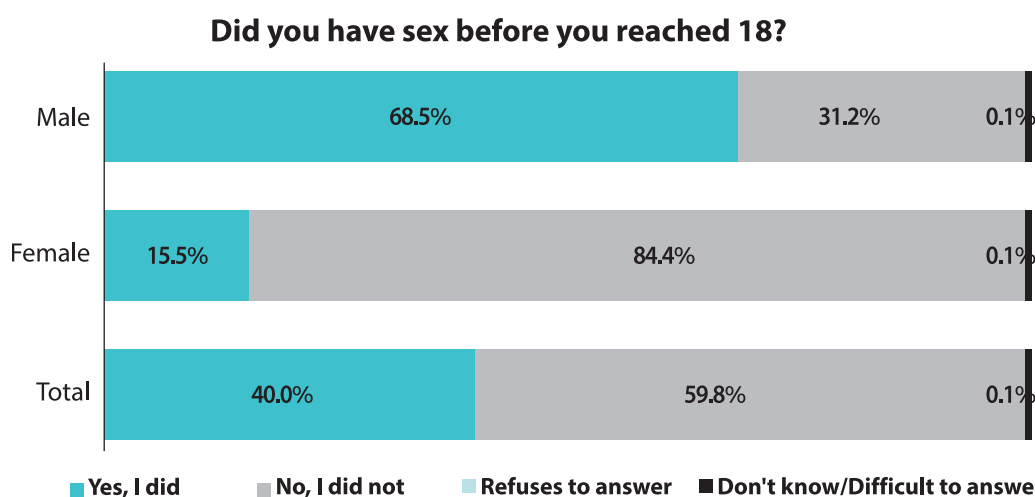


Table 13. Various Practices of Providing Adolescents with Information on Safe Sex according to Gender and Age Groups

Gender		Age groups						Total
		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	
Female	Agree	17,2%	21,4%	13,2%	11,0%	14,1%	7,5%	14,2%
	Disagree	81,9%	78,2%	83,3%	89,0%	85,3%	90,7%	84,6%
	Difficult to answer	1,0%	0,4%	3,4%	0%	0,6%	1,9%	1,3%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Male	Agree	28,9%	18,1%	17,0%	11,4%	7,9%	6,9%	15,7%
	Disagree	66,7%	77,6%	77,6%	85,5%	90,2%	90,4%	80,7%
	Difficult to answer	4,4%	4,3%	5,4%	3,1%	1,8%	2,7%	3,6%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Diagram 14. Distribution of frequency of sexual experience before the age of 18



men’s experience radically differs from that of women’s: The majority of men (52%) state that they had a casual partner at least once, whereas according to 95% of women, they had never had a casual partner. (See Diagram 15):

A significant majority of the respondents (70%) agree with the statement that ‘Women are responsible for preventing unwanted pregnancy’ (71% of women and 68% of men). Also, a large majority of respondents (76%) state that men and women should decide jointly on the type of contraceptives (family planning tools) to be used. 72% finds it acceptable if they are asked by their spouse to use a condom. It is equally acceptable for women and men if their sexual partner asks to use a condom. (See Diagrams 16, 17, 18):

According to 45% of men living with a spouse or partner, their partner has had an induced abortion at least once. The decision about the induced abortion was made with the participation of men in 37% of cases.

Information on pre-natal sex selections (as a

rule, in order to have a son) has also been obtained by the survey. 9% of women living with a partner or spouse say that they have sought an abortion for the sole purpose of pre-natal sex selection, whereas only 1.7% of men report that their partner or spouse has sought an abortion for the same reason.

54% of men note that they accompanied their pregnant spouse or partner to doctor’s appointments during the pre-natal period. However, only 4.5% of men attended the birth of their child in the delivery room. The findings do not vary according to the men’s age group or the level of education.

47% of the respondents are quite satisfied with their sexual relationship with their spouse or partner. Although, in general women’s satisfaction level is lower than that of men’s. 51% of men and 44% of women state that they are fully satisfied with their sexual relationships. (See Diagram 19).

Overall findings regarding gender equality, violence, masculinity, sexuality, and reproduc-

Diagram 15. Frequency distribution of having a casual partner

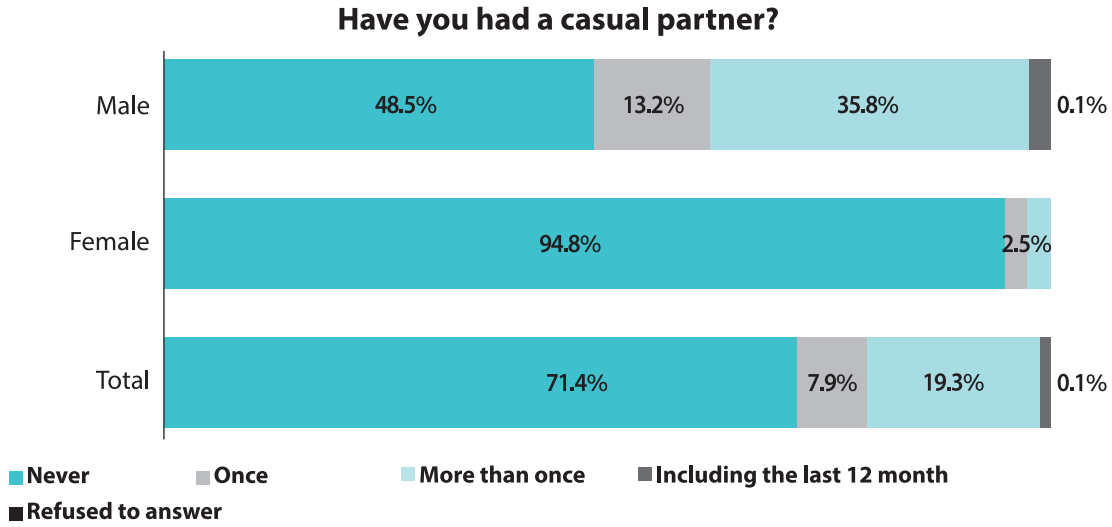


Diagram 16. Responsibility for preventing unwanted pregnancy

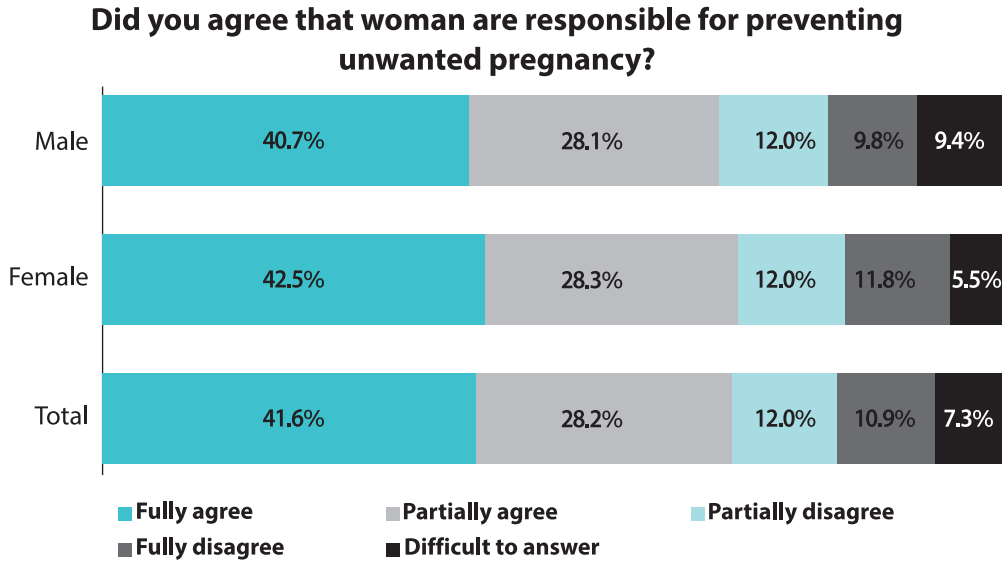


Diagram 17. Attitude to partners' joint decision about the use of contraceptives.

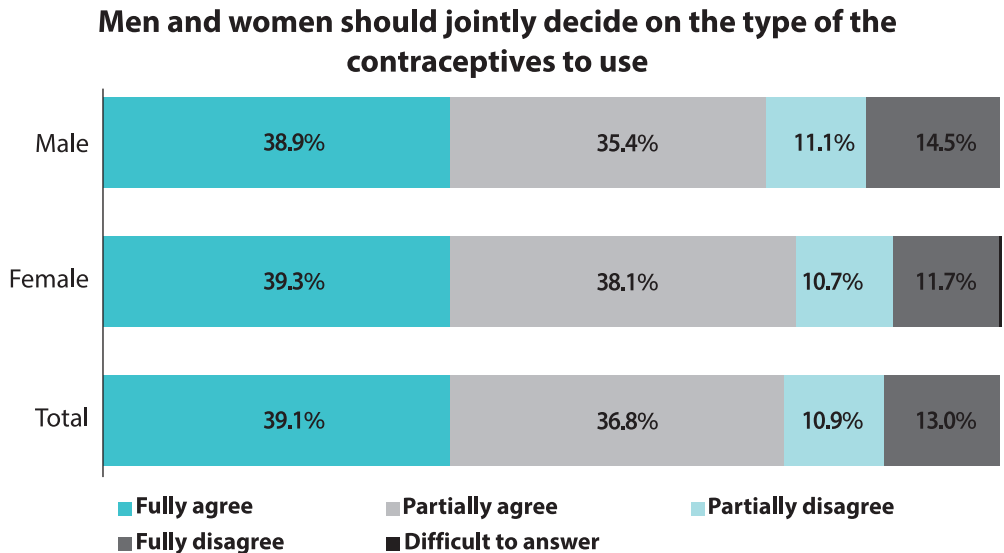


Diagram 18. Attitude to the partner's request to use a condom

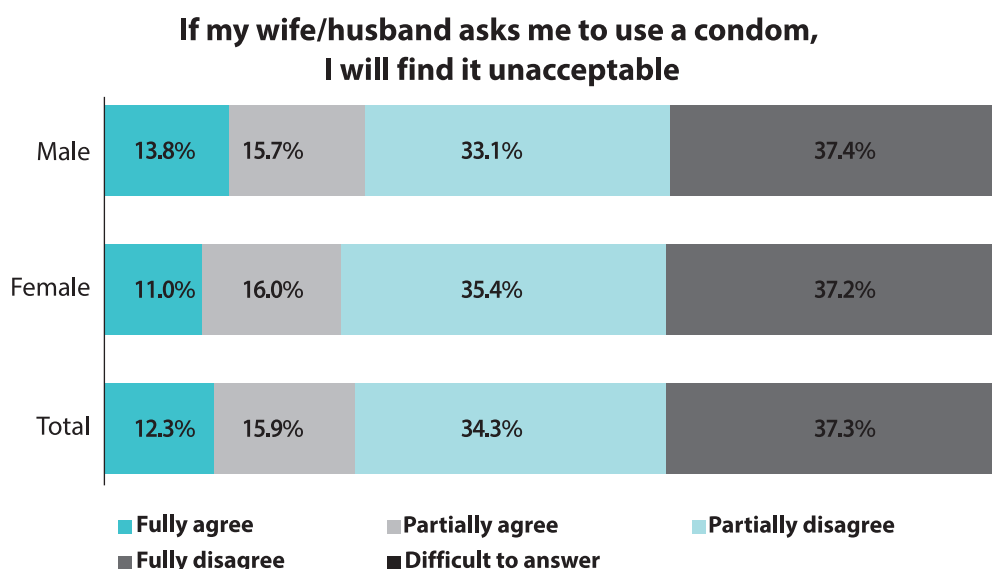


Diagram 19. Evaluation of sexual relationship with the partner or spouse

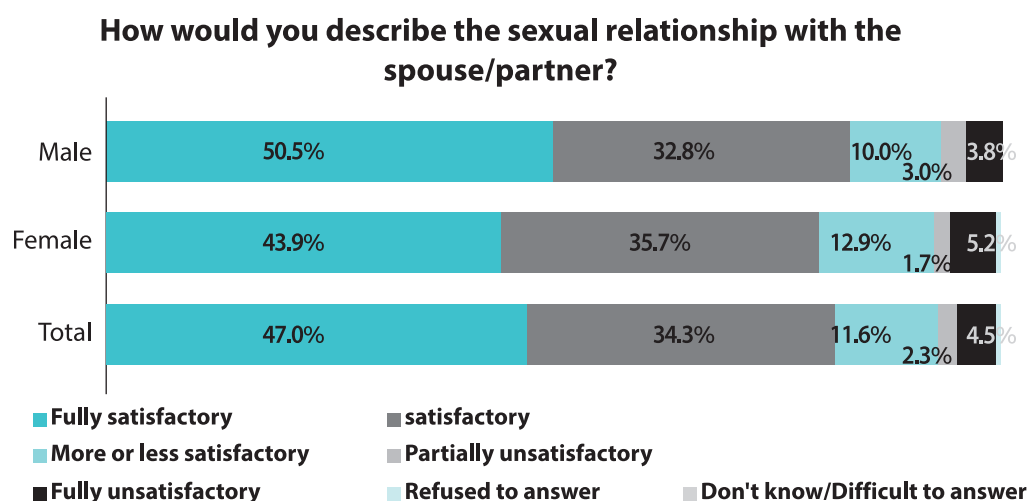


Table 14. Attitudes to gender relations, masculinity, sexuality and reproductive health

Attitudes	Men	Women
Gender relations		
Women's main responsibility is taking care of her family	93% N=1041	86% N=1091
Bathing, feeding and changing diapers for children is mainly mothers' responsibility	81% N=898	76% N=949
The man has the final say in the family	88% N=980	71% N=893
When women work there are less job opportunities for men	20% N=219	12% N=149
Women empowerment meant that men lose rights	20% N=216	13% N=155
Gender equality has been already achieved	57% N=619	51% N=623
Fighting for gender equality is only beneficial for rich people	28% N=262	33% N=332
Gender-based violence		
Normally, women deserve beating more than men	13% N=134	8% N=89

The woman should endure verbal abuse to maintain family integrity	65% N=711	53% N=668
The woman should endure physical abuse to maintain family integrity	14% N=150	10% N=127
Masculinity		
You need to be physically strong to be a man	42% N= 448	40% N=446
It is more important for men to have a male friend rather than a female friend	75% N=812	71% N= 826
Sexuality and reproductive health		
Men need sex more than women	57% N=602	55% N= 657
Men and women should decide jointly on the type of contraceptives to be used	74% N=773	78% N=920
Women are responsible for preventing unwanted pregnancy	76% N=777	75% N=904
It is unacceptable if my wife asks me to use a condom	29% N=303	27% N=313

tive health are summarized in Table 14.

3.7 Intimate partner violence

Current practices of sexual violence against the spouse or partner can be broken down into two groups according to the respondents' reports:

- Various severe practices of physical and verbal violence;
- Mild practice of verbal violence (like shouting, using profanity, negative remarks etc.)

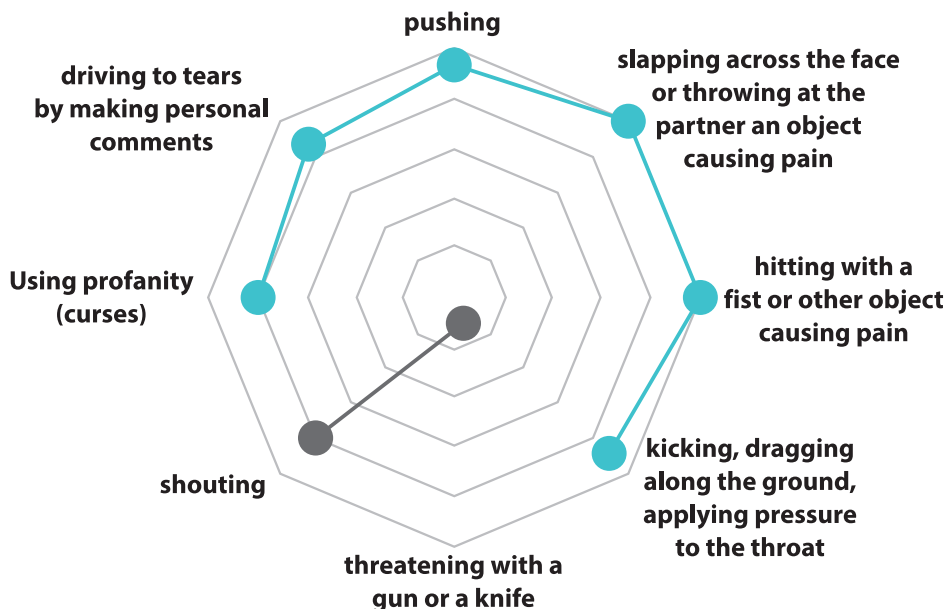
Threatening one's wife or female partner with a gun or knife is a marginal case between the two factors, which means that it is not consid-

ered to be a fully mild or severe practice.

Using abusive language, shouting at one's wife or partner, making personal comments and driving her to tears is a more common practice compared to other forms of violence. As shown by the factor analysis, these are considered mildly violent practices (see Diagram 20).

The majority of men state (66%) that they have shouted at their wife or partner at least once. 44% have used profanity with their wife at least once. 38% have driven their spouse or partner to tears by comments at least once. 12-15% of men note that they have pushed their wife or partner or slapped her in the face at least once. As reported by men, practices like hitting the wife or partner with a fist or other object, kicking, dragging along the ground, applying pressure to the throat,

Diagram 20. Factor analysis of current violent practices against the spouse or partner (Practices falling under the same factor are shown in the same color)



kicking, dragging along the ground, applying pressure to the throat, as well as threatening with a gun or a knife are relatively less common. (See Table 15):

The survey shows that violence by women against their spouses is encountered less often than violence by men. The most common form of mild violence used by women is shouting. Every third married woman noted that she has shouted at her husband at least once (see Diagram 21).

Various Practices of Violence: Childhood experience

According to factor analysis, various kinds of violent experiences during childhood can be broken down into three groups (see Diagram 22):

- Different violent practices directly experienced during adolescence;
- Domestic violence;
- Sexual violence.

Table 18: Violence against women

Different violent practices	Men's reports
Pushed their wife or partner (at least once)	15%
Slapped her in the face or threw an object at her partner that might have caused pain	12%
Hit with a fist or another object causing pain	5,3%
Kicked, dragged along the ground, applied pressure to the throat	3,8%
Threatened with a gun or a knife	2,4%
Shouted at their wife or partner	66%
Used profanity (curses)	44%
Driven their wife or partner to tears by making personal comments	38%

Diagram 21. Frequency distribution of current violent practices involving the spouse or partner

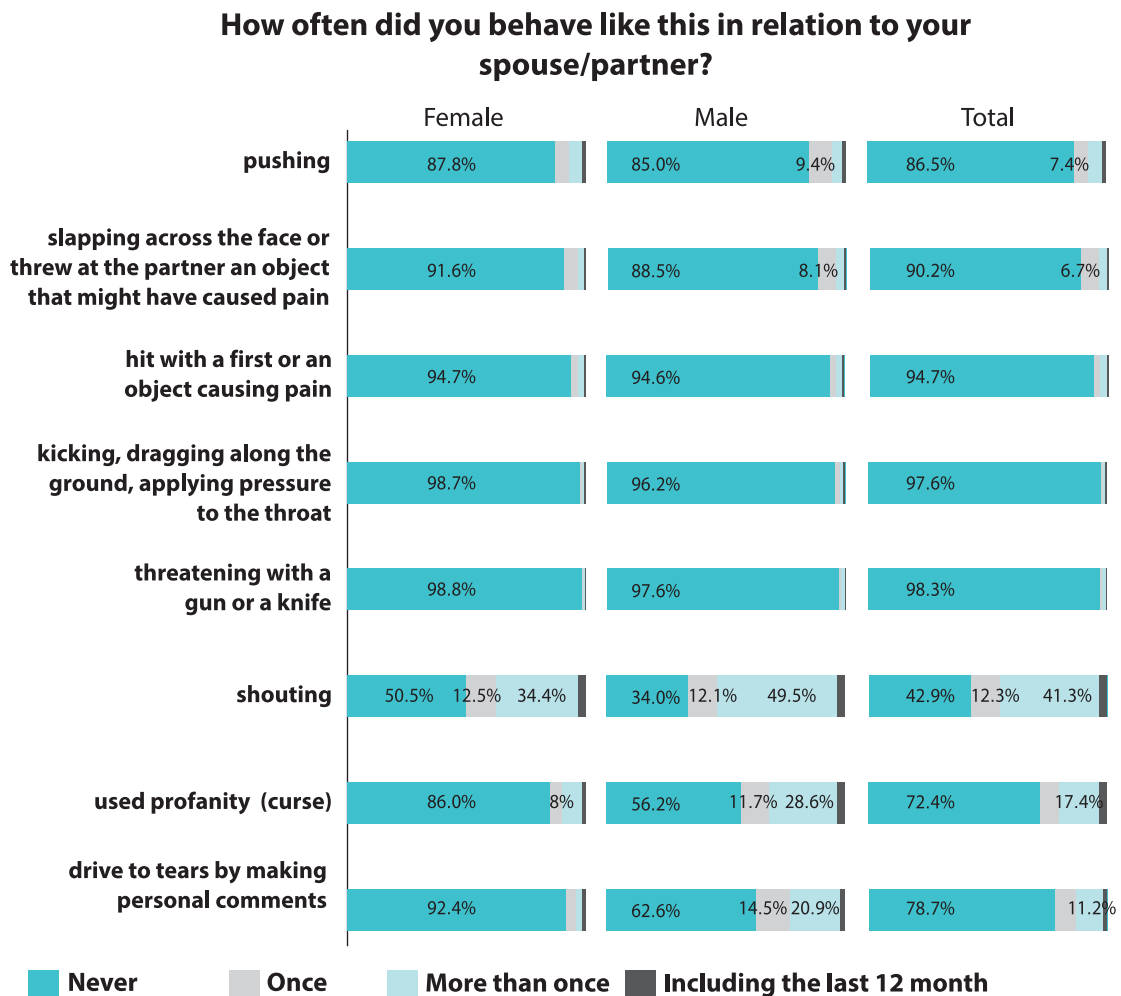
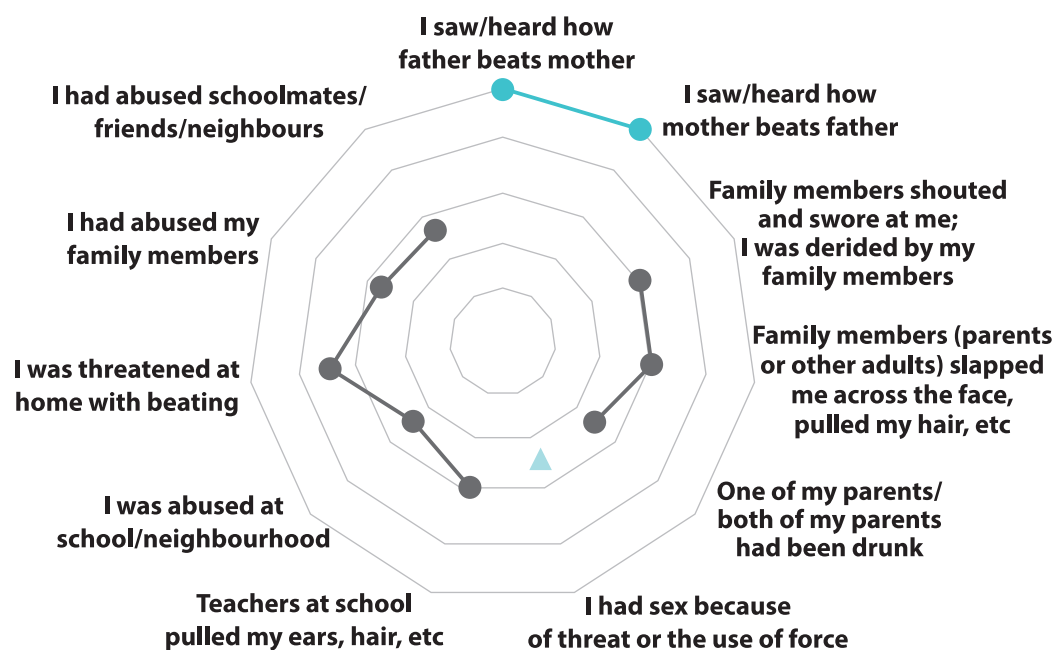


Diagram 22. Factor analysis of the violent practices experienced in childhood
(Variables falling under the same factor are shown in the same color)



According to the respondents, among the violent practices experienced during adolescence a relatively common practice was physical violence from school teachers (pulling the ear, hair, etc) and threats of beating by parents. Almost every second respondent mentions acts of physical violence committed by teachers and about 30% state that family members threatened them with beating. Also, according to respondents' reports, as adolescents they experienced domestic violence, like shouting, using profanity, mocking (experienced by about 40%), in addition to slapping in the face, pulling hair, etc (experienced by over 30%) (See Diagram 23).

It must be noted that, despite the confidentiality of the responses, people are reluctant to talk about violence, and therefore, their answers are not fully sincere. It is very likely that the actual frequency distribution of violent practices exceeds the survey findings.

Attitudes towards sexual violence and actual practice

Compared to women, men are more likely to believe that rape might be something desired by women in certain cases. 23% of women and 35% of men fully agree or are more inclined to agree with the statement "In some cases women want to be raped." Also, 53% of men and 45% of women believe that if a woman does not resist physically, then it cannot be considered an act of rape. It should be emphasized that men and women hold almost identical

opinions on whether rape can be provoked due to recklessness and whether a woman's reputation is linked to becoming a victim of rape. 31% of women and 36% of men fully agree, or are more inclined to agree, with the statement that "Women are raped because they recklessly put themselves in the situation." On the other hand, 36% of women and 39% of men fully agree, or are more inclined to agree, with the statement that "Only women with bad reputations are raped." (See Diagram 24):

As for actual practices of sexual violence, the following two practices were subjected to analysis: a) sexual intercourse without consent and b) sexual intercourse under the influence of alcohol.

In the case of both men and women, the frequency indicators of forced sexual intercourse exceed the indicators of the sexual violence against other people. In particular, 11% of male respondents state that they have had sex with their spouse or partner unwillingly at least once, whereas 6% of women state that they have had sex with their partner against his will. 23% of women state that their partner had sex against his will at least once, whereas 19% of men said that they have had sex with their spouse or partner unwilling at least once.

6% of women claimed to have had sex with their spouse or partner at least once when the spouse or partner was so drunk that he could not say whether he wanted sex or not. 16% of men state that they have had sex with their

spouse or partner at least once when she was so drunk that she could not say whether she wanted sex or not.

Similarly, 2% of women state that they have had sex with the spouse or partner when so drunk that they could not say whether they

wanted sex or not. 15% of men state that they had sex with the spouse or partner at least once when so drunk that they could not say whether they wanted sex or not. (See Diagrams 25; 26).

Diagram 23. Frequency distribution of violent practices experienced during childhood

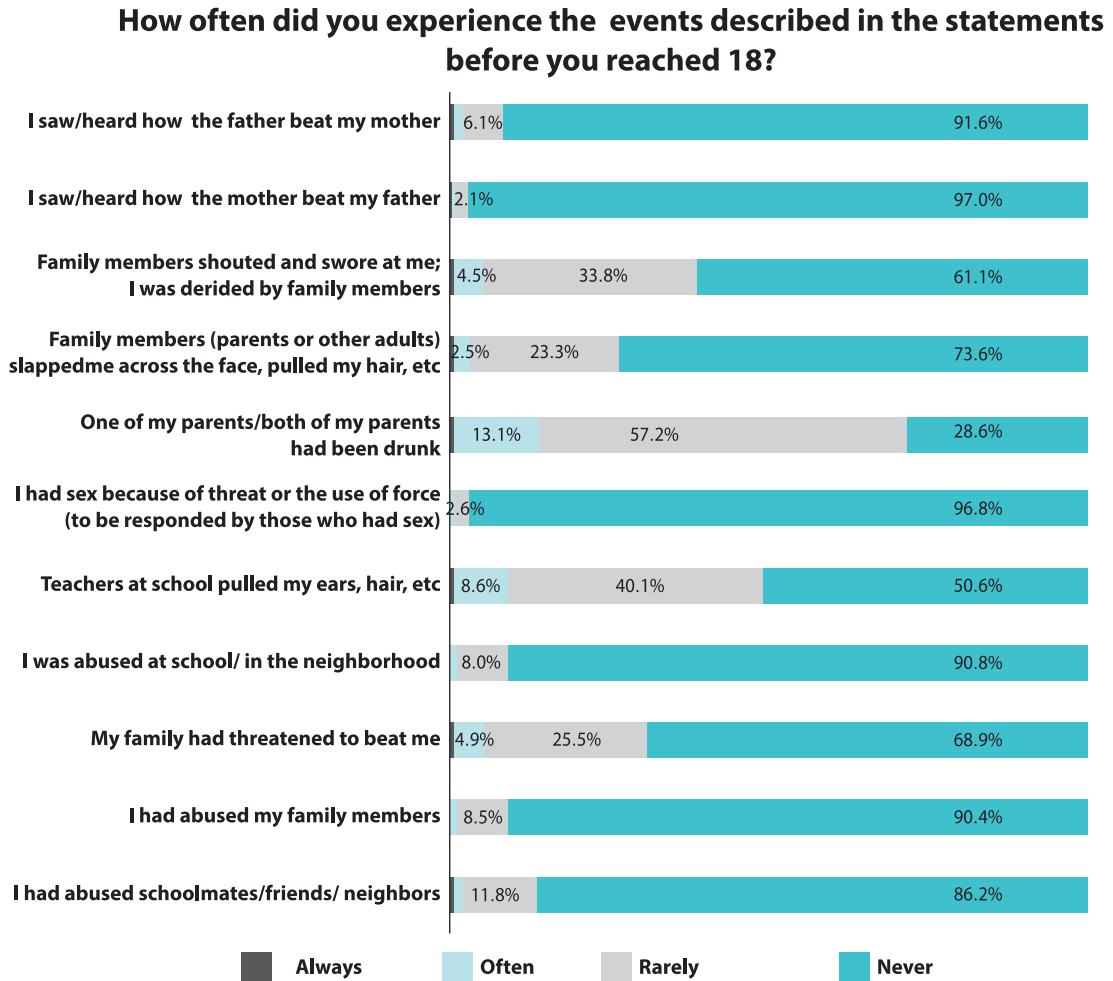


Diagram 24. Attitudes to sexual violence against women

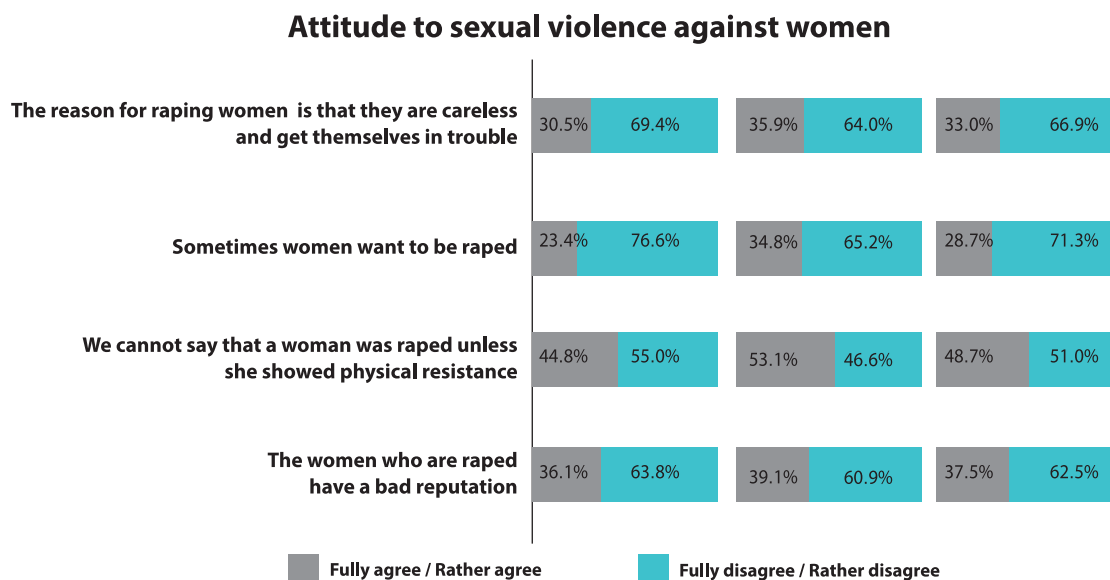


Diagram 25. Frequency distribution of sexual practices with the spouse or partner carried out against his or her will

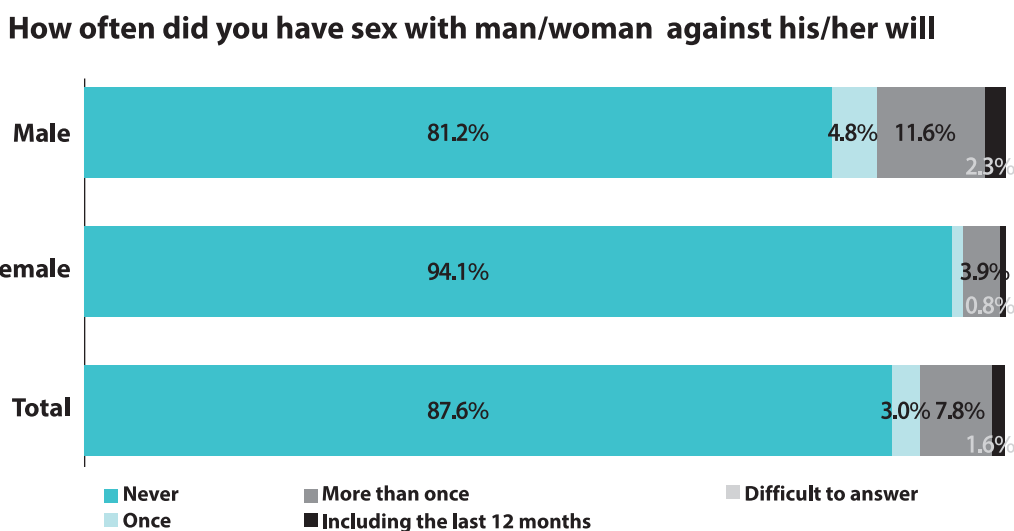
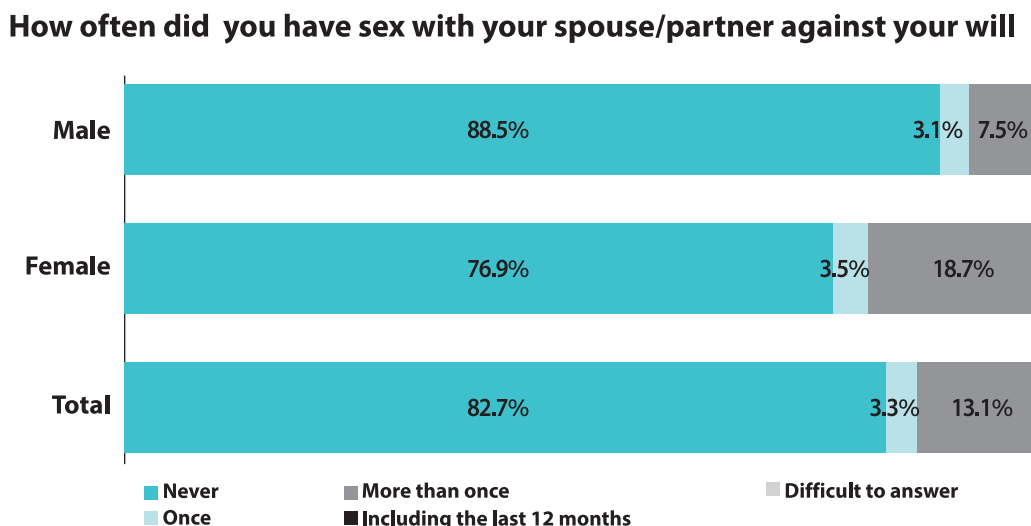


Diagram 26. Frequency distribution of forced sexual intercourse directly experienced by respondents



4 COMPARISON OF GENDER PRACTICES AND VALUE ORIENTATIONS FROM 1945 TILL PRESENT

To determine the pace and character of changes observed in gender practices we found it advisable to single out different time periods. Several periods have been delineated for the purpose of this analysis, from the second half of the twentieth century up to the present period. To discuss the values and gender roles typical for these periods we relied on the responses of the survey participants, whose childhood coincided with the given periods.

Conditionally, from 3-5 years old to 15 years old was taken to be the respondents' childhood, since within this age range, the respondents would be capable of describing the practices of their parents. The recollections of children below 3-5 years would not be accurate enough to adequately describe the practices of their parents. Therefore, the following periods were singled out:

- I. 1945-1973. The ideas about this period are based on the dispositions and attitudes of people aged 55 or older;
- II. 1974 – 1983 evaluated on the basis of answers provided by 35-54 year-old respondents;
- III. 1984 – 1994 is analyzed on the basis of 25-34 year-old respondents' answers;
- IV. 1995-present. Description of this period is based on a) information provided by 18-24 year-old respondents about their parents' practices, and b) information provided by 18-34 year-old respondents about their own family practices and the distribution of functions within their own families.

4.1. Description of gender-based practices and value orientations from 1945 to 1973

In order to measure the variables studied in the given period, reports made by respondents aged 55 and above were used to obtain information about the distribution of household responsibilities between their parents. 44% of respondents in this age group stated that as children, they were mainly looked after by their mothers (against 2% of respondents who named the father as a main caregiver). According to 47% of respondents both parents equally participated in child care (see Table 16).

It should be noted that the period, after World War II, is characterized by a low level of educational attainment among the population, in the case of both men and women. However, the level of education among women was significantly lower than that among men. For example, only 10% of mothers of 55 year-old respondents and above had attained higher education. In the case of fathers, 16% had higher education. The share of male and female parents without any education was 5%, on average.

Compared to women, men were less involved in household activities. However, they were relatively more active in certain fields, such as, buying food and taking care of children. Furthermore, most men had never participated in activities considered 'chores', such as doing laundry or cleaning the bathroom.

When referring to the given analytical period, 44% of the respondents stated that the final

Table 16. Distribution of child care activities in the period 1945- 1973

Mainly mother	Mainly father	Mother and father equally	Mainly grand-parents	Aunt on the father's side	Aunt on the mother's side	Children's residential home	Siblings	Uncle and his wife	Nanny
43,9%	1,9%	46,7%	5,9%	0,3%	0,1%	0,1%	0,6%	0,1%	0,1%

decisions about children’s education had been made by fathers, while 24% reported it to be the mother who made the final decisions on this issue. (See Table 17).

As reported by respondents, women made the final decisions regarding issues like purchasing food, clothes or household items.

4.2. Description of gender-determined practices and value orientations in the period 1974-1983

The second conditional period covers the years 1974-1983. We relied on the reports of the respondents who fell within the 35-55 age group in order to describe the distribution of family responsibilities between the parents and, subsequently, to obtain information on the gender environment within the family.

49% of the respondents from this age group state that both parents were equally involved in child care; 43% state that they were mainly looked after by their mother, whereas only 2% named the father as the main care giver.

As for the level of education, 20% of married women and 23% of men had higher education. Compared to the previous period, men’s participation in certain household activities

became even more polarized: The number of men refusing to participate in cooking, purchasing food and child care decreased, whereas the number of men who absolutely refused to participate in doing laundry, bathroom cleaning and similar chores increased even more.

Compared to the previous period, the mother’s influence on educational decisions decreases from 25% to 19%, while the father’s involvement and final say in educational issues remains the same and cases of joint decisions by both parents increases from 29% to 36% (see Table 19).

As for purchasing different household items, the survey findings reveal the following: In the case of purchasing food, both men and women’s influence on deciding the issue decreases by 5% in both categories, whereas the share of joint decisions increases by 11%. The decrease in individual decisions can be explained by an increase in the number of joint decisions. The same tendency is observed in the case of purchasing children’s clothes: the rate of individual decisions for both parents decreases (this tendency is quite prominent in the case of fathers), and the rate of joint decisions increases. This tendency is also visible in the case of purchasing household items.

Table 17. Frequency distribution of final decisions on child education in 1945-1973

Which family member made the final decision on children’s education?	(%)
Mother	24,5
Father	43,6
Mother and father jointly	29,3
Grandfather	0,9
Decided myself	0,4
Aunt (on mother’s and father’s sides)	0,1
Grandmother	0,5
Uncle	0,2
Siblings	0,3

Table 18. Distribution of child care responsibilities in 1974-1983

Mainly mother	Mainly father	Mother and father equally	Mainly grand parents	Aunt on the father’s side	Aunt on the mother’s side	Residential home for children
43,2%	1,6%	49,2%	5,5%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%

Table 19. Frequency distribution of final decisions regarding children's education in the years 1974-1983

Which family member had a final say regarding children's education?	(%)
Mother	19,1
Father	43,2
Mother and father together	36,4
Grandfather	0,7
Decided myself	0,4
Aunt	0,2
Grandmother	-
Nanny	0,1
Uncle	-
Aunt on the father's side	-

4.3. Description of gender determined practices and value orientations in the period 1984-1994

The third analyzable time period covers the years 1984-1994. This period is remarkable for its dynamic social, political and cultural changes. These dynamics are even more striking in post-Soviet Georgia, since it also includes the collapse of the USSR and a period of civil conflict and economic scarcity.

In order to obtain information about the distribution of family responsibilities among the two parents and, therefore, to gain perspective on the gender environment in the family, we relied on the reports of 25 - 34 year-old respondents. 47% in this age group state that both parents were equally involved in childcare, 46% state that they were mainly looked after by the mother, whereas only 1% named the father as a main caregiver.

Compared to the previous analytical period, gender role polarization is very weak; however, the percentage of polarization is too small to be conclusive and might be quite insignificant.

As for the level of education, the tendency to make education increasingly accessible seems to continue during this analyzable period. As

in the previous period, the number of people without any level of education is less than 1%. Also, compared to the previous period, the share of the individuals with secondary technical and higher education increases. The share of women with secondary technical education increased from 22% to 30% and in the case of men, it increased from 19% to 26%. The number of women with higher education increases from 20% to 30% and from 23% to 30% for men. The rate of increase in attaining higher education is higher in the case of women and the difference between men and women vanishes according to the respondents with higher education.

It is interesting to analyze whether this parity in the level of education is reflected in the distribution of various household activities. The tendency of polarization is further increasing: the number of men who refuse to participate in cooking, purchasing food and childcare has decreased compared to the previous period, but the number of men who refuses to participate in apartment cleaning has increased. As for purchasing food, clothes and household items, the tendencies observed in the previous period are also evident in this period, i.e. women generally take more responsibility for such activities and the final decision rests with them. The share of men, as final decision makers, gradually decreases and instead the share of joint decisions increases.

Table 20. Distribution of childcare responsibilities in 1984-1994

Mainly mother	Mainly father	Mother and father equally	Mainly grand parents	Aunt on the father's side	Sib-lings	Uncle and his wife
45,7%	1,1%	46,8%	5,6%	0,3%	0,2%	0,3%

Compared to the previous period, women’s role in making decisions about child care does not show any changes, whereas the influence of men decreases and is replaced by an increased share of jointly made parental decisions (see Table 21).

4.4. Description of gender-determined practices and value orientations from 1995 to the present

The next analyzable period spans the years from 1995 until the present. To measure the practices in this period we relied on the reports of 18-24 year-old respondents about practices within their families.

This analyzable period is characterized by an increased number of cases of individual child-care (i.e. mainly one of the parents takes care of the children). This tendency is the same irrespective of who the main caregiver is – the father or the mother, at the same time, cases of joint care decrease. It is interesting to note that grandparents become more intensively involved in childcare (an increase from 5% to 8%). This change is likely to be caused by economic rather than cultural factors, since this is the post-Soviet period when the old state mechanisms responsible for child care (e.g. kindergartens) no longer functioned adequately. Also, a large part of the population

left the country in search of work. Among the work force who travelled abroad were many young parents who entrusted the upbringing of their children to the older generation, and especially to grandparents (see Table 22):

As for education levels, the indicators improve during this period, exceeding the indicators for all the previous periods. In this period there are no women or men without any education and the share of people with higher education increases both among men and women.

The tendencies observed during the previous period persist: the difference between men and women with higher education almost disappears (38% -women, 37% - men).

Important changes are observable in the dynamics of the distribution of household activities: The absolute refusal of men to be involved in household activities decreases in the case of almost every domestic activity, including so-called ‘chores’. For example, absolute refusals decrease from 86% to 79% for apartment cleaning, from 90% to 84% for doing laundry and from 91% to 87% for bathroom cleaning.

As for decisions about education and upbringing, the influence of individual opinions (for both parents) on decision making decreases compared to the previous period and the practice of joint decision making becomes more common (see Table 23).

Table 21. Frequency distribution of final decisions regarding children’s education in the years 1984-1994

Which family member made the final decision on children’s education?	(%)
Mother	19,5
Father	36,5
Mother and father together	42,8
Grandfather	0,5
Decided myself	0,6
Aunt	0,2
Grandmother	0,5
Uncle	0,2
Siblings	0,3

Table 22: Distribution of child care responsibilities (1995-present)

Mainly mother	Mainly father	Mother and father equally	Mainly grand parents	Aunt on the father’s side	Aunt on the mother’s side
46,1%	2,5%	41,7%	8,4%	0,4%	0,9%

Table 23. Frequency distribution of final decisions regarding children's education (from 1995-present)

Which family member made the final decision on children's education?	(%)
Mother	17,8
Father	30,3
Mother and father together	49,0
Grandfather	1,0
Decided myself	0,6
Aunt	0,6

4.5. Comparison of gender determined practices and value orientations by identified periods

A comparison of the data from the identified periods allows us to identify the dynamics of changes in gender practices over time.

Equal involvement in childcare is highest among the parents of the older population, i.e. the generation whose reports on family practices coincide with the years 1945-1973. It is also worth noting that the fathers' involvement in childcare is weakest during the third period (1984-1994). As for the current period, the mother's direct involvement in childcare is maximal. In the same period, the involvement of both grandparents and fathers in childcare increases. The tendency of joint parental care is weakest in the period in question. This might be a sign of the disintegration of the traditional family structure, as the share of joint care decreases in tandem with the increase in individual care on the part of the mother, father or grandparents.

The curve for higher education shows interesting dynamics. The level of educational attainment steadily increases for both males and females starting from the first analytical period. This applies to secondary and vocational education; however, increased accessibility is most striking in the case of higher education. In the first analyzable period, the share of individuals with higher education was 10% for women and 16% of men, whereas in the last analyzable period (the current period) the share of women with higher education increased to 38%. It should be noted that the pace of receiving higher education is different for men and women. In the first period, there were fewer women with higher education than men (1.5 fewer women than men). The difference started to decrease from the second period

and finally disappeared. (See Table 24).

The impact of the increased access to education on women's independence and changes in traditional gender roles as well as its manifestation in changing family practices can be evaluated by comparing the indicators for family practices in the analyzable periods.

The data analysis clearly shows the existence of two groups of practices. In one group gender participation shows regular changes, and in the consequent periods the absolute refusal of men to participate in household activities gradually decreases. (i.e. men are more and more involved in household activities). Such activities include purchasing food and child care. Men's involvement in purchasing food and childcare increases almost proportionally.

As for the second group, it is difficult to identify a regular pattern of changes. The relevant indicators show insignificant changes, but the logic of these changes does not depend on the changes in the analytical periods. These practices are not influenced by those socio-cultural aspects of time and social development, which had an impact on men's participation in some household activities. So, practices such as doing laundry, tidying the apartment and maintaining hygiene remain unaltered.

Table 24. Higher education of male and female parents by analytical periods

Parents with higher education	1945-1973	1974-1983	1984-1994	1995 present
Women	9,7%	20,3%	30,0%	37,9%
Men	16,1%	23,4%	29,4%	36,7%

5

ATTITUDES TO GENDER EQUALITY AND PRACTICES OF INVOLVEMENT IN CHILD CARE AND DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES

As mentioned above, respondents’ attitude to gender equality was measured by the degree of agreement with individual statements developed for the questionnaire. These statements described practices sensitive to gender role distribution. Each statement was evaluated on a 4-point scale, where “1” indicated “Fully agree” and “4” – “Fully disagree”. The three selected statements were the following:

- “Changing diapers, giving children a bath and feeding children is mainly a mothers’ responsibility”
- “The man has the final word in the family”
- “The woman should endure verbal abuse to maintain the integrity of the family”

Three groups were singled out according to the responses made to the statements:

1. Respondents with loyal attitudes towards gender equality;
2. Respondents resisting gender equality;
3. Respondents with no clear attitude to gender equality.

Those who support gender equality partially or fully disagree with the statement: “The man has the final say in the family”; and “The woman should endure verbal abuse to sus-

tain family integrity” and fully disagree with the statement “Changing diapers, giving children a bath and feeding children is mainly the mothers’ responsibility”.

The group which opposes gender equality is composed of respondents who fully or partially agree with the three statements mentioned above.

The group with undecided attitude to gender equality is composed of the respondents who do not respond in a clear and consistent way to gender-equality sensitive statements.

Find below the table for the share of each group in Georgia population (see Table 25).

The first group was labeled as “the Loyal”, the second group as “the Resistant” and the third one “the Opportunists”.

5.1 Social and demographic profile of the groups with different attitudes to gender equality

The share of “the Loyal” among respondents is 3.7%. 81% of this category is composed of women. 59% of women falling under “the

Table 25. Distribution of groups with different attitudes to gender equality in the Georgia population

1	The Loyal group to gender equality	3.7 %
2	The Resistant group to gender equality	45.5 %
3	Respondents holding an undecided attitude to gender equality	50.8 %

Table 26. Frequency distribution of “supporters” by age groups

Age groups					
18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +
25,8%	18,0%	29,2%	11,2%	7,9%	7,9%
Female respondents					
25,7%	18,6%	34,3%	11,4%	4,3%	5,7%

Loyal” category are married or have a partner, and 41% are single (this also includes divorced individuals and widows up to the age of 55 who are not currently living with a partner). “The Loyal” are mainly from the following age groups: 35-44 and 18-24. The share of 35-44 year-olds is 29% and the share of 18-24 year-olds is 26% (see Table 26).

75% of the Loyal has higher education. Within the given group the share of women with higher education (77.1%) exceeds the share of women with the secondary education (22.9%).

The share of “the Resistant” to gender equality is 45.5%. This group is mostly composed of men (53.2%). The share of women in the given group is 47%. Compared to the other age categories, the share of 65 year-old and older respondents is higher and constitutes 23% (see Table 27).

The age related tendency is observable in both the male and female groups. Among ‘the Resistant’, females, 26% are aged 65 and above. Among the Resistant males, 20% are aged 65 and above (see Table 28).

The majority of ‘the Resistant’ have no higher education (69%). The share of those with higher education is 31%. This tendency is observed with both ‘the Resistant’ males and females. The share of ‘the Resistant’ without higher education constitutes 74% in the case of women, and 65% in the case of men.

As for ‘the Opportunists’, their share makes up

50,8% of the entire sample. In this category, 57% are men and 43% are women. 64% of the Opportunists are married and 36% are single. 23% of them are 18-24 year old respondents and 20% belongs to the 25-34 year old age group (see Table 29).

In the age groups of ‘the Opportunist’ respondents the pattern of distribution of male and female respondents is the same as in the rest of the sample (see Table 30).

Most of ‘the Opportunists’ (51%) have higher education.

5.2. Distribution of domestic activities in the groups with different attitude to gender equality

The survey shows that ‘the Loyal’ and ‘the Resistant’ are different in terms of their experience of distributing household activities. However, they do overlap to some extent.

In the group of ‘the Loyal’, the share of married women who state that they are only or mainly responsible for the household activities fluctuates from 73 to 81%. These activities include doing laundry and cleaning the apartment and bathroom. A maximum of 27% of married female who are in ‘the Loyal’ group state that they share these responsibilities with their spouses. No one in the group states that these activities are carried out only or mainly by men.

Table 27. Frequency distribution of ‘the Resistant’ by age groups

Age groups					
18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +
11,4%	16,9%	15,0%	17,5%	16,4%	22,7%

Table 28. Frequency distribution of the opponents to gender equality by gender and age

Gender	Age groups					
	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +
Female	8,2%	15,8%	16,2%	17,8%	16,2%	25,8%
Male	14,2%	17,8%	13,9%	17,3%	16,6%	20,1%

Table 29. Frequency distribution of ‘the opportunists’ by age groups

Age groups					
18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +
23,3%	20,2%	15,7%	17,1%	11,9%	11,8%

Table 30. Frequency distribution of ‘opportunists’ by age and gender

Gender	Age groups					
	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +
Female	20,7%	20,6%	18,1%	17,3%	12,1%	11,2%
Male	26,5%	19,7%	12,5%	17,0%	11,7%	12,7%

Considering laundry, apartment and bathroom cleaning as exclusively female activities is more common in the group of “the Resistant”. This applies to both “the Resistant” males and females. For example, the share of ‘the Resistant’ married females who state that they are mainly or solely responsible for the household activities fluctuates from 90 to 93%. A maximum of 8% of married “Resistant” females share these activities with their spouses.

According to “the Loyal” females their spouse or partner has become more involved in certain household activities like cooking (stated by 31%) and child care (stated by 65%).

In the group of “the Resistant”, men’s participation increases in child care activities - 29% of married ‘Resistant’ females state that they and their husbands are equally involved in child care activities. However, it is quite clear that the equal distribution of child care responsibilities in “the Resistant” group falls behind the experience of ‘the Loyal’ group to a great extent.

In the groups of “the Loyal” and “the Resistant” equal distribution of the responsibilities between the spouses or partners is most striking in the case of purchasing food and paying bills. However, the experience of the two groups is

still different (this mostly applies to food purchase). In the group of “the Loyal” married females, sharing of responsibilities in food purchasing activities is stated by 63%, whereas only 46% of the “Resistant” married females make the same statement. Equal participation in the payment of bills is mentioned by 43% of “the Loyal” married females and only 39% of “the Resistant” married females.

As for the fixing of broken items, these tasks are mainly performed by men. “The Loyal” and “the Resistant” females both state (60%) that this is mainly or solely the men’s responsibility.

The information above provided by “the Resistant” women is confirmed by the married male respondents belonging to the same group. (The share of men in the group of “the Loyal” is so small that any extrapolation from the obtained findings would be unreliable).

Thus, the experience of the group of supporters of gender equality reveals the highest level of men’s involvement in the household activities. However, even the group of “the Loyal” still maintain the patriarchal model of the distribution of household activities based on gender inequality (see Diagrams 27, 28).

Diagram 27. Involvement of women supporters in the household activities (by marital status)

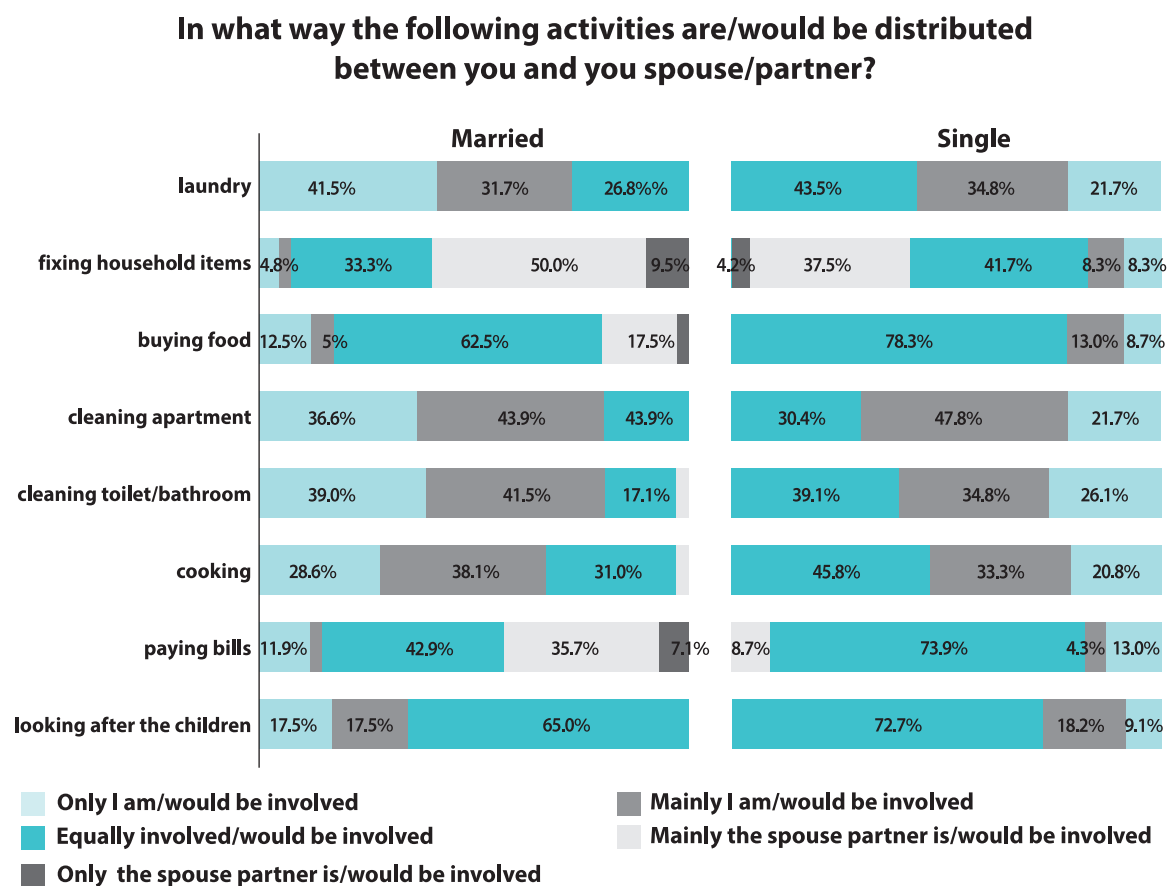


Diagram 28. Involvement of "the Resistant" in the household activities (by gender and marital status)

