



Making feminism pro family

A study of women's waged-labor participation inside the poverty-ridden households in Tbilisi, Georgia

A Research Paper presented by:

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Georgia

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Social Policy for Development

SPD

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List of Acronyms

CRRC	Caucasus Research Resource Center
GAD	Gender and Development
NDI	National Democratic Institute
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
WID	Women in Development

Abstract

The proposed research is a qualitative study undertaken among the poverty-ridden households residing in Tbilisi, Georgia. The central research question is: How can a gender justice perspective interpret interaction between women's waged-labor participation and emancipation? The research has three sub-questions: 1) Has increased access to waged-labor for women ensued in gender justice? 2) Did poor material conditions, necessitating waged-labor participation of women, help or hinder gender justice in Georgia? 3) Do the social protective forces in the society envision gender justice and female emancipation in it? The findings of the research are premised on the analysis of the empirical material collected through in-depth individual and group interviews during the field work. The paper attests that in the periods of capitalist economic crisis (poverty, job market insecurities, unemployment), it is necessary for feminism to avoid a fight for female emancipation to mean deterioration of social relations and solidarity networks, but rather to mean a struggle for establishing equality and egalitarian society. Theoretical framework developed in the paper is underpinned by the 'double-movement' theory by Karl Polanyi and the 'triple-movement' theory by Nancy Fraser. The chapters discussing the collected empirical material evidence the social protective reflex of the society towards the condition of social rupture. The findings of the paper explain what feminist struggles shall be envisaging as emancipatory strategies amid the given social dynamic.

Relevance to Development Studies

The proposed paper is a contribution to the Gender and Development approach in Development Studies, as the latter links relations of economic production to those of social reproduction and widens its scope in achieving human welfare and thus development outcomes.

Keywords

Waged-labor participation, emancipation, gender justice, social rupture, social protection, patriarchy

Chapter 1 : Introduction

Through presenting a qualitative study the proposed research explores how women's experiences about their participation or non-participation in waged employment within the poverty-ridden urban households in Georgia can explain the relation that exists between waged-employment and women emancipation.

Historic records say, that Soviet Union had achieved the highest female labor force participation rates of any industrial society (Peterson and Brown 1994). Nonetheless, as the literature evidences, when large numbers of working-class women enter the 'public' world of paid employment, their presence doesn't discontinue the patriarchy that exists in the sexual division of labour in the family and the sexual division of labour in the workplace (Pateman 1987). Feminist research shows, the assumption among the employers and the society in general is that women work only for "pocket money" or to make a secondary income contribution to families; and in addition have no inclination for upward mobility and often take dead-end jobs (Beneria and Bisnath 2001).

The research examines the links between women's decisions on employment and the establishment of gender justice, by specifically focusing on the experiences of the residents of two different squatted and underprivileged sub-urban zones of Gldani and Sanzonia in the capital city of Georgia. Informed with the review of the national and international statistics and survey materials, this research generates and analyses primary data from group and in-depth individual interviews with the members of the households falling under the national poverty line.

1.1 Background

The following section will provide a background of what has motivated this research. The subsection also presents the conceptualization of poverty on household level and gender-segregated statistic on unemployment levels in Georgia.

According to the National Democratic Institute (NDI) polls poverty is the most important national issue after "jobs" and "rising prices/inflation" in Georgia (Results of April 2015 NDI Public Opinion Poll in Georgia)¹.

Poverty in this paper will be perceived to be affecting one in every second family as this is the rate of referral to the national pecuniary assistance agency in the country. Currently, in Georgia, more than 500,000 households (50% of all households) with more than 1,600,000 individuals (35% of the total population) voluntarily register themselves at the database for Socially Vulnerable People to become recipients of various targeted social assistances (Georgia Poverty Assessment 2009). In the year of 2015, one form of social assistance,

¹Assessed November 10 2015 <https://www.ndi.org/April-2015-Public-Opinion-Poll-Georgia>

the unconditional cash transfers, reached (targeted) around 150 000 households falling under the poverty line according to the state methodology (Social Service Agency 2015). The state methodology assess poverty multi-dimensionally through a proxy means-testing formula created locally in 2005 in the country. It draws a coefficient for the “household well-being” from a ratio of household “consumer index” over the household “needs index”. Household, itself, is a term that is defined as “a circle of people, sharing kinship relationships or not, living separately and undertaking common household activities”. Household can be represented by a single person too (Legislative Herald of Georgia: Order 126, 2010).

Besides, according to domestic sociological surveys conducted between 2012-2015 in Georgia, unemployment has been estimated as a number one issue in population (coming before the issues related to territorial integrity, inflation or general poverty) (Results of April 2015 NDI Public Opinion Poll in Georgia). Annual national statistics says unemployment rates have been vacillating between 12 and 16% during 2005-2014 (National Statistics Office of Georgia 2015)².

Importantly, the gender-segregated statistics presented by UN Population Fund (UNFPA) and the National Statistics Office in Georgia, say that unemployment rate among the population above 15 years old has been lower for women (13-14%) than for men (16-17%) for consequent three years (2010-2012) that the statistics are available for (‘Women and men in Georgia’ 2013). This assumes that economically active women are less likely to be unemployed than economically active men. Nonetheless, women in contemporary Georgia have recorded low levels of ‘economic activity’ – as compared to men. The study defines economically in-active population as people 15 years and older who are unemployed within the week the survey is conducted, have not sought for the job during the past four weeks and are not ready to start the job within the nearest two weeks. When exploring the data on what portion of female population is economically active at all, statistics say 43% of all the women above 15 years old are economically in-active, whilst the same number amounts to only 22% for men (‘Women and men in Georgia’ 2013).

Another survey, conducted by the Caucasus Resource Research Center (CRRC) in 2013, showed that out of those respondents who have ‘never been employed’ 73% are women and 27% are men (Caucasus Barometer 2013)³. In addition, according to CRRC, when asked if “interested in a job”, 54% of all the surveyed women say no (they are not interested in a job), whilst this figure is only 31% for men (Caucasus Barometer 2013)⁴. Out of those respondents who answered the question about the interest in jobs negatively, 76% are females and 24% are men (Caucasus Barometer 2013)⁵.

²Assessed 10 November 2015 http://geostat.ge/?action=page&p_id=145&lang=geo

³Assessed 10 November 2015

<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/cb2013ge/RESPSEX-by-UNEMYRS/>

⁴Assessed 10 November 2015

<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/cb2013ge/INTSTJOB-by-RESPSEX/>

⁵Assessed 10 November 2015

<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/cb2013ge/RESPSEX-by-INTSTJOB/>

The proposed statistics, informed our interest in researching what type of social dynamics conditions women to be 'de-motivated' and 'un-interested' to 'leave homes' and seek for waged-employment. Majorly, such became interesting, because access to waged-labor is attributed emancipatory potential when claimed to be the necessary element for introducing women to the public realm and achieving equal standing with men through it. Hence, the research saw the relevance of exploring how women participation in waged-labor could have interacted with their emancipation from patriarchy, the latter understood as male domination and female subjugation.

1.2 Research question

The central research question is: How can a gender justice perspective interpret interaction between women's waged-labor participation and emancipation?

To investigate the proposed problem the study is divided into three sub-questions.

- 1) Has increased access to waged-labor for women ensued in gender justice? - Exploring the topic of the freedom of access to waged labor among women, the proposed sub-question guides the research in identifying the necessary vantage point for detecting disadvantaged positioning of women with respect to men.
- 2) Did poor material conditions, necessitating waged-labor participation of women, help or hinder gender justice in Georgia? – The proposed sub-question inquires the influence and effects of patriarchy when the latter is exposed to capitalist economic crisis.
- 3) Do the social protective forces in the society envision gender justice and female emancipation in it? – Lastly, the proposed sub-question aims to learn whether the forms of sheltering families from economic crisis envisage emancipatory opportunities for women.

Specific objective includes understanding what strategies shall feminism promote as bearing emancipatory capacity for women with respect to their participation or non-participation in waged-labor.

1.3 Relevance and objectives of the research

The research sees the relevance of connecting the given query to the wider critique of capitalist market societies. Capitalism, Ellen M. Wood (1998) writes, represents an ethic of "improvement" but also the ethic of exploitation, poverty, and homelessness. It is exactly when undertaking the study from within the context of poverty, exploitation and homelessness in the city of Tbilisi that the study argues the struggle for gender justice should lay within the wider demands for social welfare, rather than within the demands for increasing individual freedoms and capabilities among the women, which, the paper argues, doesn't necessarily transform hierarchies, dominations and inequalities.

The paper argues for the relevance of identifying a threat in individualist definition of women's emancipation (liberation) in Georgia. To Nancy Fraser (2013) the given scope of feminism bears the potential of providing 'the new spirit to

capitalism', without necessarily achieving equality between sexes, which the research argues perils contemporary Georgian societies too.

The proposed paper is an attempt to advance Gender and Development (GAD) approach in Georgia as the theoretical and analytical premises in development studies that shifts the developmental focus from women to wider social and gender relations (Rezavi et al. 1995).

Thereby, the paper is challenging the idea of applying in Georgian context the Women in Development (WID) approach that emerged in development sphere in early 1970s on the West and perils subsuming the work in the country that targets eradication of poverty, deprivation and inequalities in, presumably, a very 'women-friendly' but at the same time gender in-sensitive way. WID has sought to make women's issues relevant to development by showing the positive synergies between investing in women and reaping benefits in terms of economic growth, but the demands for gender equality are secondary and conditional to WID (Rezavi et al. 1995). Whilst the proposed paper, locates the feminist struggle within the scope of wider demands for social justice and hence, is relevant to GAD approach as it links relations of production to those of reproduction. GAD, like WID, may be aiming at economic efficiency, but it widens its scope of productivity and thus of development outcomes (Rezavi et al. 1995) by focusing on the improvement of human welfare.

The paper is also critical of developing in Georgia what in Western social theories is referred to as the second-wave feminism, through locating the struggle for women's emancipation in either public or private domains, thereby refusing to neglect the fact that human welfare is reproduced through the tight inter-connection between the two. This way, the claim is made for advancing the welfarist understanding within the feminist struggle that underscores the importance of advancing degrees of de-commodification of welfare.

The paper further notices where the liberal and conservative conceptions of social and welfare problems (Esping-Andersen 1999) peril the goals of achieving gender justice in Georgia. The liberal welfare regime, that ensued after 1991 and is successfully entering its neoliberal phase in many of the post-Soviet countries, but is widely left un-noticed for the local feminist research.

Additionally, the research furthers the socialist feminist scholarship through arguing beyond the class centric critique of capitalist economic crisis. Through basing its argumentation on the theory of 'double-movement' by Karl Polanyi (1944), it alerts the feminism to study the tensions that high exposure to capitalist markets cause to women and families, rather than focusing primarily on the discriminations inside the market (as it is in the Marxist feminist tradition).

What is more, the paper fills the gap in the literature on the notion of 'triple movement' proposed by Nancy Fraser (2013). The analysis of the empirical material collected on the field, suggest the examples of the third – the emancipatory – steps feminism shall target taking when caught between the cycles of dis-embedding and embedding society from and in the market relations. Through observing employment patters among women in Georgia, the research also unpacks the theoretical concepts of *social rupture* and *social protection* as analytical categories necessary for studying the dis-embedded and embedded variants of waged-labor participation.

It is also important to mention that by focusing on the significances of waged-labor participation among women, the proposed paper doesn't necessarily aim at arguing for achieving increased economic efficiency in the country, but it indeed gives credence to the belief that the latter is a consequence of improved human welfare. Besides, discussing the experiences of economic activity among women is relevant to the literature on female emancipation only to the extent that it gives recognition to the non-economic aspects of our lives as to the source of growth, improvement, transformations and development.

1.4 Structure of the research

The paper is divided in six chapters. Chapter 2 presents a theoretical framework developed in the process of the data analysis. It elaborates on and establishes connections between the major theoretical concepts that underpin findings of the research. This chapter serves as the foundation for the analysis of primary data results from in chapters 4 and 5 and reveals the necessary conceptual model for understanding the interactions between waged-labor participation and emancipation in the local context. Chapter 3 explains the methodology of the research, including the selection of the target location, population, and sector as well as the appropriate data generation techniques. The chapter also discusses the process of analysing the results. Chapters 4 and 5 address the main objectives of the research by engaging with the narratives of respondents and analysing the results. This section also connects its arguments to theoretical concepts and debates in social theories, discussed in the chapter before. The paper concludes with a summary of all the chapters.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

The major premise of the theoretical framework developed in this chapter elaborates on the idea of ‘double-movement’ by Karl Polanyi proposed in his book *The Great Transformation: the Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* published in 1944. The theory deals with the social upheavals that took place in England during the rise of the market economy but was identified as proposing a necessary scope for studying gender in the developmental context explored during the research in Georgia. Studying the commodified forms of labor among women the paper focuses its attention on the relations the latter has with advancing human welfare – and gender equality in particular.

First the chapter unpacks the notion of commodified forms of labor in terms of such being exemplary features of the demands for ‘bringing women in public’. Further the paper argues participation in (market) economy (in public life) through waged-employment by women cannot be only individual in its conception (and that the *telos* of the individual can’t be just masculine in its character).

Following, the chapter locates the proposed study within the second-wave radical feminist tradition and argues for furthering the theory of the latter in Georgian context. The purposeful selection of the families (in market economies) as the targets of feminist struggle by radical feminism, is criticized, in this paper, for containing the threats of belittling the ‘domestic’ and the familial realms themselves; the significance of which is critical for the proposed paper in the context of increased market-induced insecurities.

Lastly, the paper introduces the notion of ‘triple movement’ by Nancy Fraser and sets the framework in which the analysis of the primary research findings were undertaken. The given section declares what should be the necessary feminist ‘agenda’ for achieving gender justice in the process of defending families from market-induced insecurities.

2.1 Access to waged-labor

Gender and development scholar Gita Sen (2001) argues that with the emergence of capitalism (and replacement of the claims to subsistence being based on kinship systems), access to waged employment became key to entitlement (Kandyoti 1988: 275; Lim 2001; Sen A. 1994;). And indeed, gender historian Linda Nicholson (1986) writes that, within the Anglo-American school of Liberal theory, the seventeenth century split between the state and the household becomes to be accompanied by the separation of the (capitalist) economy from ‘the private’ realm in the nineteenth century. And that is when ‘the economy’ becomes a sovereign public realm (next to the already existing ‘polity’), and a space to claim and gain entitlements in, according to the same author. Here, it is important to notice, that the public-private dualism is maintained all throughout the processes of change, the household remains to be separate from both public realms, and represents ‘the private’ domain.

The proposed paper challenges the proposition of starting the feminist query in Georgia from the conception that grants the public realms sovereignty and individuals (nurtured in private realms) the responsibility for claiming their rights in it. The paper argues, feminism (or possibly, any other social movement) drives itself into an impasse, if believing that increasing individual capabilities brings empowerment (to women), that on its hand, leads to emancipation and eventually achieving equality between sexes.

Nicholson (1986) writes that the categories through which we need to grasp the significance of gender have to be understood as historically changing, reflecting the emergence, dominance, and decline of different institutions. For early societies, institutions structuring gender were kinship, later on the family, the economy, the state or the interaction among these (Nicholson 1986).

Observing waged-labor participation among women in Georgia from within the situation of economic crisis (poverty, precariat job market and unemployment), it became important to study gender justice on the territory where the institutions of the economy and the family meet. The paper argues that it is within the interaction between the two where one of the major emancipatory struggles for women lies.

Besides, it was essential to distance the study from the dualism of the (paid) 'public' and (unpaid) 'private' work. Such separations, Waller and Jennings (1991) argue, almost inevitably prioritize one side of the dualism and devalue the other side. Otherwise, dualism carries the danger of elevating 'economic' activities (production; e.g. waged-labor participation) over other spheres of life (e.g. social reproduction).

2.2 Radical feminism and the public-private dualism

It is from this perspective of the tensions arising between 'the public' and 'the private' that Linda Nicholson explains the distinctions between the Western second-wave 'liberal', 'radical' and 'Marxist' social theories of feminism. Nicholson explains that the Liberal feminist tradition grants the state the means of change, whilst Marxist feminists have believed that it will be from the changes in the organization of the economy that transformations inside the family (and in the polity) would ensue. Last but not the least, comes the radical feminist school which says that women's inferior status is conditioned by social constructions about women's lack of power being built into the role of femininity, first and foremost, inside families (the 'private') (1986:27).

Given paper agrees to the radical feminist stance. Radical feminism believes the women's inferiority to be symptoms of the *problems* within the 'private', rather than the 'economic' or 'political' realms. It was the 'private' and the 'domestic' realms that the study was posing its criticism to when choosing the research to be conducted on household and the personal levels. Nonetheless, as already argued, the paper embarks on those social theories that are rather critical to the separation between the public and private realms, thereby, taking radical feminism a step further. The given paper presents, the feminist locus of struggle to lay in the wider inter-relation 'the economy' and 'the private' realms have between each other. The term 'personal' – as articulated in the second-wave feminist literature - will be used

interchangeably with the terms domestic, the familial or, more widely, the social, all throughout the paper.

What is more, the ‘private’, is often said, to be representing neither the political nor the economic realms. Nonetheless, the paper, positioning itself within the feminist historic materialist ontology, grants the former ‘the material base’ capable of having an influence on the latter (in leading to achieving gender justice and social transformations in general) (Jónasdóttir 1988). Ana Jonasdottir (1988) suggests to use historic materialism as ‘guiding threads’ in feminist queries: as the materialist concept of history does nothing but presupposes in itself that the oppression is a product of history, a socially conditioned reality and thus subject to change and eradication. Within such ontology inter-sex/gender relations inside social reproduction processes have as valid material base as the ‘productive economy’ does. E.g. it can be not only the labor market segregation that creates sex/gender discrimination; but the supply side of the labor economy (men and women) itself creating the material basis for labor market segregation to exist. The latter idea will be further unpacked in data analysis parts in chapters 4 and 5 where the domestic realm, or the patriarchal relations in it, are described as the agency having its own capacities of generating automatic ‘social protective reflex’ within the ‘double-movement’.

2.3 Public as individualist order

In order to also counter the argument of individual capabilities throughout the research it was decided to problematize the ‘politization of personal’ (Pateman 1987) presupposing the public domain being necessarily an ‘individualist order’ (Waller and Jennings 1991), and necessitating individualist zeal for women to succeed in it, thereby repressing the demands for family life among them. The paper argues participation in (market) economy (in public life) through waged-employment by women (or men) cannot be only individual in its conception (and of course the *telos* of individual can’t be just masculine in its character).

The paper notes that seeing a threat in individualist conception of (female) emancipation is not new for capitalist societies where the juxtaposition of freedom to security was first noticed in Karl Polanyi’s anthropologic study of capitalism within *The Great Transformation* (Brown 2010). Polanyi said that in the nineteenth century, when the economy (market) was separated from society (polity and family), individualism prioritized ‘personal gain as a cultural motive’ (Waller and Jennings 1991). This way Polanyi argues for the destructive consequences the nineteenth century individualist strive had on the social linkages when casting people ‘culturally adrift’ (Brown 2010; Waller and Jennings 1991). Feminism scholarship on the other hand sees the issue the following way: emancipation represents not only liberation but also a potential of introducing “strains in the fabric of existing solidarities”, thereby “clearing the way for marketization” (Fraser 2013).

Accordingly, it is the ‘triumph of individualism’ that generates automatic protective social responses in society to Polanyi (Waller and Jennings 1991) and to the socialist feminist perspective, that the current paper represents a contribution to. This paper presents the ‘family’ as the unit of analysis of social protective forces. Much of the social protective public reflex against female emancipation, will be assessed as the actions aimed at “sheltering society from the devastating effects of the market” by the families (Polanyi 1944: 136).

2.4 Where ‘the economy’ and ‘the domestic’ come together – social reproduction

It is important to mention here, that despite the capitalist economic crisis representing the major vantage point for the proposed study, the paper explains the matter of gender justice not from a class perspective but from a perspective of the exposure of families to ‘the economy’, the latter being signified by markets, commodified social relations and neoliberal ethics in Georgia. Thus, when exploring waged-employment among women we decided to take the Polanyian substantivist focus on economy and participations in it. It calls our attention to the place of economic activity in society, rather than taking Marxian class-centric focus (Stanfield as cited in Brown, 2001).

Within the proposed theoretical framework, economy, or the participation in it, is interrelated with (is embedded in) social relations. “Formalist” economic theories, in both classical and neoclassical variants see family and polity as “servants of the market”; here the economic activities of the women at home are defined as non-economic (Waller and Jennings 1991). Whilst, according to the substantivist approach, which the paper allies itself with, economy is a broader concept than income generation. As a feminist query our research saw the importance of understanding economic participation as participation “submerged in social relationships” and “run by non-economic motives” (Polanyi 1944: 46). It is through the substantivist position that the paper recognizes the provisioning, care, ethical or reproductive roles of a family are interconnected and mutually constructive of the rest of the economy, hence falsely compartmentalized as separate from it in formalist tradition (Waller and Jennings 1991).

As Nancy Fraser (2013) has explored it, capitalist crisis (represented in the face of high levels of unemployment and poverty in Georgian context) for Polanyi was less economic and little about the intra-economic contradictions, than about a momentous shift in the place of the economy vis-a-vis society. She also notes that of special interest to feminists should be the centrality of social reproduction that Polanyi, although never using such expression himself, gives credit to, when articulating disintegration of social bonds as pivotal element of capitalist crisis (Fraser 2013).

The British economist, sociologist and gender and development social scientist – Diane Elson (2012) is one of the few feminists who also recognizes domestic sector being threatened by marketization forces. Elson writes: “[The global economic] crisis has been a crisis of capital accumulation, with falling investment, output and employment. But it has also been a rupture in social reproduction, understood as ‘the process by which all the main relations in the society are constantly recreated and perpetuated’ (Mackintosh 1981:10)” (as cited by Elson, 2012). Thereby, she says, a threat is inflicted on the very sector that creates “intangible social assets such as trust, reciprocity and ethical norms” necessary for the full functioning of economic systems (Elson 2012: 64).

Thus, when presenting the gender analysis of waged-labor participation among the poverty-ridden household members, the proposed paper looks into the interaction of the two: the economic crisis and the crisis of the social the former ensues for gender equality. The argument by Elson goes that social rupture puts in jeopardy the production of the kind of family relations that enable people to ‘feel like human beings, in a system that treats them like commodities’ (Picchio 1992) cited by

(Elson 2012). It is from this perspective that the paper will analyse to what extent may such dynamic be feeding patriarchy and repressing feminist agenda in Georgia.

2.5 Making feminism pro family

The following paper presents a defence of the family as an agent of social protection (as countered by 'marketization' in Polanyi's theory of 'double movement')

In this respect, it was also interesting to explore what American conservative pro-family feminism of late 1970s and 80s has been offering as a feminist agenda. They were the ones who complained that politicization of the personal (by the second wave) was the call for threatening 'the family'- the 'last bastion of intimacy in an alienating world' (Freidan as cited by Stacey, 1986). Freidan deplores seeing wider political agendas such as 'humanizing capitalist corporations', sacrificed to the 'feminist mystic' struggle against men. Women and men (and the family structures they create) share the familial and public responsibilities for fighting political battles to her (Stacey 1986).

Elshtain is also an interesting author who, premising her argument on the analysis of family and capitalism developed by Max Horkheimer, sees family as 'a haven from bureaucratic capitalist and totalitarian socialist world' a world sometimes identified as 'modernity' with her (Stacey 1986). Some blame such authors for turning the "critique of capitalism into romantic anti-modernism", but we would argue in support of their arguments, as their critique of capitalism goes only against jeopardizing the institute of families as the place "that nurture the individual and the intimate ties" and as "the source of individuals' capacity to resist market imperatives". According to Stacey (1986), Elshtain criticizes feminists for "capitulating to market imperatives, succumbing to instrumental rationality, and seeking technocratic solutions to moral and political problems".

From this perspective Elshtain has the social reproduction argument, such as 'children should be at the very center of feminist theory' (Stacey 1986). It is important to notice, that Elshtain is a believer of maintaining 'those aspect of gender differentiation that are necessary to social life' (Stacey 1986). She attempts to preserve traditionally feminine values of nurturance rooted in private sphere for then infusing this into 'ethical polity', her term that resonates as the image of the ideal public sphere. Elshtain also introduced the call for "politics of limits" (Stacey 1986).

And the third pro-family feminist, that the paper finds its relevance to, is Germaine Greer, a staunch critic of 'modern' 'nuclear families' that to her, represent "products and agents of technocratic, consumer society" and an "aggregate of 'freely' choosing adults" (Stacey 1986). Greer characterizes modern families as "a unit in which the relationship of the procreating couple takes precedence over all others relationships of blood and affinity". The civilization of test-tube babies is the utopian efforts to change that which can't be changed without dire human consequences (Stacey 1986).

But again, to be sure that the idea of 'ethical polity' to be introduced from within the families is not 'romantic' and 'anti-modernist' once has to make sure the latter

is does not entail patriarchy, fundamentalism, authoritarianism, homophobia, intolerance, chauvinism, etc. in it for Fraser (2013).

2.6 Where to seek for emancipation

The proposed paper contributes to the feminist literature that argues female emancipation to have a rather different premise than achieving individual independence and empowerment of women, which, as evidenced throughout the study, when co-opted by market societies, only furthers disintegration and leads to rupture in social relations, solidarity networks, etc. (Fraser 2013). Observing the second wave feminist activism Deirdre English once wrote: “Feminism will free men first” (Stacey 1986). Which the paper argues, has indeed happened so in Georgia. ‘Empowered’ women bravely accepted the responsibilities of becoming breadwinners, this, the respondents would assert, was allowing men in their families to stay at home and be unemployed when jobs would appear normatively unacceptable to their gender roles.

Nancy Fraser (2013) argues that extending the domain of individualistic values and behavior to women is “repressing the agenda of achieving social egalitarianism”. She also claims that “the cultural changes jump-started by the second wave [feminism], salutary in themselves, have served to legitimate a structural transformation of capitalist society that runs directly counter to feminist visions of a just society” and presents feminisms as the ‘new spirit of neoliberalism’.

Here it is important to bring a couple central quotes of this research by Maia (female 50) who said: “A woman says: ‘if I have to sustain my child, why do I also have to sustain the husband too’” and the quote by Ana (female, 30) saying: “When a woman is an earner, I don’t care of the man’s opinion”. Women can indeed claim the freedom of making independent choices, but this, the paper claims, could not mean achieving social justice and women’s egalitarian standing next to men when the processes are being operationalized in neoliberal ethic, that serves “to erode not just the oppressive dimension, but social protection simpliciter” in societies – argues Nancy Fraser. Affiliation of emancipation with individualization and successful commodification of women’s labor, the paper argues, needs critical scrutiny for it to represent a milestone in the feminist struggles of achieving equality.

Here the paper brings to the fore the place of the welfare systems, that advances the notions of valorizing home and family domains, as well as non-commodified aspects of social relations in capitalist economies. The two particular theoretical concepts describing the liberal and conservative welfare regimes proposed by the Danish sociologist Gøsta Esping-Anderson in his typology of the Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, are clearly legible and requiring the feminist scrutiny in the context of Georgia the most. As Esping-Anderson (1999) explains, in liberal conceptualization ‘social problems’ begin where the market failure starts, while in the conservative understanding of a welfare the same locus lies within the family and solidarity networks. Researching the issue of gender justice from the perspective of waged-labor participation between the poor, the purpose of the research is to contradict the liberal theorization about provisioning and to base the analysis on problems it may create to the feminist struggles in the country. In addition, the research stays conscious of conservative regimes in play that are proposing ‘altruistic’ patriarchal social protection strategies when observing how society ruptures as women are being exposed to exploitation and job market insecurities.

Here, the paper agrees to Fraser's triple movement theory which furthers the double movement of Polanyi by arguing that feminism is not a fight for liberation that introduces "strains in the fabric of existing solidarities" or a fight for social protection that reinforces 'romantic', 'antimodernist' or 'patriarchal' projects; but rather, an aspiration to transform hierarchies and dominations, cause women's emancipation and establish gender equality (Fraser 2013). The chapters 4 and 5 will offer an explanation as to where are the opportunities of marrying the waged-labor with emancipation of women, without deteriorating the familial realm, through the analysis of the empirical material collected in Georgia.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In order to understand what strategies shall feminism promote as bearing emancipatory capacity for women with respect to their participation or non-participation in waged-labor in contemporary Georgia, the following methodology was elaborated. It also proposes the description of data generation techniques applied, as well as of the techniques for data analysis. The process of selecting locations and participants is explained in a separate subsection. Explanation of its weaknesses are enclosed in the subsection on the field limitations. The chapter also discusses the possible critique that can apply to the given methodological approach when the study is undertaken in the context of Georgia.

3.1 Methodological approach and data analysis

The paper aimed to theorize on how female economic activity interacts with women emancipation through maximum approximation of the methodology to the grounded theory approach (Flick 2009). The study was aimed at the explaining theory to emerge inductively from data rather than being tested by it (2009: 428). This way, the conceptual model explaining the cases was developed throughout the process of data analysis: when coding and developing themes (2009: 428).

The first step into the data analysis process was transcribing the audio-recorded interviews with the participants in full. There were close to verbatim transcripts created. The researcher was adequately aware and informed of the contextual features of the field as the study was undertaken in the researcher's home-city. Hence the latter was never being included in the notes.

Data analysis was undertaken in three stages: through firstly creating descriptive codes, later interpretative themes and lastly when defining the overarching theory (King and Horrocks, 2010). Descriptive coding was being performed all throughout the process of creating interview transcripts. At the stage of interpretation several overlapping or resembling codes were detected and clustered into interpretative themes (See the Annex).

When undertaking the thematic analysis the paper was challenged with balancing between within-case and cross-case analysis. Particularly when collecting sex-segregated material. King and Horrocks (2010) write that if within-case analysis aspect is neglected the themes become to be treated as variables in the positivist tradition – abstract notions detached from the particularities of personal experience. Whilst, when the cross-case analysis is not properly developed one is likely to produce a disjointed collection of case studies that doesn't allow to effectively address the research question (King and Horrocks, 2010). Having heard 30 women and 10 men respondents speak, the given paper is an attempt to present an elaborate cross-case analysis. But through an elaborate descriptive and thematic coding process, that also allowed in-depth in-cases analysis to be performed, the paper avoided staying within the positivist tradition. It integrates voices of women and men in the analysis, as the social and gender injustices are to be processed in a wider social dynamic within this paper, rather than as a matter of inter-sex tensions.

Dividing the codes into interpretive themes lead the study into providing the three research sub-questions/topics for answering the major research question.

Throughout the research process the study needed to firstly identify and construct the relevant problem with the necessary scope and vantage point. Thus, posing the first research sub-question (Where gender justice lays when exploring waged-labor participation among women in Georgia?) helped the study position itself within a specific area that lies amid the spheres of productive and reproductive aspects of human welfare provisioning. Subsequently, the other two sub-questions were proposed by the two thematic dimensions (social rupture and social protection) recognized during the process of coding.

After developing the list of interpretive themes (See Appendix II), the data was organized according to the emerged conceptual model (See Appendix III). The latter established a connection between the interpretative themes in the study and also a connection of the latter with the central research question. The conceptual model represents a higher level of abstraction than each interpretative theme but is the core idea explaining the research question in the context of Georgia.

It also necessary to mention, that the conceptual model of the study was developed when undertaking the research from within the context of poverty and deprivation. Nonetheless, despite researching the topic from the position of families that are most exposed to the market-induced insecurities the idea of contrasting the poverty-ridden research objects with non-poor participants was rejected during the fieldwork. The latter, would have born the potential of presenting the issue as a matter of class. The proposed selection of the poor as the sole analytical category and research objects (without juxtaposing them to the non-poor) was maintained due to the epistemological decision to de-classify the initial query around waged-employment.

Corollary, the paper studies how women's economic activity interacts with their emancipation, through focusing on the participants' (of both sexes) experiences and reactions towards the market-induced insecurities (from gender justice perspective), rather than exploring the issue primarily from the perspective of gender-based discriminations at home or at the market. What is more, the approach of positioning our query among the poor induced the development of anti-(neo)liberal epistemology at the stage of data analysis.

3.2 Data generation techniques and methods applied

The research was undertaken as a qualitative study among the poverty-ridden population. The purpose of employing the qualitative methods (in-depth interviews and group interviews) was to extract qualitative information about the multiplicity of experiences and positions, and achieve high 'saturation' of variety of data (King and Horrock 2010: 29) among women and men on women's wage-labor participation.

There were 30 independent in-depth interviews conducted with women, among the extremely poor pool of participants identified at two different squatter locations – Sanzona and Gldani, and 2 group interviews with 5 male participants in each case.

All the interviews were audio-recorded with the participants' consent. Memoing and producing transcripts was being performed all throughout the two months of the duration of the field work.

3.3. Selecting locations and research participants

All the interviewees were selected among the recipients of residual social assistances⁶. The purposive research sampling undertaken in the study, targeted households that are the recipients of monetary subsistence allowances in the form of governmental non-conditional cash transfers on monthly basis. Such characteristic would guarantee the members of the research sample to be falling under the national line of extreme poverty.

The challenge of the data generation process was inaccessibility to Social Service Agency database that keeps all the records on households but maintains them confidential. Method employed in our research necessitated visiting the squatter communities and the poorest neighborhoods for meeting and identifying the members of the households that were recipients of poverty assistance from the government in current time.

In 2005 the government of Georgia created the Database for Socially Vulnerable People “with the purposes of planning and implementing activities aimed at decreasing the level of poverty and improving social protection” (Legislative Herald of Georgia: Order No. 126, 2010). The database keeps monthly record of all households who have been assessed by social workers of Social Service Agency upon application. The record of each family declaration and the final calculation of the family’s well-being index is confidential information. Nonetheless, the research participants identified by the researcher throughout the field work disclosed personal information and attested to be pecuniary social assistance recipients in the current time.

The in-depth interviews with women were recorded in informal settings, inside the houses of the participants, in isolation from the rest of the members of the family. The group interviews with men were conducted in isolated rooms of selected participants’ homes at two different locations: one in Sanzona and another in Gldani.

3.4 Field limitations

Majority of the women interviewed in our sample through snow-ball technique represented household heads. 71% of them (21 respondents) were *de jure* heads of the household (registered so at the Social Service Agency) and only 50% (15 participants) were *de facto heads* – heading the households in real life (mostly the latter group would represent single mothers or young daughters of the household). One of the limitations of the research is that it was not further explored whether *de jure* registration for household headship exceeding the number of *de facto* headship among females was due to such being a necessary condition for increased eligibility to the cash transfer programs or due to this being a social pattern among the sample. Nonetheless, the focus remained on analyzing the perceptions household members would hold for the given position (their conceptualization of headship in gender terms).

⁶Characteristic to liberal welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen 1999): 12-14% of all households have been receiving the assistances on monthly bases as recorded during 2013-2015 statistics (Social Service Agency 2015)

One challenge identified with group interviews among the men concerned the sex of the researcher. As the participants of the two group interviews would represent opposite sex for the researcher, a choice was made to hire a male research assistant. This would guarantee sex-based communication barriers to be have been overcome. The assistant used questionnaires and guides prepared by the researcher to conduct two group interviews with the selected pool of male participants at the squatter communities (1 at each place). The male participants were purposively selected through directly on the field. This was necessary to ensure the pool of participants would have different backgrounds and represent as many age categories as possible.

Average age among the women respondents was 45 (respondents ranged from 18 to 80 years old). One of the limitations of the field work is that the age of male participants remained unrecorded. The purposive sample undertaken by the researcher in this case, was not later followed up with demographic questions from the side of the research assistant during the actual interviews.

3. 5 Limitations of the methodological approach

One of the limitations of the proposed paper, can be assumed to be, the adoption of Western analytical concepts. The analysis of the empirical data collected throughout the fieldwork in Georgia and the theoretical framework the latter is analyzed through is underpinned by Western social theories. Such was conditioned due to the lack of academic literature and research being developed inside the country.

Besides, the methodological approach we chose to be researching the proposed topic from may be criticized for its historic materialist ontology, from which perspective, the perceived determining factors to our assessment of subjugation of women would be premised on the analysis of the materialist conception of “production and reproduction of immediate life” (Engels cited by Peterson and Brown, 1994; Jónasdóttir 1988). Indeed, the paper argues that the categories through which we need to grasp the significance of gender have to be understood as historically changing, reflecting the emergence, dominance, and decline of different institutions (Nicholson 1986).

Chapter 4: ‘Double movement’

The following chapter discusses the main findings of the study. The empirical material analysed below, conditioned the study to develop the theoretical framework in the form that was outlined in the previous chapter.

The interview materials provide arguments to why achieving the equality between sexes couldn’t have been grasped only through acknowledging women’s introduction into the public realm (the economy) in Georgia. The proposition is made to locate the feminist struggle within the territory where the public and private realms intersect. Vivid demonstration of the necessity of the latter was created when undertaking the study particularly inside the households embodying the capitalist economic crisis (the poverty) themselves, and the crisis of the social, the paper argues, the latter entails. The research detects the respondents to be acknowledging the necessity of the economy to be embedded in the social, familial and domestic aspects of human lives.

This chapter also alludes to what in Karl Polanyi’s theory has been described as ‘double movement’ (1944). Polanyi argues for markets fully dis-embedded from ‘non-economic’ institutions and ‘non-economic’ norms to be becoming self-destructive and necessitating to re-embed the ‘economy’ into the ‘social’ (Brown 2010). But of particular interest for feminists in this theory is how the “social depletion” and “the crisis of care” (Fraser 2013) would resonate with the feminist problematization of women’s waged-labor in terms of the ‘double movement’. The paper argues that Polanyi’s calls for ‘automatic social response’ would entail the extension of the domestic (care and reproductive) realm onto the ‘economy’ once the latter undergoes crisis or has put the humans in the condition of social rupture (Elson 2012).

4.1 Public-private split and gender justice

When asked of own employment histories women would often list numerous work experiences that they have had throughout their past. When posed the question whether it had ever been a case for them (the women) to have faced restrictions directly by men at home (husbands, fathers, brothers, etc.) to waged-labor participation, majority would answer negatively. They would majorly claim that, in general, this could have been an occasion in exceptionally few women’s lives, and that such was rare in their lives or of people in their immediate surroundings.

Marina, (female, 57) said: “All they want nowadays is a woman to go out. Who is there to ask her not to work? It is only so in very rare occasions”. Marika (female, 30) said: “In the past, women were obliged to sit at home and bring up the kids. I remember from my father: a woman was supposed to cook at home and the husband had to work.” Additionally, achievement by a woman at work was also argued to be a matter of individual agency among women: “If one has a will, and I am talking about a hardworking person, of a person who loves working, she can find a good job, earn more than a man. Of course there are jobs like that” – said Ema, (female, 47).

Throughout the interviews, both men and women attest, though, that women are participating in waged-labor due to the necessity of such being conditioned by poverty. “Women want to work due to having to have to do this” – said one male respondent. “It is the current situation conditioning my wife to be employed” – said the other. “In today’s Georgia, unless a woman works a family stays hungry” – said one woman. Had it not been the poverty women would stay at home and men would work, respondents (of both sexes) believe. “Even if I had a husband, I would still want to work and have pocket money” – said Natia (female, 27). Remunerated jobs are ‘given credit’ by women as pocket money.

Besides, when asked if women should still want to be in employment had their families had no need for additional source of income respondents would say: “you will go out and vent yourself” said Lali (female) 49 year old. “A woman will develop a psychosis if she doesn’t go out” – said one male respondent during the group interview. “One can’t be at home all the time, you will develop neurosis; you should go out and work”- said Teona (female, 24). Otherwise, is for women to vent oneself and ‘mitigate’ the possibilities for developing psychosis that women work.

In some way it seems the two type of the responses (explaining the reasons for women’s waged-labor participation) are of opposite meanings but the paper detects the one premise. None of the positions present employment as a way to achieve equity with men. Through the first position (waged-labor participation being conditioned by the poor economic situation among the women) there is a mere recognition of survival needs. In the second case the credit is given to female encounter/interaction with public spaces (rather than income generation or equal treatment); which is not recognized as a ‘journey’ by itself that resists to patriarchy, but merely helps a woman to satisfy its social communication needs. For the beholders of the first position one also sees no worth in forgoing the familial role for personal income, or for the promised ‘empowering alternatives’.

The respondents would also voice their opinions about the forced emigration of women for labor. They would say, initially, culturally, there was much embarrassment associated to the phenomena in the country. The interviewees say that, many, for the first few years in the country were ashamed of letting others know women were gone abroad. “Us, the Georgians, are more traditional people, we put an absolutely different name to that woman’s exit [from the country]” - said Shalva (male). But according to the respondents nowadays the times have changed. “Later, after some time, men got used to it” – said Zhuzhuna (female, 67). But as the paper argues later too, ‘getting used to’ seeing more and more women gaining independence, doesn’t represent and indicator to having achieved female emancipation or gender equality.

Overall, the respondents were accepting the prevalence of female sex to have been participating in waged-employment without being hindered by direct harassment from the side of men. But as already mentioned, when large numbers of women enter the ‘public’ world of paid employment, their presence doesn’t discontinue the patriarchy that exists in the sexual division of labour in the family.

For example, respondents would say that few years after child-bearing women would stay at home or that they had been doing so for their entire lives due to having many children (the research sample included mothers of 8 and 13 children, also a 28 year old mother of three children). Others, who were young, would also tell that after getting married they wanted to stop working, be dependent on husbands, dedicate few years to child-bearing and care, and re-engage with full- or part-time employment only after kids would a certain age. Or that they would become 'economically active' if given a chance to run a small enterprise or own business from home, without giving up for the responsibilities at home. Otherwise, becoming economically active (defined as waged labor) for women was being proposed as an option only in those cases when such would allow women to stay at home 'enough much'.

Accordingly, 'responsible' women would be, both, employed and find time for domestic chores. "I was finding time for everything. I would do household chores after putting my children to sleep" – told us proudly Lela (female, 49) speaking of the period when she was young employed parent. "There is no such job that will make it impossible for a woman to find time for domestic chores" – said Natia 53, attempting to prove that women should maintain sole responsibilities for the work at home even when employed. "How appalling it would be if a woman was lying on a couch with cigarettes in the hand and the husband was cooking and washing the clothes" – said Nona (female, 55).

It is a clear fact now that the labor-force participation (also particularly high levels of it among the women during Soviet Union), did not have the liberating results for women that were anticipated from it. For example, an idea similar to 'socialization of housework' that Engels was proposing as a remedy to inequality between sexes was never realized during communism. One reason, Paterson and Brown (1994) argue could be the fact that the public-private dualism, which devalues domestic labor in neoclassical theory, is present in classical Marxism too, and curtails any possibility to achieve gender justice. One could debate whether Soviet Union had indeed premised its communist regime on Marxist orthodoxy or whether Marxist orthodoxy bears the features of neo-classical economics or not; but evidently in contemporary Georgia, much like it was in the US in the second half of the 20th century, – there are attempts to envision gender justice in finding a better 'balance' between work and home for women (Paterson and Brown 1994).

Thus, merely following the argument of the public/private dichotomy throughout the study one would have arrived to the claim that women had been stopped to be hindered from engaging in 'public' in Georgia for long and that the gender justice had long been achieved. Nonetheless, when reading the research participants' life trajectories it is realized that the share and weight of social reproduction doesn't give economy the 'luxury' to be dis-embedded from the so called private realm. Waged-labor employment is in strong connection to domestic and reproductive responsibilities, which has to be analogous for both sexes, if gender justice is to be achieved. The terrain where the public and private realms connect on reproductive and care grounds, is what what is presented as the locus of struggle for female emancipation in this paper. Otherwise, the paper focuses on the analysis of human welfare among the poverty

ridden respondents and the way rupture in welfare, experienced through capitalist economic crisis, is the key to explaining gender justice.

4.2 Commodification of women's labor

Interviewees assert jobs they perform are short term and provide no guarantees for sustainability. Small enterprises that they have run were temporal they say, and constantly necessitating from them to be switching from one profession to another. Jobs they perform are not jobs they say. Nobody among the interviewed could give recognition to the labor market that they were engaged with (either in formal or non-formal way).

“There should be jobs that will employ everyone... stabile jobs. Let them have 400 [Gel], not necessarily a thousand [per month]”- said Lia (female, 55). Job insecurity on the contemporary labor market is a thing that the researched population cannot reconcile themselves with since having the (historic or personal) memories of stable employment being available during communism. „There were so many jobs before, if you'd quite one, you could have found 5-6 jobs another day” – says Marina (female, 57). Another female respondent, Maia (female, 50) said – “I can't find a job where I would properly go and work... to do something. There is nothing”; this way the respondent was refereeing to lack of institutionalized forms of employment inside the formal economy. Older ladies, on the other hand, would complain of unavailability of jobs for older age group [in formal economy] and also mention that they wished to be working despite being pensioners already, as during communism they say such would have been possible in their age. “Am I that old that my country doesn't need me anymore?” – asked Nona (female, 64).

But it is important to notice, that the respondents of both sexes would assert it had been mostly men for whom it seemed inconsistent to inscribe themselves with the given realm in contemporary times, rather than the women. This for the paper is a demonstration of empowerment representing only a necessary ground for greater readiness among women to exploitation and job market insecurities. Such, has not necessarily lead to egalitarian standing to females in Georgia.

Luisa (female) 80 years old told us she had been working at a factory of plastic materials for 30 years, but that after the demise of the Soviet Union she lost the job and nowadays bakes pastry and sells them on the street. Her daughter, Nona, of 64, works at a restaurant as an assistant cook but in the meantime the two grandsons of 30 and 34 are unemployed. There are no jobs for men Luisa and Nona say.

“If there were jobs, [men] might have had the will to work. Georgian men don't really have the capacities to work physically, you know? I would say there are no jobs for women either but they tend to manage [finding a job] more” – said Ketevan (female, 40).

Anna, 30 had the following opinion: *“There are jobs for men. They are just not willing to be washing others' cars [for example]. Nowadays there are guys who will tell you, 'I won't*

work at a place where the boss can call shots.' But why? Then you have to have so much [money] that you open your own place and be the boss yourself. But will you be then able to maintain a worker who is likely to say the same thing as you said? This is what Georgian men are. Georgian women on the other hand will get employed, and without even getting involved in a fight or receiving a warning will adapt to the place."

"Mostly it is women who work... A lot of men are unemployed. They sit at home and play domino and domino in neighborhoods." „Jobs for men are rare. Mostly women will go out. She can at least work as a cleaning lady, wash dishes, babysit" – said another respondent. This was also the reason why emigration was assumed among the respondents to be more prevalent for females than men. Men in migration have less chances of finding the employment, people say.

Nancy Fraser argues that as we are witnessing women pouring into labor markets around the globe, the contemporary 'disorganized capitalism', as she calls it, strives on the "new romance of female advancement". This way the paper stays critical to such 'remedies' to the issues of female subjugation that only crystalize the feminist agenda to unlimited freedoms among the women as consumers in capitalist society (of labor in this case). It is in this moment of increased conformity to market-induced insecurities from the side of women; and the prevalence of their engagement with waged-labor, that the paper argues for the necessity of defending gender relations from the repercussions of social rupture.

Interviews point to the prevalence of 'new' agents (women) being subsumed by capitalist market into exploitation; and the latter being paralleled by the crisis of the domestic and of the family. The proposed subsection argues that women's activation in economic realm, when not being accompanied by changes in patriarchy, as this is evidenced within the study sample, ensues in social depletion.

4.3 Social depletion

Folbre (2001) asks: as women begin to spend less time working in the home and more time in the capitalist marketplace does their 'traditional altruism diminish?'. The increased waged labor participation among the women when paralleled with little or no transformations with respect to patriarchy, or valorization of domestic work, causes the population to relate social depletion to women in Georgia. "The most important is to make sure the families resemble real families in the future. The rest will be sorted out easily" - said Teo, referring to the tendencies where family relations suffer. Starting with this quote the following section will argue that the society is, may be unfairly but not falsely, ascribing family disintegration to women's increased participation in waged-labor in Georgia.

As mentioned earlier, despite the women's migration having become an accepted fact - as an act of independent livelihood; respondents are very critical to migrated people for having 'forsaken' families. There is no statistics tracking disintegration of families of Georgian emigrants but it was very frequently perceived that such dynamics ruins families. And indeed, even though the women

are abroad to transfer money and support the households, the familial domain is in crisis. The mere reversal of roles, has the potential of leading to rupture in social relations and threatening families unless, once again: patriarchy retreats; and care is valorized.

“A woman says: ‘if I have to sustain my child, why do I also have to sustain the husband too’” – told Maia (female) 50 years old. “When a woman is an earner, I don’t care of the man’s opinion” – says Ana (female, 30). „The family is one, but when both the husband and the wife are employed each one has his/her own [property]”- said one man regretfully during the interview. Increased ownership among the women, paralleled with no changes in patriarchy, the respondents attest, has triggered women to ending subordination in their lives by removing themselves or the partners from the family relations.

In addition, sometimes ascribing women social rupture is unjustly connected not only to the lack of women’s presence in domestic realm but to their presence in public realms too. To put it in different words, for the researched community, it is not only the following condition that is detrimental: imagining any other position for women but the position at home; but also the condition when women are out there in public realm to ‘substitute’ men for example. “It should not be hard for a man to sustain a woman. [On the other hand] it will be always hard for a woman to sustain a man. This is then the reason why so many families fall apart” – told us Maia (female, 50) who was proposing an explanation to what ensued when women became earners in families. Men have higher capabilities as well as needs (whether material or ideational) respondents believe.

Here in this community we often see how family (the private) is also being presented as an ‘argument’ against the absent careers that women live with. Some of the female respondents would take the moral stance by saying that they never wanted to have careerist aspirations. Natia (female, 27) said: “thoughts about family always come after, if the person decides to think of career”. “What can be better than a career, but I prefer a family... first comes family.” – said another respondent. This problem of harmoniously reconciling waged-labor with other aspects of their life is omnipresent among the researched community.

Corollary, if the previous subsection argued that feminism shall be defending the ‘agency’ of the domestic realm inside the economy; the proposed subsection presented the argumentation as to what happens as women undergo oppression in the family and of the family within the capitalist market economies. The paper argues that the latter represents social rupture and it is where the injustice lies if one attributes women’s waged-labor participation the claims for gender justice.

Chapter 5: ‘Triple movement’

The previous chapter located the topic of women’s waged-labor participation within the prism of double movement theory by Karl Polanyi and argued for dis-embedded and embedded variants of waged-labor, where the paid and commodified aspects of human labor would need to be adequately synchronized with the non-paid and de-commodified aspects of it for achieving gender justice.

The Chapter 4 detects where social rupture is itself a process that hinders establishing gender justice, whilst the strategies the society resorts to as part of its social protection reflex within the double movement, is patriarchal in nature.

The concluding chapter of the paper explains the targets in Nansy Fraser’s idea of triple movement in Georgian context. On the one hand, the aspiration of liberal capitalist societies to achieve individualism, commodification of the labor among the women and careerism among them, and on the other, the aspiration of conservative regimes to assume the role of housewives for women,—requires feminism to propose its ‘third’ agenda of female emancipation.

Besides, arguing for the evidences of social rupture through documenting the problem of double burden among women in Georgia and the necessity of feminism serving in defence of the place of the domestic realm in the capitalist economy, the paper also goes against maintaining or reinforcing power dominations and hierarchies against women that the patriarchal and sexist logic of the defense of families from disintegration and families against careerism imply in itself.

The following chapter is a return to the central research question that aims at identifying what can be the real targets for women emancipation that are to aid accomplishing gender equality and justice in Georgian context. Otherwise, the chapter proposes what can be a ‘legitimate’ demand for feminism when promoting women activation in waged-labor.

5.1 Defending gender equality from social rupture

Betty Freidan would write: it is false to pose family and career and family and equality as either/or choices (Stacey 1986). Feminism is an idea that has to transform the notion of balancing the two, or choosing between the two. A strand of feminism may state that, emancipation lies within such waged-labor participation by women that, similar to waged-labor participation by the men, provides and assumes family in it; claims the assistance, promotion and support from it. But, the given paper argues that it is unjust to attribute feminism to such ideological movements that either leave domestic, private and care economy non-recognized by economy, or recognize the latter but simply aim to achieve the domestic and waged-labor responsibilities to be switching between the members of different sexes inside the family. ‘Dis-embedding’ one aspect of the economy (e.g. care) from another (e.g. productive), is detrimental for feminism, but feminist emancipatory struggles shall aim at not necessarily balancing or choosing between the two but transforming the notions about

individualism (the individual lack of capabilities) and the public-private dichotomy that present such classifications of commodified and non-commodified labor that will necessarily feed patriarchy and sexism.

5.1.1 Individualist aspirations and emancipation

Central to this paper is the observation by Carole Pateman (1987) who argues that in liberal conception the public realm is necessarily always assumed to be individualist. If careerism can be interpreted as the extension of individualistic values, it can be argued that the moral stance of being against careerism, among the respondents, bears the idea of defending the familial and the social, rather than necessarily of oppressing the women (only). As already mentioned in the previous chapter, it was the prioritization of ‘personal gain as a cultural motive’ that the capitalist market economy has brought forth, which, although often argued so, never resulted in gender justice as introduced to women too.

If individualism is to be translated into careerism when discussed in relation to job-market participation, it becomes interesting to explore what such ‘individualist’ aspirations among women are alerting the respondents to. One of the major findings of the research was that when posing questions to the respondents about own perception on careerist women; it was very prevalent among them to point necessarily to perversities. Some would assert how certain women had achieved success through exposing their naked bodies. The first symbolic meanings of successful labor market participation that they would talk to you about would bear sexual content. The low-skilled low-paid jobs the research sample had been mostly exposed to was described in denigrating way for women. For example, the respondents would talk of women being the casino attendants (who, it was immanent, would be exposing her nudity to multiple men), being police women who gets sworn at, and, in the more extreme cases, becoming prostitutes or cheating with the men in employing families, when hired as babysitters. “My husband won’t let me work at a place where they were short skirts. I am sure about it.” – said one female respondent.

“Women on the west can be strippers and the husbands won’t tell them anything” – was one of the clarifying examples by a men respondent during one of the group interviews. This is what can’t be welcome, they explain. Moreover when discussing women emigration for work, one male respondent noted: “Us, the Georgians, are more traditional people, we put an absolutely different name to that woman’s exit [from the country]”.

Importantly, it should also be noticed, that throughout the research, when during the group interviews older male respondents were asked to juxtapose formerly existing (the communist period) gender relations to the period in present, they would argue that: inside (work) collectives there was more trust and respect towards the co-workers and families of co-workers. According to his claims it would never become a precedent for men to flirt (to ‘hit’) on women back then at work. Whereas in contemporary times they believe such has become present and prevalent.

Additionally, the respondents would talk of the importance of the virginity institute in the given interviews. Mentioning such topic in relation to the research

on female employment was an attempt by respondents to bring the conversation back to the importance of family institute. “It fits well when Georgians live with Georgian customs. European lifestyle, freedom in all sense, I think I don’t like it. Personally I dislike it. I still don’t think it is beautiful that a woman follows a guy and lives with him before marriage. But friends indeed tell me I am old-fashioned”- said our female respondent Marika (female, 30).

It is important to notice that the reason behind receiving such responses was that the ‘freedoms’ for women would end where the interests of a (patriarchal) family was beginning. The paper argues, ‘patriarchal’ to be a secondary category in this case as the detriment to gender justice majorly lays within the idea that the public realm is preserved to be individualist (Pateman 1987).

Corollary, from within the position of social rupture the explained dynamic puts the respondents in the condition of, feminism shall aim at achieving equality that does not presuppose emancipation to lay in individualist aspirations that come into conflict with family institute through creating room for perversities. Feminist fight for emancipation is the idea that aims at achieving gender equality rather than transformed gender relations aiding the dis-embedding individuals (as aspiring economic agents) from domestic realm.

5.1.2 Commodification of women’s labor and emancipation

“In the past men would always work, but now it is not so. It is vice-versa. Women are progressing more, they work more,” – said Teona (female, 24). “Where is equality? Women outstripped the men” – said Ketevan (female, 40), “A man has to be able to sustain his family. Men, in contemporary Georgia, can’t manage this. Not that they have no capacities for that: they just have no will to do that anymore. Everything passed on women now and men don’t have the [same] wish anymore.”

“Once a woman starts working, a man quits and feels good about having the income guaranteed. I like how it is abroad. Both [husband and wife] work, and they split [responsibilities], they support each other. You can never make a Georgian man understand that” – said Ana (female, 30).

But as it is demonstrated further down in this paper too, women who have claimed the ‘freedom to work’ have only achieved freedom from men and freedom to men and have not necessarily achieved equality between sexes to celebrate social and particularly the gender justice.

“You think men is not intimidated when seeing that women earn more, when seeing that women are the ones who carry the burden of the family?” – asked one interviewed man. The paper argues mere reversal of the distribution of paid and unpaid work responsibilities between men and women, and the parity in their representation at home and at work doesn’t lead to gender equality.

Additionally, the respondents claim men have the sole discretion to decide where is their assistance needed and timely at home. Meaning, if such is acknowledged necessary by both sexes, the assistance is ‘acceptable’. Other-

wise, men will never be welcome (either by the men or the women) to ‘substitute’ women at home. This is why, the paper argues the request for substitution also goes counter feminist agenda as it doesn’t necessarily imply transforming patriarchy or the accomplishment of equality between genders in it. Some women were strictly against seeing men completing household chores: “No, no. I would rather have no man beside me than have a guy who does women’s job” – said Natia (female, 27).

The reversal of the distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women, although grants the recognition to the domestic realm, still assumes power dominations and hierarchies in itself. This paper agrees with Fraser in that she sees emancipation in re-envisioned social arrangements in a way that enable everyone – male or female - to perform both sets of activities. Performing both sets of activities can’t imply the division of labor between domestic and non-domestic, but should assume the set of the two together.

5.1.3 The double burden problem

“I have been working since I was 18. I have been a chief cashier at a store. After I got married, I used to work in Gardabani at commissioners’ (the second hand store of those times). Later I was a vendor at the food market Nugeshi and also at a grocery store. Then again at Nugeshi a cashier,” – told Aza Lataria 47 years old of her numerous work experiences, who lives with her husband and 8 children at a squatted community. Earlier in the interview she had mentioned the following though “we say: ‘a man is supposed to bring income to the family and a woman is to expose it’. Woman is there to cook at home, bring up children and create comfort in family... Ask around and you will find out what type of children I have brought up. I have wasted myself cherishing them... manners... hygiene... they know all you can wish for, honesty... I am not bragging, ask Nunu if you wish”. Aza was proudly demonstrating how she would balance waged-labor and work at home, making us assume her capacities to be employed do not repress the family domain or vice-versa. The paper argues, to achieve gender equality, achieving gender parity among those who feel responsible to explain themselves about properly balancing between work and home can’t be a final goal.

When asked if women had had advancements at work, respondents would argue such was always necessitating support from the family. It is acknowledged among and especially for the women that the support and promotion from the family is important to succeed in public realm and in waged-employment. “I haven’t progressed at all” – said Tina 39, “the circumstances did not allow me to. One needs to follow everything up and do things; and I have never had time for that. I had no support. It is only me and my husband. Once you get a job, you need to pursue it till the end, step by step. I could never manage that. I had a child to bring up. I have never had somebody who would stay with the kid”. Natia 27 had a similar opinion: „A woman has to think of both. She has to make sure she has built her career a little and then she can create a family. Hopefully that family of hers will help her progress and invest in career”. Marika 30 said she did not have the career she wished to have due to having no promotion from the side of the family. Such an issue, the paper argues, is irresolvable by merely redistributing individual responsibilities between family members or finding a better balance for them between work and home. Femi-

nism can't leave unnoticed that the simple recognition of care work will always be periled by sexist biases unless economy is discussed in its substantivist form (subsuming reproduction and care in it).

It is always females (mothers, grandmothers, stepmothers) keeping responsibility for child-care. A woman would argue, she could not have trusted the children to her husband as he wouldn't be attentive to children's school performance. It is true in Georgia that a care-worker, either hired or a family member, helping in maintaining the balance (by babysitting the kid, picking up the child from school, etc.) is imagined to be always a female. Children's attendants remain to be female nannies or grandmothers. Figuratively speaking grandfathers remain out of the scope of the analysis when discussing the care, cleaning and cooking responsibilities at home. Marika (female, 30) said: "when I was working, I would leave my kid with my mother or with my step-mother. But my husband would claim the kid needed attention and that I should stay at home. 'Let's be sufficed by my earnings' he would say". But the paper argues, feminism is to achieve success not when 'men' are better 'trained' in care, but when the notions of the economy and the human welfare subsume in it the familial, the private and the domestic domains in itself.

5.2 Transforming patriarchy doesn't peril the idea of a family

The previous subsection presented argumentation for the claim that through proclaiming a substantivist position in relation to the interaction between the domestic realm and the economy, there is a potential for avoiding the rupture in social relations when being exposed to marketization forces and this way the injustices in gender relations. Subsection 2 will argue for the necessity of the feminist struggle to also claim that transforming patriarchy doesn't peril the idea of a family itself, and that defending the family institute in Georgia by the feminists should not presuppose in it defending patriarchy and sexism.

In this paper female emancipation, carries the meaning of achieving egalitarianism, which is rather different from the notion of 'liberation from men' or generally from one another, as self-sustaining individuals. If we say feminism is a battle against patriarchy, which in itself assumes male domination and female subjugation, liberating women should not necessarily mean 'detaching' women from men, or from the familial social relations that the interaction between men and women entails.

5.2.1 Defending families, but achieving gender justice

Respondents would argue the following: "I know no job that can be worth of leaving a child [unattended]"; "Of course a child needs attendance, shall you abandon the kid?"; The proposition in which it is 'not worth' to forsake child-care for waged-labor participation seeks to be unpacked and articulated stronger in feminism.

Single women (divorced; or single parents) of the research sample would romanticize male bread-winner houses where women could afford staying at

home with kids. The most striking example was when women would necessarily name men as household heads, despite being sole bread-winners, single mothers or widowed in those given families. “God forbid that it was not a man who is the household head” – said Bela 27 years old, whose imprisoned husband was ‘substituted’ by her younger brother as a household head. Women want to “make men live up to their obligations” (Kandyoti 1988).

Deniz Kandyoti is a Turkish scholar of gender relations and developmental politics who in sub-Saharan African, East Asian and Muslim Middle-Eastern contexts of marketization detected women’s (strategic rather than necessarily a reactionary) return to patriarchy. “Left without empowering alternatives, they often resist breaking the rules and cling upon older normative structures”, says she. Kandyoti also redirects us to Molyneux who writes:

“This is not just because of ‘false consciousness’ as is frequently supposed – although this can be a factor – but because such changes realized in a piecemeal fashion could threaten the short-term practical interests of some women, or entail a cost in the loss of forms of protection that are not then compensated for in some way.

As already mentioned for feminism to attribute women’s waged-labor participation is empowering women, then it has to stand in defense of the concept of gender equality too. The loss of patriarchal forms of protection shall be aimed to be compensated by the establishment of egalitarian societies as women are empowered..

But it is very often happening so that in the attempts to claim individualist aspirations of achieving empowerment and acquiring independence the women end up refuting or postponing having a family in their lives. In one set of replies collected during the field work, the female respondents would assert independence from families had empowered them. “Years ago I couldn’t have imagined I would dare this much. But it happened so that I dared and this empowered me. I moved out to live alone. Particularly in this [squatted] conditions” – said a young female respondent who had to claim leaving her village and squatting a room in the city to herself was attesting her strength as an independent woman. “I guess as I grow old and will acquire a desire to have a kid, it is when I will get married. Once I have a care-free life and everything provided” – said she. It is of significance importance that the notion of a ‘strong independent woman’ is becoming to be equated with the one that marries the idea of family planning with the aspiration of accumulating wealth and income first. “In our times, if a woman doesn’t have money, her husband doesn’t want her anymore. It is analogues for women. If a husband doesn’t earn a wife doesn’t want him. More than half of the people are like that.”- said Bela (female).

Hence it is of detrimental importance that the triple movement proposition evades the reactionary or ‘strategic’ return to patriarchal notion of families, as well as manages not to be “capitulating to market imperatives, succumbing to instrumental rationality, and seeking technocratic solutions to moral and political problems” (Elshtain cited in Stacey, 1986). The problem of not having necessary conditions for creating or sustaining egalitarian families have to be recognized as political by feminists in Georgia too.

5.2.2 Sexism at work

Following subsection alerts feminism that in the attempt of extending the family domain to the economy the goals for women emancipation shall not be obscured.

For example, the researched community was very clearly expressing its resilience towards contemporary labor market transforming age-old gender discrimination patterns. Families were very 'paternalist' towards their members' participation in job market but not necessarily due to its precariat nature but because it goes against their (primary) gender identities at home, which had to be maintained hierarchical and patriarchal.

"There are more women jobs" – tell the men and women respondents equivocally, as already noted in the paper. In formalist economic terms this is the supply side of the labor being discriminating against the demanded labor. In essence, the population speaks to you of the necessity for the labor commodification to be a culturally controlled and particularly gendered process, not neutral to it. Being a waiter, cleaning personnel or a dishwasher in the restaurant is women's job, they tell you. So is the supply side appreciating discrimination intersectionally based on gender and age. A mother of three sons (27, 35 and 36 year olds) said her son was offered a job of a street cleaner. "How can you ask a young boy to sweep streets?" – she was asking, "those type of jobs should be given to may be older ladies like me. He could have been asked to be the driver of cleaning machines [cars] instead and that he would have done, but he refused to sweep streets with a broom". Corollary, respondents would complain of jobs being inconsistent with general social roles men wanted to be ascribing themselves and women to; and this is detrimental for feminist emancipatory struggle.

One of the male respondents explained himself in the following way: he and his male friends were having a feast at (ethnic) Georgian food restaurant when he felt embarrassment once he saw "a handsome young guy waiting tables". "In our society we look at it differently" he said while expressing deep regret for the young men, as serving food is a job to be performed by females.

It is also important to notice that, as mentioned previously, respondents don't necessarily argue against the precariat job market: low-paid, temporal employments. "I am not being embarrassed for it" – they will tell you, which means, even though this is not quite what I deserve, I am not going to turn down the offer due to it being insufficiently good for me. But what matters, according to them, is to preserve gender normative roles in families and societies. E.g. men will work for the constructions and women for the restaurants but they don't wish this to be reversed. In several occasions had the labor market imposed on women (and also men) to have gender-inconsiderate positions, according to their narratives, but this should not be becoming prevalent and this should not be so.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The proposed paper touched upon a developmental issue in the context of the formerly communist country - Georgia. The collapse of Soviet Union in 1991, a phase of transition to market economy and the recent endeavors of rooting the development of the country in neoliberal projects on national level prepared a necessary ground for detecting that gender equality started to be deemed as secondary and conditional factor to the economic growth and wealth generation in Georgia.

High female labor force participation rates during the Soviet Union, as well as feminization of labor force in the period of its aftermath, presupposes the perils of falsely ascribing female advancement to women's activation in economic realm.

The interview participants of this research were vocal of witnessing women having commodified labor to the levels un-precedent by men, women entering the public realm as individualist agents, sometimes even 'leaving men behind' in these endeavors, but this, the paper evidences, did not transform patriarchy, and, in cases, even provided 'a new spirit to it'. Exploring the topic from within the context of high levels of poverty and unemployment the paper resorted to the socialist feminist theories that contradict the idea of dis-embedding economy from social relations and of dividing it from other sources of provisioning welfare – in this case the family.

The paper challenged the feminist literature that asserts that the scope from which to fight for gender justice lies within increased individual capabilities, that allows a woman to claim entitlements within the sovereign public (and in this case the economic) realm. The research findings conditioned to distance the study from the neoclassical economic theories on public-private dualism, in order to assert such contains a threat of over-valuing commodified labor and the work performed in the public realm in comparison to non-commodified forms of labor and the work performed at home. Thus, the major locus for feminist struggles was presented to lay within the wider inter-relation 'the economy' and 'the private' realms have between each other –particularly on social and reproductive grounds. Instead of finding a better balance between work and home for people, the socialist feminism proposes to seek emancipation in such arrangements of welfare provisioning that recognizes and valorizes home and the domestic realm. And before it happens so women undergo oppression in the family and of the family within the capitalist market economies. The paper argues that the latter is inevitably causing social rupture among families and it is where the injustice lies if one attributes women's waged-labor participation the claims for female advancement.

Here, elaborating on the fact that social rupture is itself a process that hinders establishing gender justice, whilst the strategies the society resorts to as part of its social protection reflex within the 'double movement', is patriarchal in nature - the paper proposes its 'third' agenda that serves the idea of female emancipation. The paper goes against maintaining or reinforcing power dominations and hierarchies against women that the patriarchal and sexist logic of the defense of families from disintegration and families against careerism imply in itself. The paper alerts feminism that in the attempt of extending the family

domain to the economy the goals for women emancipation shall not be obscured.

Otherwise, to change the tendency of relating social depletion to solely women's increased waged labor participation in Georgia – the arrangement in the welfare provisioning has to change: valorization of domestic work has to be achieved and this way the transformation in patriarchal forms of domination can ensue. Achieving a better balance between work and home or better division of labor between sexes inside the domestic realm leads societies to rupture in social relations and threatens families unless, once again: care is valorised. Besides, the paper argues, feminism is to achieve success not when 'men' are better 'trained' in care, but when the notions of the economy and the human welfare subsume in it the familial, the private and the domestic domains in itself. Otherwise, provisioning welfare can't imply the division of labor between domestic and non-domestic, but should assume the set of the two together. The paper argues mere reversal of the distribution of paid and unpaid work responsibilities between men and women, and the parity in their representation at home and at work doesn't lead to gender equality. The reversal of the distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women, although grants the recognition to the domestic realm, still assumes power dominations and hierarchies in itself.

Besides, one of the major finding of the research explains that the increased capacities, powers and freedoms among women allowing them to end subordination in their lives by removing themselves or the partners from the family relations, is detrimental to establishing egalitarian society. The paper explains, one of the detriments to gender justice to be lying within the idea that the public realm is individualist. If feminisms aims at achieving equality and egalitarian society in Georgia it has to refuse emancipation to lay in individualist aspirations for either men or women. Feminist fight for emancipation is an idea that aims at achieving gender equality rather than transformed gender relations aiding the dis-embedding of the economy from domestic realm.

This way the paper argues feminist agenda around women's waged-labor participation shouldn't be crystallized to empowering the women for achieved freedom from men and freedom to men as such can't lead to celebrating social and particularly the gender justice. Achieving egalitarianism, is a rather different notion than 'liberation from men' or generally from one another, as self-sustaining individuals.

Feminism the paper argues shall be defending family institute – and besides fighting against the reactionary or 'strategic' return to patriarchal notion of families – it has to go counter the tendency featuring in capitalist societies that present personal gains as 'cultural motive'. The triple movement proposition evades "capitulating to market imperatives, succumbing to instrumental rationality, and seeking technocratic solutions to moral and political problems" such as of the family or of the domestic realm. The problem of not having necessary conditions for creating or sustaining egalitarian families have to be recognized as moral and political issues by feminists in Georgia too.

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Appendix 1. Questionnaire Guide (in English and Georgian)

In-depth interviews with females (any generation or household role)

The given qualitative study will majorly focus on extracting meanings and explanations of the reasons of(un)employment among the female members of the poor urban households in Georgia. The analysis of collected data will seek to focus on perceptions of causality rather than establishing causalities themselves.

In addition, as through the data we collect from qualitative research we don't aim to make wide generalizations, the strategies we will use for sampling will be less aimed at producing statistical representativeness. Rather, we will choose the method of purposive sampling for achieving diversity within the group of interviewees.

It is also not excluded, that at initial stage a sample will be recruited and interviewed to inform the formulation of the further sample. The second sample will be wider and specifically defined to address already 'fixed' aspects emerging at the first stage.

For recruiting the participants we will apply the method of 'advertising for participants' and so called 'snowball sampling'. The former will result the sample to be self-selective, and hence purposive selection will be necessary to be made (out of those who will have applied). Snowball sampling will be achieved if the settlements in which the first few interviews will be held will allow for collecting more participants for the research.

As long as we won't get more than one chance to interview selected people, the qualitative method used in our research will be semi-structured interviews. The interview guide will outline main topics and live room for flexibility inside the process of interviewing. Interviews will be held one-on-one with the interviewees, in presence of the (male) research assistant and the setting respondents chose for us.

Before starting the interview process:

- Say what this is about: not in an academic language
- We will assure people of anonymity and confidentiality
- It will be explained how they were chosen
- It will be explained that the researchers seek to understand what respondents *think* and what *their* observations are
- We will talk why it is important that we have their honesty and cooperation to maintain representativeness
- Permission will be asked to record personal interviews and to take notes.
- Respondents will be encouraged to interrupt the researcher during the interview with anything they think is important.
- If some members of the household are deterred to participate, saying they really don't know enough to be part of the study, researcher will assure them that their participation is crucial and that she is truly interested in what they have to say

Questionnaire:

- 1) Who are the members of your household? ჩამოთვალეთ ოჯახის წევრები
- 2) Describe the roles of your household members. როგორ არის როლები გადანაწილებილი თქვენს ოჯახში (საქმლის მომზადება, მოხუცების მოვლა, ა.შ.)?
- 3) Who is/has been the *de facto* and *de jure* (within the cash transfer system) head of your household? Why? ვინ არის დარეგისტრირებული ოჯახის უფროსად სოციალური საგენტოს ბაზაში?
- 4) როგორ და რის მიხედვით მიიღეთ გადაწყვეტილება ამის შესახებ?

- 5) Who are the household members responsible for providing the minimum income for the household? What is inferred under their 'responsibilities'? ოჯახის რომელი წევრები არიან პასუხისმგებელი საარსებო მინიმუმით ოჯახის უზრუნველყოფაზე? რას გულისხმობს ნახსენები პასუხისმგებლობები?
- 6) Do the responsibilities/positions/roles change? What is the reason for this? პასუხისმგებლობები/პოზიციები/როლები იცვლება? რის მიხედვით?
- 7) Tell us the story of your previous employment/unemployment periods? მოგვიყევით წარსულში თქვენი დასაქმების/უმუშევრობის პერიოდების შესახებ.
 - a. Are you employed now or looking for the job? ამჟამად ხართ თუ არა დასაქმებული ან ეძებთ თუ არა სამსახურს?

- 8) What are the monetary and non-monetary advantages of being engaged in formal VS non-formal employment or not being employed at all? რა ფინანსური და არაფინანსური უპირატესობები აქვს ფორმალურ ეკონომიკაში მონაწილეობას არაფორმალურ ეკონომიკაში მონაწილეობის საპირწონედ? ან უმუშევრობას?

In case of unemployment:

Why are you unemployed? რატომ არ ხართ დასაქმებული?

In case of seeking for employment:

- 9) What experience/skills/education do you need for employment? რა გამოცდილებას/უნარჩვევებს/განათლებლას უნდაფლობთ დასაქმებისთვის?

10) Do your family members wish/want you to be employed? თქვენს ოჯახის წევრებს უნდათ/ისურვებდნენ, რომ დასაქმდეთ?

11) What would change in the family if you were employed? რა შეიცვლებოდა ოჯახში თქვენ რომ სამსახური გქონდეთ?

In case of not seeking for employment:

12) Why are you not seeking for an employment? რატომ არ ეძებთ სამსახურს?

In case of employment:

13) Did your relations with your family change/was conditioned by your employment status (material income)? თქვენი დამოკიდებულება ოჯახთან თუ შეიცვალა/იყო განპირობებული თქვენი მატერიალური შემოსავლით?

14) Was there a vision of progress and security in employment? Did it materialize or not? Why? ხედავდით თუ არა წინსვლას სამსახურში ან გქონდათ თუ არა მსგავსი ხედვა სამომავლოდ? გიქმნიდათ თუ არა მუშაობა დაცულობის/უსაფრთხოების განცდას? რატომ?

15) Who are the key figures that played important role in encouraging or discouraging you while finding employment, or proceeding in rank? What were the major arguments? ოჯახში ყველაზე მეტად ვინ გიჭერდათ მხარს/გეხმარებოდათ სამსახურის მოძებნაში და სამუშაოზე პროგრესირებაში? რატომ, რა არგუმენტებით?

16) Do you perceive your current condition (employed/unemployed; monetary social beneficiary/no beneficiary) as temporal? ამჟამინდელ (დასაქმების) სტატუს როგორც დროებითს ისე უყურებთ?

17) Do you keep secret savings for yourself? ოჯახისგან გასაიდუმლოებული დანაზოგი თუ გაქვთ?

Hypothetical questions:

18) What would it take for you to a) enter the labor market b) advance in the labor market (be committed to – increased professional approach) c) what would it take to change attitudes about women in employment რად გიღირთ მუშაობის დაწყება? რად გიღირთ თქვენი თავის პროფესიულ წინსვლაში ინვესტირება? რა იქნებოდა საჭირო იმისთვის რომ სამუშაო ძალაში ქალთა ჩართულობის მიმართ დამოკიდებულება შეიცვალოს?

19) Interests: in whose interests is it? ისაუბრეთ ინტერესებზე. ვის ინტერესებში რა შედის?

- 20) Would you wish things to be different as for the distribution of roles inside the household? ისურვებდით თუ არა რომ ოჯახის წევრებს შორის როლები სხვადასხვანაირად იყოს გადანაწილებული?
- 21) What would you have done differently (with respect to employment) if given a chance to meddle in your 'faith'? რას შეცვლიდით (სამსახურთან დაკავშირებით)?

In retrospect:

- 22) Were your desires about employment/unemployment usually matched with real-life circumstances or not? Why or why not? თქვენი სურვილები მოდიოდა ხოლმე, თუ არა თანხვედრაში თქვენს ცხოვრებისეულ გამოცდილებებთან? რატომ?
- 23) What were the role of male members of your household in deciding female labor-force participation? რა როლი აქვთ/ქონდათ თქვენს ოჯახში მაცხოვრებელ მამაკაცებს ქალების სამუშაო ძალაში მონაწილეობა-არმონაწილეობის განსაზღვრაში?
- 24) Have you negotiated each other's job opportunities, positions? ერთმანეთის დასაქმების შესაძლებლობებს თუ განიხილავთ ხოლმე?

Attitudes (not necessarily questions, these are the things you want to know. Without naming the men)

- 1) How do you feel men in your family look at females working for income-generating activities?
- 2) How do you feel men in your family look at females performing household chores?
- 3) Perceptions of own social identity.
- 4) Perceptions of where is the line is between emotional disturbance that female labor force participation may bring to men and necessity to earn income?
- 5) Is it 'fashionable' or not for women (young or old, married or unmarried) to be employed?

Focus groups with men

The data obtained from in-depth interviews with the women will be triangulated by focus group interviews with the men of the same households from which we will have had selected women participants before. This method will be used add scientific rigor to one-on-one interviews and to open up an opportunity to obtain opinions and attitudes at another level. The data produced in the focus group interviews with men may reveal (dominant) shared social and cultural understandings among men of patriarchal systems.

We are aware that the extent to which participants are similar or different will impact on the interaction that take place in the focus group interview. In case of our study the intention is to gather men from female-headed households together for one focus group, whilst men from the male-headed households separately in another focus group. If the time allows, and the number of participants, – there will be a third focus

group set up with participants of mixed characteristics (male and female-headed household members together).

The assumption is that purposive sampling method will allow us to have participants who don't know each other. Participation of *pre-existing groups* will be avoided in our research. Although, as we might refer to snow-ball sampling method, and as the participants will at least all be beneficiaries of the same services, we might have few interviewees knowing each other.

The idea behind triangulating the data retrieved from in-depth interviews with focus groups is that such discussion among men will fill in the data with wider cultural and ideological frameworks of patriarchal structures presented by men themselves.

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE:

The aim of the research: general perceptions among men about the women's employment.

- What do you think about the women who are working? რას ფიქრობთ დასაქმებულ ქალებზე? /უნდა მუშაობდეს თუ არა ქალი?
- Is it an important issue for you? თქვენთვის მნიშვნელოვანია?
- Do women themselves want to be working? უნდათ თუ არა ქალებს რომ იმუშაონ?
- Why do women want to work? რატომ უნდათ ქალებს რომ იყვნენ დასაქმებულები?
- Have you been against a female member of your family to be employed? If yes, why? ყოფილხართ თუ არა წინააღმდეგი რომ თქვენს ოჯახში ქალს ემუშავა? რატომ?
- How do you think why do some men dislike their mothers/wives/daughters/sisters to be employed? თქვენი აზრით რატომ არ სურთ ზოგ კაცებს რომ მათი ცოლები/ქალიშვილები/დედები/დეები მუშაობდნენ?
- What are those responsibilities that a woman can't fulfill after she is employed? რა პასუხისმგებლობები აკისრიათ ოჯახში ქალებს, რასაც სამსახურის პოვნის შემთხვევაში ვეღარ შეასრულებენ?
- What is cool about careerism? რა მუდამი აქვს კარიერას ქალებისთვის?
- In case family has a satisfactory income, shall a woman be employed as well? ოჯახი რომ უზრუნველყოფილი იყოს შემოსავლით ამ შემთხვევაში უნდა მუშაობდეს თუ არა ქალი?
- Who is considered to be a head of the household? ოჯახის უფროსად ვინ მოიაზრება?
- What happens when the household head is a woman? ოჯახის უფროსი რომ ქალი იყოს?
- Would you consider a woman's recommendation/advice while choosing a job? მიიღებთ თუ არა ქალის შენიშვნას სამსახურის შერჩევისას?

APPENDIX II. INTERPRETATIVE THEMES –Stage one

Interview transcripts were organized into 27 descriptive codes listed below. At stage one, the codes were clustered into the three major interpretative themes. Appendix II demonstrates the organization of the codes into new interpretative themes, on the stage two, that helped develop a theoretical framework in the paper.

I. INTERPRETATIVE THEME: Neoliberalism

1. Descriptive code: Explaining a career: “advancement”, “improvement”
[I will] promote the youth to advance their career
[It is important] to first advance in a career and then to create a family.
For me work and career is very important.
2. Descriptive code: Rational choice – employment to satisfying basic needs
What else can one do, who will give you something for free... it's indispensable and that's why I am working. (F)
If I was not poor probably I would have stayed at home as a housewife, but as I need money I need to work. (F)
The circumstances forced me to start working. (F)
Responsible for income provisioning: In our case it is both because both of us have little health issues. (F)
My husband used to be responsible for financing the family, but afterwards I had to take on a job as. (F)
You work for the money, why else? (F)
My husband was against, but then I told him to provide me with everything, which he couldn't do. (F)
<i>-Did your husband change his attitude?</i> -Well what else can he do, he is now only able to walk with crutches and where can he work? He got a head injury... he still does not want me to work, he says he is sorry for me and that we should think of other option. But what can we do? I do not have anyone to help me.
Of course a woman shall work. What can be better than (M)
It used to be like that, but now, if a woman does not work, a family is starving. (M)
If I was not poor I would stay at home as a house wife as well, but as I need money I have to work. (F)
3. Descriptive code: crippling patriarchal traditions
As my father told me in past women were required to stay at home and to take care of their kids. This is the same now. As I remember from my father: woman shall be at home, cook at home and husband shall work. (F)

It used to be used to the men working always, but now it is differently.(F)
I don't know why but in the past woman had to stay at home and to take care of family. But I don't think if anyone thinks like this these days. (F)
4. Descriptive code: Individual agency of the women
If a woman is not lazy she will work (F)
If one [of elderly age] desires she may find a job which is even better paid than a man's. Why not there are such kind of working place.(F)
Women earn more than man.(M)
A woman shall be more active and more self-confident.(F)
A hardworking and smart person who wants two have a family and children, will manage to have time for work and for family as well.(F)
Lazy person will stay lazy. But hardworking person will keep on living and will maintain a family.(F)
Some women are active and they themselves want to go out and no one will forbid them to do so.(F)
5. Descriptive code: Independent livelihood strategies
If I were young I would have gone abroad as well.Working there will contribute more to the family than working here.(F)
I wanted to emigrate as well. (F)
If my child was healthy enough I would have gone to work aboard as many others have done. I know many, who even did not have money for a bread, have started good life there. I would have done the same if my child was not seek... I have no one to leave him with. (F)
If I had an opportunity I would have emigrated for sure. (F)
Nowadays many Georgians are arrogant to work here on particular jobs and prefer to go abroad.(F)
6. Descriptive code: The primacy of employed work
I can't bear staying at home.(F)
While I was working I was happy. Unemployment is horrible... you are not happy for sunrise. (F)
I couldn't bear seating at home, thinking so much, being worried and then I decided to start a job.(F)
In our times, if a woman doesn't have money, her husband doesn't want her anymore. It is analogues for women. If a husband doesn't earn a wife doesn't want him. More than half of the people are like that(F)
Yes, man and woman shall both have a job. I would have never gone against this.(F)
7. Descriptive code: Family planning
In this conditions in which [my daughter] lives, I would not have had a second child, if only you could tell me why. The husband was not working and he did not let her wife to work either. (F)
Yes, of course, when husband and wife, both have jobs, there is more change for them to provide well for their family. I think there are many things that a family needs: clothes, education etc. that is why I look ahead, try to build a small wealth and afterwards to have a family. (F)

When a family does not have a toddler to take care of, it is better if husband and wife both have jobs. This way a family will be able to provide better future for their children. (F)
I was thinking to have another baby after first one, but it is even hard to raise one child. Every normal woman wants to have another baby, but I can't have another one, as I have fear that I won't be able to feed my children.
8. Descriptive code: market imperatives extending on family relations; instrumental rationality
It is hard to sustain a man. It should not be hard for a man to sustain woman, but for a woman it will always be hard to sustain man. That is the reasons for this many family breakups. A woman says: why should I sustain my husband when I rather take more care of a child, why should I sustain man as well. In this case they prefer to leave husband and family breaks up. These stories are more and more common.(F)
Georgians like talking about high values on Supras. They say that career is second in place after friendship and relationships; but this is not how it is...
When I earn something, I bring a part of it to family and keep the amount that I need. Family knows about this arrangement as well. (M)
In our times, if a woman doesn't have money, her husband doesn't want her anymore. It is analogues for women. If a husband doesn't earn a wife doesn't want him. More than half of the people are like that (F)
Women are ambitious. When they have a job for one or two month they become annoyed why you don't have a job and why shall they sustain you. (F)
I guess as I grow old and will acquire a desire to have a kid, it is when I will get married. Once I have a care-free life and everything provided .(F)
Man are opposite, when they want a to have a wife, they do it right away. They do not think what will be in the future, how they will build their career etc. (F)
[Men] don't think about the career [in advance] and later they work on construction sites to sustain their wife and child. (F)
You can't live all your life with your cousins when you think of creating a family. (F)
When a child becomes 18 years old and goes living alone, this way while living separately from parents, he/she becomes stronger person. If not, you will always stay dependent on your parents. (F)
Years ago I couldn't have imagined I would dare this much. But it happened so that I dared and this empowered me. I moved out to live alone. Particularly in this [squatted] conditions (F)
Is not a man intimidated when his wife earns more than him? In most cases woman is taking the family burden takes take as an example women working aboard. (M)
9. Descriptive code: personalized income
Someone needs to take care of a child, you seat at home; the amount that I will bring home, it shall suffice us. Yes, he will earn money, but a woman needs some money for herself as well. I am still of a opinion that I want to work.(M)
When I earn something, I bring a part of it to family and keep the amount that I need. Family knows about this arrangement as well. (M)
I want to learn the worth of my money. I will learn worth of my money. (F)
You will be in a better position, you will have your own money. You won't be expecting support from others. (F)
The circumstances are like this, it is 21 st century and everyone wants to have their own. (M)
Yes, it's true that it is one family, but when both- wife and husband are working, everyone has personal money. (M)

10. Descriptive code: Exploitation/commodification
I was not against working at any place. (F)
My husband was accepting any sort of job, he was not arrogant at all. He was even working on construction. Once he fell from the school's façade and broke his arm. Everything can happen, but this ruined his health. (F)
I feel uncomfortable when I see this: when the work of waitresses is not sufficiently rewarded... they stand on their feet from morning till night, and some fat dumb man looks at this adolescents as on meat... (M)
He works on everything, he is not ashamed of any work. (F)
11. Descriptive code: Precariat job market
But I do not have a regular job; I work on a thing that shows up.(F)
My son sometimes goes to Turkey for work, to sustain his family.(F)
I am not planning on becoming rich. (F)
They don't give salaries; you don't even know in which conditions do they have their employees. (F)
As a man one is supposed to be manly, but there are no jobs... (F)
My brother is in Ukraine, he is an opera singer. I have seen many actors who were not able to succeed in their career and now they are trading on bazaar. (M)
People who are working in the offices, they drive taxis in the evening till 11PM or midnight. The reason for this is that the salary that they get is not enough to sustain a family.(M)
12. Descriptive code: Unemployment/stress/poverty
People used to work better in the past [in times of Soviet Union], now it is hardship. This is one of the reasons for stress. I used to have calm nerves,, but there is a big hardship. Poor material conditions are the reason of stress.
It is not that he likes to be on the street; unemployment is the reason for this; he could not find a permanent job. (F)
Government should think to create jobs for people. During the Soviet time, there was a factory and you knew what was your salary and you could spend money economically. (F)
No you won't be able to find a job anywhere (F)
When the time was bad life got us this way. There are people who have higher education but they are still unemployed. (M)
The way people are suffering now, nobody has suffered this much in the past. Wherever you go the places are full with baggers. In the past, no Georgian was asking for money on a street. The only gypsies, Russians and alcoholics were bagging; I have never seen a Georgian back then. But nowadays you can see not only Georgian bagging but a Georgian child bagging. Who would have let a kid for bagging? (F)
13. Descriptive code: Cross-class mobility
You need to know someone to find a good job. For me a good job is a office work, where you have an important people as bosses.(M)
14. Descriptive code: Globalization (and family life)

But a woman herself should not lose her Georgian traits. All in all she is a Georgian. This is why everything is a mess. (F)
Plekhanovi [district] is full of Turks. Turks have their own street gangs. All this ugliness is revealed nowadays and what kind of family can be created in Tbilisi. (F)
At my time there was much more honesty and decency... there were some bad practices in the past as well, but it was not seen that much. Girls were behaving as they were expected to, there were more modest. Thousands of foreigners have come to Georgia and situation has changed. Ring on a ear... used to be a shame. (F)
Georgians got used to something to which we were not used to. We became slaves of others, of other countries. [some] separated from their families and went abroad. (F)
We should not be changing according to the new standards/fashion. One shall follow what is right. (F)
I prefer for woman to be employed, rather to go to Greece, some are in Turkey and many families have separated cause of this. It is better if there are more working places here, so that both man and a woman are employed in family. (M)
There is no trust anymore, my child... (F)
In Europe a woman can even work in a strip club and husband won't be against, but in Georgia, I can't even imagine. I don't consider a man to be a real man if he lets his wife work in strip bar (M).

II. INTERPRETATIVE THEME: waged-employment embedded in social relations

15. Descriptive code: not-rational, rather emotional and symbolic reasons for being engaged with waged-labor
In its own way it is good that you get to go out
Does not matter how wealthy is the family, it is good for a woman to go out and to unwind
It is very stressful when a person, whom you know well, is suffering and when you are not able to help him/her. For example this has a big effect on me. However, whenever I had opportunity, I would always try to help and this made me happy.
My feelings will change as well; I will calm down and respectively others will change their behavior towards me
A woman should have a desire to go out and to work; at least it may be joyful

I wonder does not my country need my work/contribution?! Am I that use-less?! This makes me feel sad.
A woman should be part of society, she should have an interaction with people; this will help her to form as a citizen/human being.
One should not be ashamed of working; however, on the other hand not everyone can work on every sort of work.
I couldn't bear it any more. So what that I am a maid! I also have a right to say my word
There is peace and harmony in a family when an unemployment is not an issue anymore.
Lazy person will stay lazy as before, but a hardworking person (man or woman) will continue living and will maintain a family
Working does not make me feel tired. It is not about being lazy ...
16. Descriptive code: up-ward mobility through extra-economic means
To make a career you need to know people, who will help you to find a job- Career is about luck, about receiving help from others
It is important that in Georgia there is no more nepotism
At every job, you need to know a right person
I think you need to have a relative or someone whom you know to start a work. It does not matter how educated or well qualified you are... there are many cases when if you do not have a relative you can't get a job
17. Descriptive code: Family against the career
What is better than a career, but what about a family... I preferred the latter.
There is no bigger career than a family. I could only understand a career which is for sustaining a family; other career I don't understand
I will try to have so many hours so that it does have a problems inside the family
It is good when family is cleaned up; when mother goes to school and to parent gatherings. Woman wants to take care of her family and children.
Thanks to God, now I do not have to make my wife to work.
It depends how woman plans her career. There are women who can combine family and work, but are other women who break a family. I like to balance those two.
In public sector an employee would give a woman a maternity leavea, however this does not happen in private sector, they would rather hire a new employee than give a maternity leave. In the past [during Soviet times] this right was guaranteed by state, but not anymore.
When a family does not have a little kid, it is better for both man and wom-

an to work, so that they ensure normal conditions for their children.
Woman should carry about both. First of all she needs to slightly advance her career and later create a family. And hope that the family itself will assist a woman to pursue her career later on.
If you want to have your own money, you may found some other solution: have your own business, a person can think of something
For the sake of work one should not break a family. This is what I think. Let man go and find a job.
God forgive me, but I would not have given birth to this much children.
I have never thought of career
Hardworking person, who wants a family and kids, will handle work both at work and at home.
To be realistic, if one wants family and kids, I would give up on career. For me, I prefer my child over whole world
It is fine if you raise a child and then you start a job. This way these two do not contradict with each other. On the other hand, a child needs you support, shall you leave him or her?
These day people do anything for career and money, in order to have normal living conditions. People may even may show off their bodies and go on tv.
18. Descriptive code: Immorality to work for getting rich
I don't give a damn about money, but I need it and it's indispensable
I am not planning on getting reach.

III. INTERPRERATIVE THEME: Patriarchy

19. Descriptive codes: Reproductive, care (non-commodified) responsibilities on women
A woman is always tired.
One balance. You take one to the kindergarten, another to school, in the evening you do a housework and this is how it goes every day.
It was like this while Soviet Union: when a woman was pregnant she could preserve her place for years. Respectively ,she was dedicated to her family. It would be very nice if women had a right for a maternity leave even in the governmental bodies.
I think that if the family is "sweet", a woman shall stay at home, raise her kids and do the cooking. This is what I like in woman.
What job can be worth of leaving your child at home. I don't know such kind of job.
Grandparents or nannies stay with children
A family needs a lot of things. Still a man can't do this house hold work ...
When kids were younger I couldn't work. I had to raise them...
First raise a kid and afterwards get a job. This does not contradict each other. Why shall you leave your child when he/she needs you?!

I quit my job due to getting married. And after that it was very hard for me to find a job. Before having a kid I used work at a store and then after having a kid I had to bring the kid up.
Until I take my kids to the kindergarten, I will take care of them myself, but afterwards, no one will be against of me having a job.
If the family does not have a need of financial support, it is better for woman to raise her child. This is how I think. It should be mother who will raise a child, not a nanny. Woman shall not work until her kids grow up.
No, no, I don't even wish that man did the work of a woman. I would rather have no man beside me than have a guy who does women's job
20. Descriptive codes: switching the roles?
Man does not have the same function and status as before. Where is equality? Women outstripped the men.
Man seat at home and woman are at work
Does not a man get depressed about this? That a woman brings more to home? That a woman takes all the burdened? IN most cases takes a yoke on herself. You may even refer to a women who left the country to work abroad.
21. Descriptive codes: Labor supply side discriminating
Man should be more manly; however, there is no job to take...
Once a very handsome waitress came to our table in a restaurant, and I'm telling you, I felt apologetic.
I feel so down when a see young boys holding broom and cleaning... late me or someone of my age work. Why you make these young boys do this work. Girls... they as well shall have pride. This is as well the politics of Misha [former president of Georgia] that crushed our boys.
My boys tell me, we will work and you stay at home.
There are more jobs for a woman than for a man.
There are more working places for a woman than for a man.
[Women] try to do those the things that do not suit them. I don't like either a woman cop... why shall a man swear on a woman?! You are a woman and it shall be visible. No I do not like, things like that...
There is more work for a woman. In the advertisements there is more call for woman, for various positions: stylist, seller, waitress, kitchen-maid... there are not so many constructions going on for a man to get a place... there is no work... that is why men sit at home nowadays.
I do not like woman to be a minister, a female minister of defense. What does woman want on this position?! A woman could be a principle of a school or of a kindergarten.
22. Descriptive codes: Male breadwinner families
A man shall be a bread-winner. It is good if both, husband and wife are bread-winners, but bigger share shall be for a man.
De jure women are the heads of the family, but de facto it is the men. But "God forbid not to have a man in a family"
<i>What if the household head is a woman?</i> -this is a tricky subject. This goes against our traditions. If woman would do everything than there won't be any need of men's existence.
I don't want to work in a club. I don't want to insult anyone, but I myself can't get along with people like this and can't work with them.

23. Descriptive codes: perversity
In Europe a man can even allow his wife to work in a strip bar, but in Georgia it impossible, I can't even imagine. I don't consider a man as a man, if he lets his wife to work in strip bar.
მეგობრებო I have met many people who have a normal career without getting naked.
These days, a persona can do anything to have money and to live in a normal conditions. They may even show their body and show it on TV.
How would you describe a woman's desire/passion for a career? a) Depends on a career; B) depends how do they manage this? If this is done by honest means, I respect it.
If woman can't find a job according to her career, she goes and starts work as a seller, a grocery seller. Or a woman goes abroad to provide her family. But as we Georgians are very traditional people, people have a wrong perception on this practice.
My [family; husband] won't let me go to work in a casino, where I have to wear a short skirt. Even thought there is usually a security there and no man can touch you, but still... I know this cause my family did not let me work in a restaurant.
It's good to have even small money for yourself.
24. Descriptive codes: Women work for pocket money
There is sometimes a time when you need a money and in this case you need to call [your husband] and ask for money? A woman shall have her own money.
Women want to work to have their own money
[when you have a money] you can take care of yourself. A woman needs a lot of things and one can't ask for everything from everyone.
It's good when woman is contributing as well. It's good if woman makes a side-contribution; it shouldn't be that a woman is a major contributor.
If one wants to have his/her own money, a person can think of a way out, for example to make a small business; one can think of something.
- yes, I was not allowed to go anywhere, as if I did not have colleagues, classmates... I was constrained in many ways.
25. Descriptive codes: jealousy
Yes, he had a horrible temper. He loved alcohol, was jealous etc. It was impossible for me to have a work. Even if I had to go to a neighbor for making an injection, he would have used a gun against me, if he had one.
My father does not allow her to work.
Husband was angry a little, I was suffering etc, but I am here still.
Do you think man do not feel miserable for woman being a bread-winner in a family, for woman taking all the burden , for women working abroad?!
26. Descriptive codes: sexism
Children lack mothers' care
In general in Georgia those families that can afford, do hire nannies and then those children are raised cold-heartedly and without sufficient motherly love.
Of course when a child is growing up, mother shall take care of him or her.
What can I say about women in politics: well we had once a Kind Tamar, but these days women make it worth for the politics.

For example I would listen a whole day to a woman talking about a house design.
I am on opposite, for a woman being a virgin while getting married.
In Georgia in 90% a woman shall be a virgin to start a family, but in Europe it's opposite, no one will take a girl if she is a virgin.
Family is sacred, but there might a condition when you "get off the road", you are still man and....
These days who will tell a woman not to work. There might be only singular cases...
27. Descriptive codes: Relation of women in public realm and gender equality
These times nothing seems to be unordinary. Woman and man work equally; there is a gender equality. So there is nothing surprising anymore.
There are two categories of people: those who would like to work and who do not want to, and prefer to stay at home. There should be conditions for a woman to stay at home.
It used to be that you were expected to raise a child first and do the rest afterwards, but then it is late for other things. Now I won't restrict my daughter or a daughter in law from working. Back then there were people with different mentality.
Was your husband against of you working? Yes, he was, but then he got used to.
Woman drink and smoke as much as man.
It used to be unimaginable to see a woman in a restaurant, but now...
[It used to be forbidden for a woman to work], but nowadays in Georgia if a woman does not work the family is starving.
[Woman] are forced to work. As I know most of them prefer to stay at home with their families and stay in their kitchen.
Nowadays there are girls who can cook and those who can't do it at all. The reason for this is that those girls who are working are all the time out and buy food outside, that is why they don't know how to cook. That is why woman needs to be at home and take care of family.

APPENDIX III. INTERPRETATIVE THEMES –Stage two

The Appendix II demonstrates how the 27 descriptive codes listed above are re-organized into three new interpretative themes on the stage two. The latter premised developing a theoretical framework in the paper, although the latter does not assume in it the elaboration on each code or theme.

1. Interpretative theme: public-private dualism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Descriptive code: Individual agency of the women (4) 2. Descriptive code: The primacy of employed work (6) 3. Descriptive code: crippling patriarchal traditions (3) 4. Descriptive code: Explaining a career: “advancement”, “improvement” (1) 5. Descriptive code: Rational choice – employment to satisfying basic needs (2) 6. Descriptive codes: Relation of women in public realm and gender equality (27)
2. Interpretative theme: Social rupture
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Descriptive code: Globalization (and family life) (14) 2. Descriptive code: Cross-class mobility (13) 3. Descriptive code: Family planning (7) 4. Descriptive code: Market imperatives extending on family relations; instrumental rationality (8) 5. Descriptive code: Personalized income (9) 6. Descriptive code: Precariat job market (11) 7. Descriptive code: Unemployment/stress/poverty (13) 8. Descriptive code: Independent livelihood strategies (5) 9. Descriptive code: Explaining a career: “advancement”, “improvement” (1) 10. Descriptive code: Rational choice – employment to satisfying basic needs (2) 11. Descriptive code: Immorality to work for getting rich (18) 12. Descriptive codes: Switching the roles? (20) 13. Descriptive codes: Perversity (23)
3. Interpretative theme: Social protection
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Descriptive code: up-ward mobility through extra-economic means (16) 2. Descriptive code: Family against the career (17) 3. Descriptive codes: Reproductive, care (non-commodified) responsibilities on women (19) 4. Descriptive codes: switching the roles? (20) 5. Descriptive codes: Labor supply side discriminating (21) 6. Descriptive codes: Women work for pocket money (24) 7. Descriptive codes: jealousy (25) 8. Descriptive codes: sexism (26)

APPENDIX IV. Interview participants

	Date interviewed		Age	De jure household head	De facto household head
1	4-Jul	Bela	29	1	0
2	4-Jul	Eka	<30	1	1
3	9-Jul	Nunuka	55	1	1
4	9-Jul	Tiniko	39	1	0
5	9-Jul	Nana	64	1	1
6	9-Jul	Salome	28	1	0
7	9-Jul	Natia	30<	1	1
8	13-Jul	Nona's mother	80	1	1
9	15-Jul	Bela xokrishvili	64	0	1
10	15-Jul	Lida xelaia	60<	1	0
11	15-Jul	Lali	59	1	0
12	15-Jul	Mari goliadze	18	0	0
13	15-Jul	Aza	47	1	0
14	15-Jul	Nino (aza's daughter)	21	0	0
15	15-Jul	Ketevan Goliadze	40	1	1
16	2-Aug	Zhuzhuna	67	1	1
17	2-Aug	Lia	55	1	1
18	2-Aug	Tsisana	52	0	0
19	2-Aug	Natia	53	0	0
20	4-Aug	Ema	47	1	1
21	4-Aug	Teo	19	0	0
22	4-Aug	Darejan Kajaia (Bela's mother)	52	0	1
23	4-Aug	Lali dadalauri	49	0	0
24	6-Aug	Marika Lomadze	30	1	0
25	6-Aug	Maia Bokhashvili	50	1	1
26	6-Aug	Ana	30	1	0
27	6-Aug	Marina	57	1	1
28	6-Aug	Teona	24	1	1
29	6-Aug	Natia	27	1	1
30	6-Aug	Natela	53		
				21	15

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