GENDER ANALYSIS
OF THE 2014 GENERAL POPULATION CENSUS DATA

Ralph Hakkert

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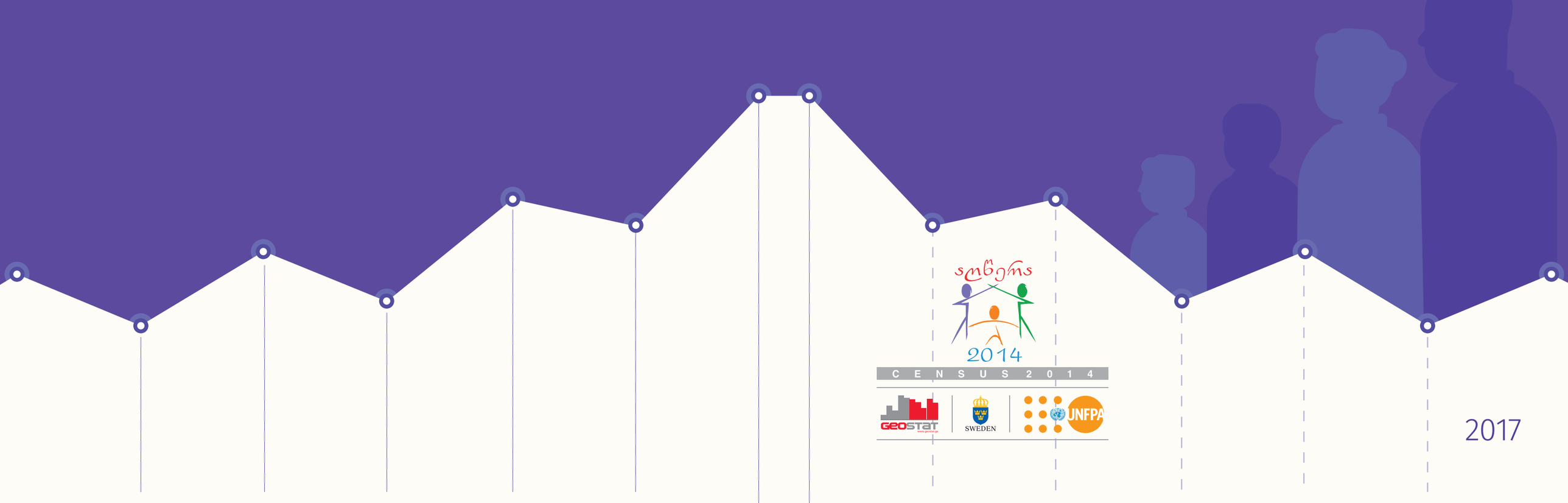

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National Statistics Office of Georgia

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Office in Georgia

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Tbilisi, Georgia

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Authors: Ralph Hakkert
Nana Sumbadze

Ralph Hakkert is a mathematician/statistician by undergraduate training, but holds a PhD in sociology/ demography from Cornell University. After teaching demography at the Federal University of Minas Gerais in Brazil for several years, he joined the United Nations in 1990, where he had several assignments in Angola, Honduras, Chile, Mexico, Brazil and at UNFPA Headquarters in New York. Since his retirement in 2014 he works as a private consultant on demographic and statistics issues.

Nana Sumbadze is a psychologist and a professor at I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. She is also a co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). She holds a doctoral degree in Social Sciences from Leiden University. Ms. Sumbadze is an author of some 70 studies published locally and in international journals and books. Her work focuses on social policy issues, gender, democratic processes, disability, interpersonal relations and forced migration.

Edited by: Thea Maisuradze

Translated into Georgian by: Maia Gvitidze

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Preface

The National Statistics Office of Georgia and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Country Office in Georgia present: *Gender Analysis of the 2014 General Population Census Data.*

By its scale and content, the Census represents a unique source of data on the social, economic and demographic situation of the population in the country. As a result of the 2014 Census, the most current and accurate information has been collected on population size, its sex and age structure, employment, education, health, sources of income, housing and agricultural activities in Georgia. Using the Census 2014 data, the monograph analyses sex differences in marriage, fertility, education, impairment and disability, migration, knowledge of the state language, household composition and economic activity.

This report is another step by UNFPA to support the use of reliable population data and its analysis in the formulation of rights-based policies, including on gender, through cutting-edge analysis of its trends and interlinkages with sustainable development.

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Abbreviations

CRRC	Caucasus Research Resource Centers
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
EECA	East Europe and Central Asia
GEL	Georgian Lari
GEOSTAT	National Statistics Office of Georgia
GERHS	Georgia Reproductive Health Survey
GGI	Gender Gap Index
GGS	Generation and Gender Survey
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PSA	Population Situation Analysis
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
SMAM	Singulate Mean Age at Marriage
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
UN	United Nations
UNCRPD	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNPD	UN Population Division
WEOI	Women's Economic Opportunity Index
WHO	World Health Organization
WMS	Welfare Monitoring Survey
WVS	World Value Survey

Administrative Map of Georgia

Executive Summary

Based on the 2014 General Population Census in Georgia (henceforth simply referred to as "the census"), this monograph attempts to analyse sex differences in a number of specific issues, such as marriage, fertility, education, impairment and disability, migration, knowledge of the state language, household composition and economic activity. These issues whenever possible are looked at through the lenses of age, settlement type and region, ethnicity and religion. The following paragraphs highlight the main findings from these perspectives.

- On the whole, 57.4 percent of women and 64.6 percent of men are married. Fewer men (9.0 percent) than women (13.8 percent) remain unmarried. Based on the percentage of married persons by age, the census allows the conclusion that men marry at a later age (25.9 yeas) than women (22.0 years). The census data suggest that prolonged education considerably postpones marriages for women. The mean age of marriage of women with a doctoral degree is 26.3, with a bachelor's degree 24.4, with general education diploma 21.8, while among those having only primary education it is 18.7.
- Early marriages continue to be a problem. They are more common in rural (10.9 percent) than in urban (4.4 percent) settlements, being least common in the capital Tbilisi. Muslim religion seems to create a more permissive context for early marriages, as early marriages are more widespread among Muslims: 19.6 percent of Muslim girls under age 18 are married.
- According to the census, there are more divorced women (6.1 percent) than men (3.4 percent) in the age group 30-59. Duration of marriage among those divorced most often is 11-13 years. The difference of over 8 years between the life expectancy of men and women is the main reason of the higher number of widows (18.3 percent) than widowers (3.4 percent). Men also remarry more often (10.9 percent), than women (8.9 percent). The smaller number of widowed men and men's better chance of remarrying contributes to a sex difference in the share of those living with marriage partners (57.4 percent of women and 64.6 percent of men).
- More than half of the spouses have similar educational attainment (56.3 percent). Although women under 25 tend to have lower educational status than their spouses, for women older than 25 the reverse is observed. People mostly marry persons of their own ethnic group. As many as 97.5 percent of Georgians are married to Georgians, 97.6 percent of Azeris are married to Azeris. The situation is a bit different among Armenians, as only 75.5 percent of their marriages are homogeneous. Other smaller ethnic groups less often (33.9 percent) choose partners from the same group. Ethnic homogeneity in marriage is more apparent in rural (98.4 percent) than urban (95.7 percent) settlements.
- Childlessness is moderate in the country. The corrected census data suggest that 14.0 percent of women aged 40-44 are childless. Fertility in Georgia is much contained within the marriage context, as for all never married women aged 40-44 only 3.7 percent ever had a child. Rural fertility is higher compared to urban fertility.
- According to the census, 100,113 persons have a disability status which according to the country's legislation falls into 4 categories: clearly, significantly and moderately expressed disability and children with disabilities. Women comprise from 45 percent to 49.6 percent in these groups and 40 percent of children with disabilities. Impairments among children seriously interferes with their school attendance. School non-attendance of children aged 6-15 in the country is 0.7-1.4 percent, among children with impairments it is roughly 50 percent. School attendance is higher in Tbilisi and Adjara than anywhere else. The attendance ratio is lower (36.8 percent in 2015-16) among girls than among boys (63.2 percent).
- In the 2014-2015 school year 4,927 (37.4

percent of girls and 62.6 percent of boys) and in the 2015-2016 years 4,277 (36.8 percent of girls and 63.2 percent of boys) children with disabilities attended schools. Only a very small fraction of disabled children managed to graduate (79 in 2014-2015 and 92 in 2015-2016 school years). Boys outnumber girls both in school attendance and school graduation ratios, although the difference is smaller among graduates (46.8 percent of girls and 53.2 percent of boys) in 2014-2015 and 2015-2016 (43.5 percent of girls and 56.5 percent of boys).

- Impairment also interferes with marriage. The ratio of unmarried people in the age group of 25-44 years olds is 15-30 percent, while among those with impairments is 30-77 percent.[1] Apparently, it is much easier to find partners for both men and women having sensory impairments and problems with mobility than for those having problems with cognitive functioning and self-care. There does not seem to be a systematic difference by sex in this respect. Some disabilities are associated with higher female non-marriage rates, but with other disabilities it is the opposite.
- Ability to speak Georgian is a prerequisite for obtaining higher education and career advance Knowledge of Georgian considerably differs across ethnicities and rural/urban settlements. The worst situation in this regard is among Azeri population. Only 17.2 percent of women and 26.4 percent of men know Georgian, while the corresponding ratios among the second biggest ethnic minority (Armenians) is 46.4 percent for women and 47.4 percent for men.
- On the whole women's educational attainment is higher, compared to men's: 30.0 percent of women and 27.0 percent of men over 15 years old have a Bachelor's degree or higher education.
- More women (30.6 percent) than men (10.1 percent) live alone. 80.4 percent of children under age 9 in urban and 85.7 percent in rural settlements live with both parents. For 4.4 percent of children in urban and 5.2 percent in rural settlements neither parent lives in the same household as the child. In 13.7 percent of urban and 7.7 percent of rural households, children live only with their mother and in 1.5 percent of urban and 1.4 percent of rural households children live with only their father.
- Sex differences in life expectancy have widened since the 2002 census. Based on corrected death statistics by age and retro-projected populations by age, women are expected to live 76.54 and men 67.72 years (2010-2014).
- Fewer women than men are employed, although the sex difference is not big in the case of wage employment (hired), as 356,865 men and 327,733 women declare this category. Many more men (95,453) than women (35,511) are self-employed. The difference is also big among those running their own enterprise, 32,865 men compared to only 23,313 women.
- In the peak economic activity ages (30-59) about one third of men do not rely on income from work, with 10-15 percent dependent on pensions, social assistance or some other form of government assistance. Women greatly outnumber men among recipients of pensions (397,053 women and 205,456 men, respectively) which is largely explained by the 5-year difference in retirement age between men and women, and 7.23 years gap between life-expectancy of women and men. Like pensions, more women benefit from social assistance (69,600) than men (60,360).
- Although the census does not contain any direct information in this regard, it suggests that women generate less income than men. There are two approaches in discussing the wage gap: one focuses on the proportion of women in managerial positions, which is mentioned in the text in regard to executive power, and the other is horizontal segregation, as women are more often found in lower paid professions. The census does not provide information on vertical segregation, i.e. on women on managerial positions, but it provides a good insight on the gender distribution in professions. It clearly shows the existence of "male" (e.g. drivers, metal, machinery workers, extraction and

1 The range is wide as percentages reflect the person's sex and specific kind of impairment: 30 percent is for women with sight limitation and 77 percent for women with communication limitations. The complete data are available in Table 7.3 of the present monograph.

building trades workers) and "female" (e.g. teaching, life science and health professionals, customer services clerks) occupations, with "female" occupations generally being more poorly paid.

- The contribution of migrants to family livelihoods is considerable. A bigger share of women (56.4 percent) than men send remittances home. In case of divorce or widowhood men's financial responsibilities towards family seems to diminish drastically. Only 39.8 percent of divorced and 52.9 percent of widowed migrant men, compared to 55.6 percent of married migrant men send money home, while women's responsibilities towards family increases with divorce or widowhood: 61.7 percent of married, 66.6 percent of divorced and 71.8 percent of widowed migrant women send money. The same holds true for never married migrant women and men: 56.4 percent of women and only 33.6 percent of men support their families back home.
- Economic migrants supposedly constitute the biggest share of all migrants, although 11.0 percent of households stated that their family member went abroad for educational reasons. The majority choose to study in Germany (32.9 percent), USA (10.6 percent) or Russia (6.9 percent). In 2014 Georgia counted 227,733 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), 53.6 percent of them women. The share of widowed (18.1 percent) and divorced or separated (5.2 percent) women among IDPs is much higher than among male IDPs (3.0 percent and 2.4 percent, respectively) and also slightly higher than among the general population of all ages.
- There is a considerable gender difference in the distribution of men and women in rural and urban areas. According to the census, the overall sex ratio is much lower (85.9) in urban than in rural (99.1) locations. This reflects the fact that women have relatively more economic opportunities in urban than in rural areas.

We hope that by providing basic quantitative data of this kind, the monograph will serve as a useful tool for policy makers and researchers.

1. Introduction

The objective of the present monograph is to provide information on a number of gender issues in Georgia based on the data of the 2014 General Population Census. The major issues investigated in this monograph concern marital status, fertility, family structure, educational achievement, mortality, migration, disability, and economic activity and occupation. The issue of unbalanced sex ratios at birth in Georgia (and other countries in the Caucasus), which has attracted a lot of attention in recent years, will not be addressed in this monograph as it is the subject of a separate study. The same goes for the situation of young people and of older men and women (over age 60), issues which will be addressed in separate monographs youth and on ageing and the situation of older adults in Georgia.

The Population Census 2014 was conducted during the period of November 5-19, 2014 and covered 82 percent of the whole territory of Georgia (57,000 km^2) except Abkhazia, Georgia and the Tskhinvali region/South Ossetia, Georgia (total area of 13,000 km^2). The information in this report only refers to the areas covered by the census. It is noteworthy that because of its scale and content, the census represents a unique source of information on the social, economic and demographic situation of the population in the country. As a result of the 2014 census, the most updated information has been obtained on the population size, its sex and age structure, employment, education, health, sources of livelihood, housing and agricultural activities.

During the last decade UNFPA has been supporting the Government of Georgia in strengthening the capacity of the National Statistics Office with the objective to support the body of evidence for the formulation of rights-based policies, including on gender, through cutting-edge analysis on population dynamics and its interlinkages with sustainable development. The 2014 Census was conducted by the National Statistics Office of Georgia (Geostat) with the support of UNFPA, the Government of Sweden and the World Bank.

Censuses have certain advantages as a data source for documenting gender issues, but they also have a lot of limitations. The major advantage of census data is that they cover the entire statistical universe of population, down to the most disaggregated level. This makes it possible to compare data on men and women down to very small statistical units such as a particular municipality or a specific occupational category. On the other hand, census data cover only a very limited range of gender-relevant topics. Issues such as domestic violence or fertility preferences cannot be investigated through a census because they are too intimate and too sensitive for the way data are collected in a census, which is usually through a household respondent who provides information on all members of the household. Time use data are too complex and too detailed for the context of a census. And neither is the census the appropriate instrument to ask questions about individual opinions and perceptions regarding gender roles. The latter restricts the possibilities of doing a gender analysis in the proper sense of the word. What a census can do is to document sex differentials in various social indicators which then have to be subjected to a gender interpretation, but the instruments for such a gender interpretation have to come mostly from other sources (UNFPA, 2014 a).

Because the census does not contain any specific questions directed at the investigation of gender issues, the gender analysis of census data is largely a by-product of the analysis of other issues, such as marital status, fertility or education. But of course, these topics are larger and involve a broader set of research questions than only those that are relevant from a gender perspective. This made it necessary to exercise some restraint in the analysis of the broader topics addressed in this monograph. For example, much could be written about fertility trends in Georgia in recent years and how they have been affected by the events of the past 25 years. In particular, the apparent increase

of fertility in the country since 2008 requires closer investigation. But in the context of the present monograph the range of issues regarding fertility that will be investigated is more narrowly focused on particular gender-relevant phenomena such as the incidence of childlessness, the relationship of fertility with female education and labour force participation, and the incidence of childbearing out-of-wedlock. Because the census data impose major restrictions on the amount of detail that can be provided on many of these topics, in some cases additional data from other sources, where appropriate, will be used to complement the information from the census. This is the case, for example, with marriage data from the Civil Registry which can complement the data on marital status from the census.

Engagement of women in public life is low and lower in rural than in urban settlements. Women's decision-making power is restricted to the private realm. Only half of the population (62 percent of women and 37 percent of men) thinks that husband and wife should together make decisions in the family, while 36 percent of women and 62 percent of men consider that decision-making power should rest with men (UN Women, 2013). Women lack power in decisions on a number of important for family issues. Women and men report having equal power in decisions over shopping for everyday needs, spending on leisure and on decisions over children's upbringing, but men's power considerably exceeds women's in decision about employment arrangements, often restricting women's participation in work force. This does not allow women to gain power, as economic independence often determines their power in the family (Generations and Gender Survey, 2011).

Georgia's Law on Gender Equality was adopted in 2010, establishing fundamental guarantees of equal rights, freedoms and opportunities of women and men. The Parliament and the Gender Equality Council (established by the Parliament) are responsible for ensuring compliance. The Council developed an Action Plan for Gender Equality which originally covered the period 2011-2013, with a later version adopted by Parliament in January 2014, covering the 2014-2016 period. The Council is mandated to review existing and new legislation and draft proposals for overcoming gender inequalities it may contain. It should elaborate and plan activities to achieve gender equality, and elaborate and implement the monitoring and evaluation system of activities targeted at ensuring gender equality. The Public Defender of Georgia is authorized to take relevant measures in case of violations of gender equality.

2. Gender Relations in Georgia from an International Perspective

In recent years, a number of quantitative indices have been developed to rank countries according to their degree of gender inequality. Bendeliani (2013) analyzed the situation in terms of some well-known international indices and their corresponding rankings of countries. Among them are the Gender Gap Index (GGI) of the World Economic Forum, the Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) proposed by OECD, and the Women's Economic Opportunity Index (WEOI) of the Economist Intelligence Unit. According to UNDP's Gender Inequality Index (GII), which attempts to measure inequalities in reproductive health, empowerment and economic status, in 2014 Georgia ranked as 77 among 188 countries (UNDP, 2015). Slightly worse is the position of the country according to the GGI, developed by the World Economic Forum (WEF, 2015), which measures gender gaps in regard to economic participation and opportunities, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. It ranks Georgia as 82 out of 145 countries. The worst is the position Georgia holds regarding the political empowerment sub-index, on which it ranks 120th. Women's representation in legislative bodies in Georgia is small. Women constitute only 16 percent of the members of Parliament. Even smaller is the share of women in local councils, where their share is only 11.8 percent. Several attempts of initiative groups outside and inside the Parliament to introduce a quota system for securing the membership in Parliament for women have not succeeded, despite a successful record of a quota system in more than 130 countries around the globe. High ranks of executive power are dominated by men. In 2017 among 18 Ministers only two are women.

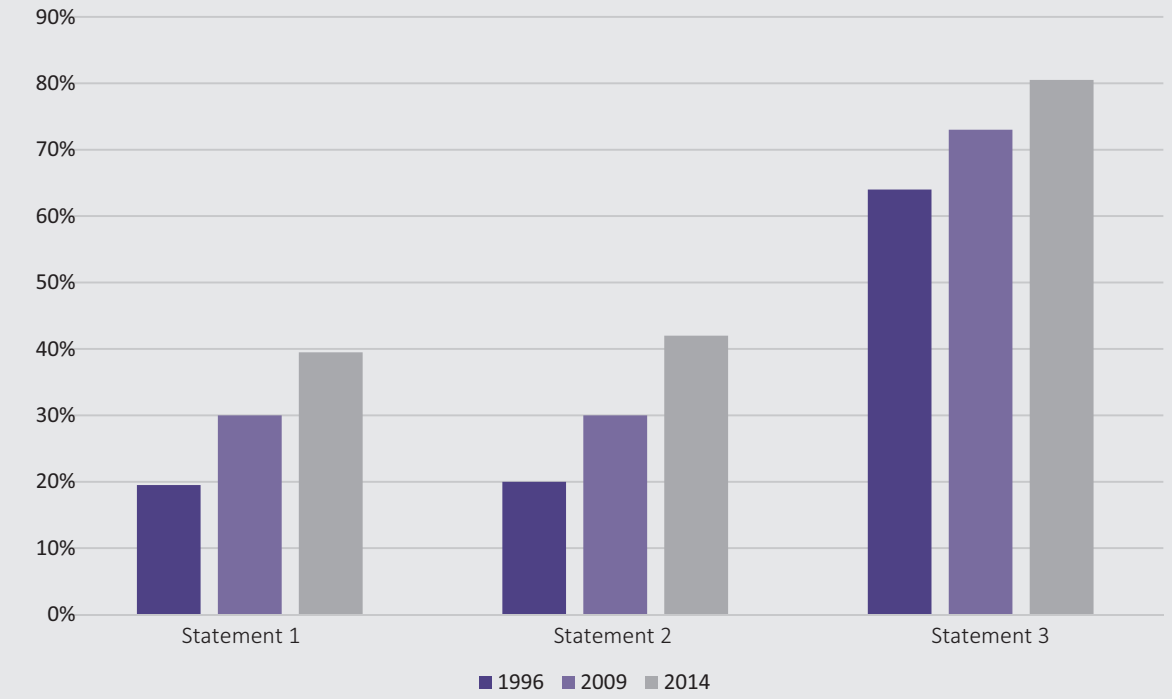
The SIGI identifies civil liberties and the existence of marked son-preference as the areas in which gender inequalities in Georgia stand out. Domestic violence is also mentioned as a serious challenge. The influence of institutions on women's political participation is not considered significant, but the absence of quota for numbers of women representatives is considered a serious problem. Informal family norms, such as the exercise of parental authority, are considered to considerably restrict women's opportunities in Georgia. The SIGI also identifies problems of access to property (other than land), inheritance, and access to public space. The WEOI ranks Georgia relatively highly in terms of women's legal and social status and with respect to formal labour policies, but the country scores rather low on access to finances[2] and the actual labour conditions of women.

The perception of Georgia's population on overall gender equality existing in the country complements the official statistics. Less than one fourth of the population (25 percent of men and 21 percent of women) thinks that there is gender equality in Georgia (NDI, 2014). The World Value Survey (WVS), which was carried out in Georgia in 1996, 2009 and 2014, demonstrated some progress in this regard. Disagreement to three statements concerning gender equality asked in all the three waves: 1. "On the whole men make better political leaders than women do"; 2. "University is more important for a boy than for a girl"; and 3. "Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay"

2 The 2009 Generations and Gender Survey (GGS), however, found that in 61.7 percent of the cases decisions about household budget allocation were taken jointly by husbands and wives, with 20.8 percent of male dominance and 15.3 percent of female autonomy or dominance, thereby indicating a relatively low level of gender inequality.

shows a linear increase over time of the share of those, who adhere to egalitarian views. The 2014 WVS reveals two more trends: egalitarian views are more common among women than men and among the young generation.

Figure 2.1: Proportion of men and women who disagreed with statements 1, 2 and 3 in the 1996, 2009 and 2014 WVS



Source: Computed from the WVS

3. Marital Status

Marriage rests on assumed duties and responsibilities of the partners, which are to a great extent defined by cultural norms. The division of roles in Georgian families is consistent with the world-wide allocation of primary functions of breadwinner and decision maker to men, and family caretaker to women (Narayan, 2000), corresponding to distinction between instrumental roles related to survival assigned to men, and expressive roles related to maintenance of morale, assigned to women.

Considering all household tasks together, including those activities which are basically the tasks of men (e.g. repairs in and around the house), the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) found that men's share in performing of household duties in Georgian families is very small and does not exceed 24 percent. But more than 70 percent of both men and women report being satisfied with the task division as it is. Reportedly, both men and women participate in raising children. However, most of the tasks are still assigned to mothers (Kachkachishvili & Nadaraia, 2014). Comparative analysis of the results of the 2006 GGS with similar surveys elsewhere shows that Georgia is characterized by a high level of gender inequality between parents with respect to child care.[3] The GGS shows that despite gender inequality in Georgian families, spouses are in general quite satisfied with their relationships with their partner, although men are slightly more satisfied than women: the average value of satisfaction with partner relationship in the male sample is 9.1 and for the female 8.7, out of a maximum of 10.

Traditional ideas about the importance of marriage and family formation and about the social roles of men and women in the family are still quite strong in Georgia. UN Women (2013) did research on these perceptions with a nationally representative sample of 1,760 men and women. According to the results, Georgian society believes that getting married is a necessary component of life and that life without marriage is not fulfilling. As many as 58 percent of respondents, both men and women, responded that being in a bad marriage is better than being single. Specifically, 70 percent of both men and women agreed that a married woman is happier than a single woman and 92 percent stated that the most important role of a woman in life is taking care of her family. Similarly, 80 percent of men and 66 percent of women felt that working and supporting the family financially is a man's duty and taking care of the house and family is a woman's duty. More men (62 percent) think that men should be the main decision-makers in the family while 36 percent of women felt the same.

Turning to the marital status data in the census, the first point to be noted is that there is a relatively high incidence of non-response, particularly under age 20. Among women under age 20, 17.5 percent have no declaration of marital status. The percentage is slightly lower in the urban areas (14.9 percent) and higher in the rural areas (21.4 percent). Among men the percentages are even higher: 21.5 percent overall, 19.0 percent in the urban areas and 24.8 percent in the rural areas. It is very likely that almost all of these cases are non-married persons and that, due to their young age, the information on marital status was left blank because the answer seemed obvious. However, one cannot necessarily assume this, so in the analysis that follows all percentages have been calculated only on the basis of the valid cases, excluding the non-response category.

Although the median age at marriage (see *Table 3.1*) for women is just over 22.0 years, there is a significant percentage of women under age 18 who were declared as married in the census. In the country as a whole, 3,598 or 7.5 percent of

3 Two things are noteworthy in this respect: (1) Georgia has the highest gender inequality level among the countries studied and (2) the index of gender asymmetry in performing child care tasks in Georgia is twice higher than in the distribution of household duties between partners, whereas in all other countries considered these two indexes practically do not differ from each other.

females aged 15-17 with declared marital status were or had been married. As one would expect, the percentage of married women aged 15-17 was higher (10.9 percent) in rural areas than in urban areas (4.4 percent). Many of these marriages were unregistered, but still 3.8 percent of women aged 15-17 in rural areas and 1.5 percent in urban areas were enumerated as being in formal (registered) marriages. There is some variation between regions, as shown in *Table 3.1*

Comparing the incidence of early marriage in Georgia to other countries is made somewhat difficult by the lack of uniform data bases on the subject. The UN Statistics Division, in its Demographic Yearbook, classifies the ages of brides and grooms in conventional 5-year intervals from which it is not possible to compute the percentages under age 18. The more conventional indicator compiled by UNFPA, UNICEF and other relevant agencies is the percentage of married women aged 20-24 who were married before the age of 18. This requires information on the age at marriage which is not collected in the census, so the indicator has to be calculated from DHS or MICS data. The other problem is that this indicator was designed for use in countries with a high incidence of early marriage and can be somewhat misleading[4] in countries such as those in Eastern Europe that have a low percentage of married women in the 20-24 age category. Nevertheless, it is reproduced here, for the sake of completeness.

Early or child marriage is the union, whether official or not, of two persons, at least one of whom is under 18 years of age. Child marriages are considered violations of human rights and rights of children. Early marriage is a manifestation of gender inequality, as it much more frequently occurs among girls than boys.

A number of international treaties and conventions address the problem of child marriages**:**

- 1962 Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage, and Registration of Marriages;
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979) (CEDAW, Georgia 1994);
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) (CRC, Georgia 1994);
- 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (which resulted from the UN Fourth World Conference on Women).

Georgian legislation deals with early marriages mostly in the Civic and Criminal Codes. The legal minimum age for marriage is established at 18 years. An amendment to Article 1108 of the Civil Code adopted in accordance with a legislative proposal of the Public Defender in December 2015 postulates that for the marriage of a person younger than 18 years a court decision is needed. An earlier version of the proposal required permission of the parents only. Article 140 of the Criminal Code stipulates that cohabitation with a child under the age of consent, which is 16, shall be punished by deprivation of liberty for up to three years. In 2014, Article 150 prime – Forced marriage was added to the Criminal Code of Georgia. It stipulates punishment of the violator by 200-400 hours of community service or a prison sentence of up to 2 years. The same act committed against a minor is punished by a prison sentence of up to 4 years.

Early marriages are rooted in customs and traditions closely linked with religion and ethnicity. A survey carried out on 500 ethnic minority women in Kvemo Kartli, among them 86 percent of Azeri ethnicity and Muslim (UN Women, 2014), revealed that more than half (51.2 percent) of the surveyed women were married before the age of 18. UNFPA (2014 c) found that in Kvemo Kartli region 32 percent of *married women* among ethnic minorities were married before the age of 18, while 5 percent got married at the age of 13-14, and 16 percent at the age of 15-16. "*The existing data for Georgia and the research findings from this study indicate that the situation with regard to child marriage is not homogenous, but rather varies according to ethnic, religious, and regional factors. It would appear that child marriages*

4 Compare two countries: one with early marriage (15 percent before age 18, 10 percent at ages 18 or 19 and 40 percent between ages 20 and 25) and one with late marriage, but a minority that marries early (5 percent before age 18, 3 percent at ages 18 or 19 and 10 percent between ages 20 and 25). The indicator for the first country would be smaller than in the second one, even though the proportion of girls that marry before age 18 in the second country is 3 times lower.

Table 3.1: Percentage of married women aged 15-17 by region, area of residence and type of union (all marriages or only registered marriages)

Region	Urban		Rural		Total	
	All	Registered	All	Registered	All	Registered
Tbilisi	2.6	0.8	8.8	2.3	2.7	0.9
Adjara	9.9	4.5	8.8	4.7	9.4	4.6
Guria	9.6	2.9	10.5	4.1	10.2	3.7
Imereti	5.7	2.0	8.2	3.0	6.9	2.5
Kakheti	9.0	1.7	13.5	4.1	12.4	3.5
Mtskheta-Mtianeti	3.2	0.6	5.0	0.9	4.5	0.8
Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo Svaneti	2.5	1.3	3.4	0.4	3.1	0.6
Samegrelo & Zemo Svaneti	6.4	2.9	8.6	3.6	7.7	3.3
Samtskhe-Javakheti	4.9	1.3	6.8	2.6	6.2	2.2
Kvemo Kartli	6.0	1.2	20.8	6.4	14.4	4.2
Shida Kartli	4.1	1.7	7.9	2.2	6.3	2.0
Georgia	**4.4**	**1.5**	**10.9**	**3.8**	**7.1**	**2.4**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Table 3.2: Percentage of women married before the age of 18 among married women aged 20-24

Country	Total	Poorest 40 percent	Richest 40 percent	Source
Armenia	7.2	8.1	4.3	DHS 2010
Azerbaijan	12.2	15.6	8.2	DHS 2006
Georgia	**17.2**[5]	**25.0**	**12.0**	**MICS 2005**
Rep. Moldova	18.9	25.5	15.0	DHS 2005
Turkey	14.0	24.3	17.5	DHS 2008
Ukraine	9.9	16.2	7.7	DHS 2007

Source: UNFPA (2012)

occur more frequently among certain ethnic and religious groups, namely, religious minorities in the mountainous areas of Adjara, and ethnic minorities in Kvemo Kartli region." (UNFPA, 2014 c: 3). While this may not be entirely representative, the figures from the census in *Tables 3.3* and *3.4* do confirm that early marriage among the Azeri population and among Muslims in general is much more common than in among other ethnic and religious groups.

Next to ethnicity and religion, residence in rural areas and low educational status can serve as a predictor of early marriages. Besides the importance of background characteristics other factors play their role as well. Rooted in patriarchal attitude is concern for girls' chastity. Prevention of sexual freedom and protection against bride kidnapping are often cited by the population as reasons for early marriages. Preventing stained family reputations by dating or pregnancies of teenage girls often become reasons for marriages. Financial considerations often serve as reasons for marrying young girls as well.

Early marriage is known to have many negative consequences. It hinders educational attainment and restricts women's chances for gainful employment and hence prosperity. Early marriage very often results in leaving school, leading to poor education outcomes for married women. In 2015 408 pupils aged 13-17 left schools because of marriage. Dropout for the reason of marriage is

5 According to UNICEF, based on the 2010 Georgia Reproductive Health Survey (GERHS 2010), the nation-wide indicator is 14 percent.

more common among girls than boys. Even when married girls want to continue school education they encounter resistance, as parents of their classmates protest and say they do not want their children to attend classes together with married women (Sumbadze, 2015).

Early marriage is likely to result in child birth at a young age which can pose a threat to women's health. Chances of complications and death in childbirth for girls under 16 is 5 times higher than in later ages (Public Defender of Georgia, 2015). According to the study of ethnic minority women in Kvemo Kartli out of 500 surveyed women 39.2 percent gave birth to their first child before aged 19 years, among them 5.1 percent in the age 13-14 years, 15.8 percent in 15-16 years and 30.3 percent in 17-18 years of age (UN Women, 2014).

In 2015, the number of juvenile parents was estimated by the Ministry of Justice at 1,378 (1,261 only mother, 76 only father and 41 both parents being under-age). Although the median age at marriage (see *Figure 3.1*) for women is just over 22.0 years, there is a significant percentage of women under age 18 who were declared as married in the census. As one would expect, the percentage is higher (10.9 percent) in rural areas than in urban areas (4.4 percent). Many of these marriages are unregistered, but still 3.8 percent of women under age 18 in rural areas and 1.5 percent in urban areas were enumerated as being in formal (registered) marriages. There is some variation between regions.

Table 3.3: Percentage of married women aged 15-17 by ethnicity, area of residence and type of union

Ethnicity	Urban		Rural		Total	
	All Marriages	Registered	All Marriages	Registered	All Marriages	Registered
Georgian	4.1	1.4	8.1	2.9	5.6	2.0
Azeri	15.8	4.7	30.1	9.7	27.4	8.7
Russian	10.8	2.2	26.7	6.7	12.3	2.6
Armenian	4.1	1.3	5.9	2.3	5.0	1.8
Yezidi	9.4	4.1	-	-	9.9	4.1
Others	4.7	1.9	9.2	1.5	6.9	1.7
All Groups	**4.4**	**1.5**	**10.9**	**3.8**	**7.1**	**2.4**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Table 3.4: Percentage of married women aged 15-17 by religion, area of residence and type of union

Religion	Urban		Rural		Total	
	All Marriages	Registered	All Marriages	Registered	All Marriages	Registered
Orthodox	3.9	1.3	8.1	2.8	5.4	1.8
Muslim	11.9	4.4	21.9	7.5	19.6	6.8
Armenian Apostolic	3.9	1.7	6.0	2.4	5.1	2.1
Roman Catholic	3.2	3.2	3.8	1.5	3.6	2.1
Jehovah's Witnesses	0.6	-	-	-	0.4	-
Others	8.6	5.1	-	-	7.9	4.7
None	6.9	3.1	5.5	1.4	6.4	2.5
All Groups	**4.4**	**1.5**	**10.9**	**3.8**	**7.1**	**2.4**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Not only are early marriages more common in rural than urban areas, but fewer of them are registered than in urban settings. Early marriages are common in Kvemo Kartli, Kakheti and Guria. In the case of Kvemo-Kartli, this may have to do with a high percentage of Muslim population as the Muslim religion seems to be more inclined to early marriages as a way to reduce the risk of pre-marital sexual relations. But the relationship is not direct as the percentage of Muslims in Guria and Kakheti is close to the national average. The difference between non-registered and registered marriages is largest in the Kvemo Kartli and Kakheti regions.

As was noted above, most of the unions of women under age 18 are unregistered, but despite the legal restrictions that exist in this regard some are, in fact, official. The following data from the Civil Registry confirm that there is indeed a small and decreasing percentage of official marriages in which either the bride or the groom are under-age:

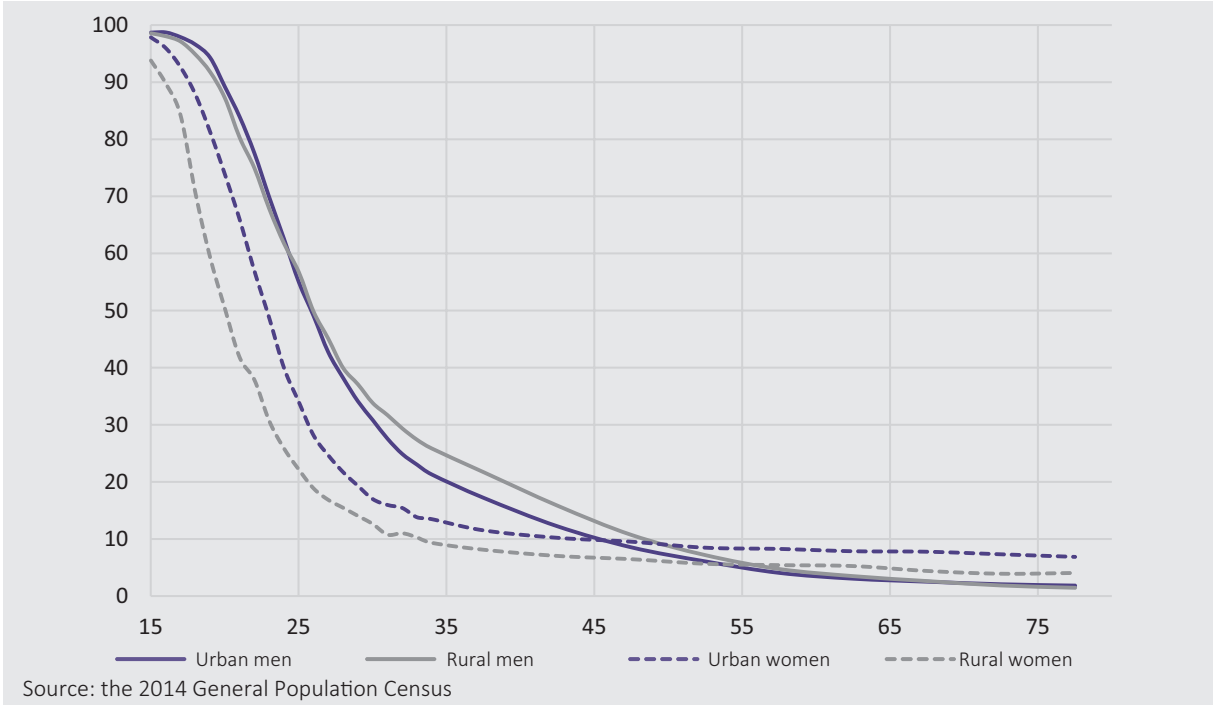
Table 3.5: Percentage of officially registered marriages in Georgia in which the bride or the groom were under 18 years old

Year	% Brides	% Grooms
2002	4.81	0.62
2003	4.75	0.58
2004	2.41	0.32
2005	3.47	0.45
2006	3.47	0.42
2007	3.03	0.32
2008	2.95	0.20
2009	2.89	0.21
2010	2.24	0.12
2011	2.13	0.13
2012	2.28	0.12
2013	2.21	0.16
2014	2.06	0.09
2015	2.03	0.11

Source: Civil Registry

It should be noted, however, that in Georgia it is relatively rare for child brides to be married to much older men: 76 percent of the under-age brides married in 2015 were married to grooms under age 25 and 96 percent to grooms under age 30.

Figure 3.1: Percentage of never married men and women by age and area of residence



Source: the 2014 General Population Census

The curve of the percentage of non-married persons by age shows several interesting features. The *Figure 3.1* shows the profiles for urban (purple) and rural (grey) men (continuous line) and women (interrupted line). A few characteristics stand out from *FIgure 3.1.*

1. There is a difference of almost 4 years (25.9 years compared to 22.0) between the median age of first marriage of men and women.
2. Rural men in their thirties and forties marry less than urban men of the same ages, but otherwise the profiles are quite similar; more than 20 percent of rural men in their late thirties are still single.
3. The difference between the ages of the spouses seems to increase with the age of the husband, more so in the rural than in the urban areas.
4. Rural women marry 2-3 years earlier than urban women.
5. A larger proportion of urban women never marry, compared to the proportion of rural women.
6. Even though they marry later, ultimately a smaller proportion of men remain single as compared to women and this proportion varies very little between urban and rural areas.
7. Presuming that the curves can be interpreted as the life experience of a cohort, more than 90 percent of men who are still single at age 35 eventually get married, but only about half of the women do.

Table 3.6: Percentage of men and women aged 40-44 who never married

Country	Men	Women	Year
Armenia	10.5	9.2	2011
Azerbaijan	5.1	8.2	2014
Bulgaria	33.5	18.5	2014
Georgia[6]	**9.1**	**8.9**	**2002**
Rep. of Moldova	5.2	1.3	2012
Romania	15.6	9.7	2011
Russian Federation	8.2	6.6	2010
Turkey	5.4	6.7	2013
Ukraine	4.4	3.0	2012

Source: UN Population Division. World Marriage Data Base 2015

6 The most recent data available from this particular data source, at least for men. Some more recent data exist for women. The percentages for the 2014 census are 9.0 percent for men and 13.8 percent for women.

As is shown by the international comparisons in *Table 3.6*, the percentages of men and women still single at age 40-44 are similar or slightly higher than those in other countries in the region, namely about 5-10 percent. The only countries that show a different pattern are Bulgaria and, to a lesser extent, Romania, where the percentage of women and particularly men who never marry is substantially higher, as in several countries in Western Europe.

It is customary in demographic analysis to pay special attention to the non-married category which can be used to compute Hajnal's Singulate Mean Age at Marriage (SMAM).[7] *Table 3.7.A* gives an idea about how this measure, in the case of women, varies among the rural and urban areas of the various regions. A distinction is made between formal (registered) marriages and informal marriages (all others). The latter measure is computed assuming (hypothetically, for the purpose of constructing the indicator) that all women in marriages not classified as registered actually continue to be single, even if they actually live in unregistered marital unions. Note that the numbers are slightly biased downward due to the high incidence in the census of undeclared marital status among younger women, most of whom are probably single.

The equivalent SMAMs for men are shown in *Table 3.7.B.*

One of the noteworthy features of these listings is that they show a significant difference between ages at marriage in general and official ages at marriage according to registered marriages. Because the civil registration system can obviously only provide information on registered marriages, it significantly over-estimates the effective age at

7 The Singulate Mean Age at Marriage (SMAM) is defined as 15 plus the average (mean) number of years that a person who was single at age 15 but married at least once by age 50 has spent as a single person between those ages. By interpreting the percentage of never married persons at any age between 15 and 50 as the chance that any given person will still be single by that age, it provides a measure of the typical age at first marriage that can be computed in situations where no direct information on ages at marriage is available. In the case of Georgia, direct information is available from the Civil Registry, but only on formal marriages and this information cannot be broken down by socioeconomic characteristics. Note that the SMAM does not provide any information on second or later marriages.

Table 3.7.A: Singulate Mean Ages at Marriage for women according to type of union, by region and area of residence

Region	Urban		Rural		Total	
	All Marriages	Registered	All Marriages	Registered	All Marriages	Registered
Tbilisi	24.6	27.5	23.4	27.5	24.6	27.5
Adjara	22.6	24.3	22.2	23.5	22.4	24.0
Guria	20.6	22.3	21.8	23.7	21.5	23.3
Imereti	22.1	24.3	22.3	24.8	22.2	24.5
Kakheti	21.7	26.6	21.0	26.0	21.1	26.2
Mtskheta-Mtianeti	23.1	27.3	23.0	28.7	23.0	28.4
Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo Svaneti	22.2	24.5	23.3	24.9	23.0	24.8
Samegrelo & Zemo Svaneti	22.1	24.0	22.3	24.2	22.2	24.1
Samtskhe-Javakheti	22.6	24.6	21.6	23.7	21.9	24.0
Kvemo Kartli	22.6	26.8	19.9	25.2	21.2	25.9
Shida Kartli	22.2	25.2	22.0	26.2	22.1	25.7
Georgia	**23.6**	**26.4**	**21.6**	**25.0**	**22.9**	**25.9**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Table 3.7.B: Singulate Mean Ages at Marriage for men according to type of union, by region and area of residence

Region	Urban		Rural		Total	
	All Marriages	Registered	All Marriages	Registered	All Marriages	Registered
Tbilisi	27.6	29.7	27.0	29.8	27.6	29.7
Adjara	26.9	27.9	27.3	28.2	27.1	28.1
Guria	26.7	27.9	28.0	29.1	27.6	28.7
Imereti	27.0	28.3	29.3	30.7	28.1	29.5
Kakheti	26.9	30.1	27.2	30.3	27.2	30.2
Mtskheta-Mtianeti	28.3	30.9	28.2	31.6	28.2	31.5
Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo Svaneti	29.9	30.6	32.0	32.7	31.4	32.1
Samegrelo & Zemo Svaneti	28.0	29.0	29.5	30.7	28.9	30.0
Samtskhe-Javakheti	27.2	28.4	26.6	28.1	26.8	28.2
Kvemo Kartli	26.8	29.5	25.9	29.3	26.3	29.4
Shida Kartli	27.2	28.8	28.0	30.2	27.7	29.6
Georgia	**27.4**	**29.2**	**27.7**	**29.8**	**27.5**	**29.5**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

marriage in Georgia, in some cases by as much as 4 or 5 years, as in rural Kvemo Kartli where the official mean age at marriage for women is 25.2 years, but where the effective age at first union is 19.9 years.

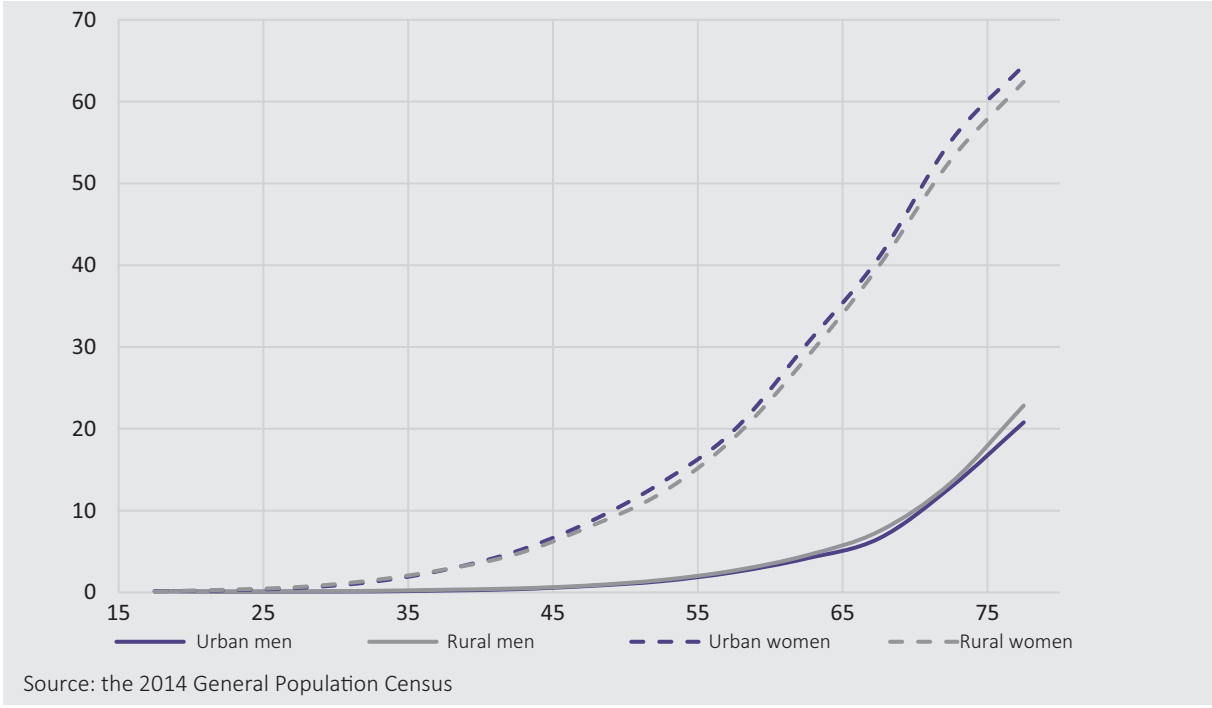
The SMAM for registered marriages (25.9 for women and 29.5 for men) can be compared to the average age of spouses in the registered unions of the Civil Registry. In 2015, this average age was 28.2 years for women and 31.5 years for men. At first sight, this looks like a large discrepancy, but two factors should be considered:

1. The SMAM is only concerned with first unions, whereas the Civil Registry also considers marriages of persons who have been married before. The average age of single women marrying in 2015, according to the Civil Registry, was 27.1 years and that of single men was 30.4 years. The increase of the number of second marriages in recent years is one of the factors responsible for the increase of the average ages of spouses between 2002 and 2015 (from 25.3 to 28.2 in the case of women and 29.1 to 31.5 for men), but as the numbers above demonstrate, this is not the only explanation. There has also been a real increase in the age at first marriage.
2. The SMAM does not refer to the typical age in the year of the census, but it is a weighted average of the typical ages during a period of 15-20 years before the census. Because the typical age at first marriage has been increasing in Georgia, it is to be expected that the SMAM will be lower than the average age at first marriage in 2015 but higher than in 2002, and this indeed turns out to be the case.

Figure 3.2 shows the percentage of men and women in urban and rural areas declared as being widows or widowers. There is clearly a large difference between the percentage of men and women in this situation, even if controlled by age, which differs very little between urban and rural areas. This finding is not unusual in analyses of this kind and is basically explained by three factors:

1. Mortality of women, especially at higher ages, is lower than that of men, so that it is more likely that a wife will lose a husband than the other way around. Apart from affecting the numbers of widows and widowers, this also means that widows tend to be slightly younger (average of 68.7 years) than widowers (72.2 years).
2. Because of the difference in age at first marriage, female spouses are generally a few years

Figure 3.2: Percentage of widows and widowers by sex, age and area of residence



Source: the 2014 General Population Census

younger than their husbands, thereby reinforcing the effect mentioned in 1.

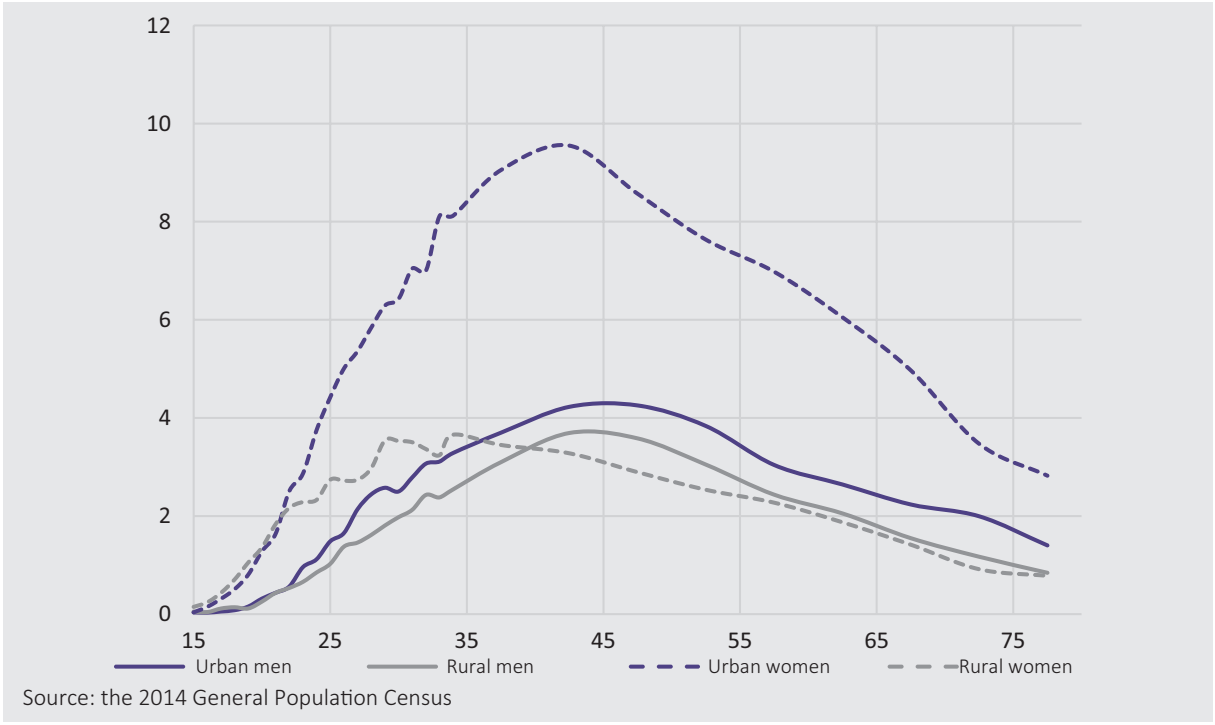
3. The attractiveness of men as marriage partners is less dependent on age than that of women. In addition, men are fertile during most of their whole life cycle, whereas women's fertility ends up at about 45 years of age (Miller, 2015; Feingold, 1992). Due to these reasons, it is much easier for widowed men to remarry as they stay fertile and acquire more status with age.

In the specific case of Georgia, it is also possible that international migration plays a role as either widows or widowers may have a higher propensity to emigrate, but this is a difficult theme to investigate. Without further information, it is difficult to assign an appropriate weight to each of these potential reasons, but some approximate calculations suggest that the higher propensity of widowers to remarry probably plays a smaller role than differential mortality. The difference between the two curves seems large compared to what is typically found in other countries, but this may be due mostly to the rather large difference in life expectancy (8.5 years) between men and women in Georgia. Unfortunately, the Georgian census does not have a question about whether the current marriage is the first one or a remarriage, which might help to clarify the third alternative.

The percentage of divorced persons in principle might be expected to behave similarly to the percentage of widows and widowers. Nevertheless, *Figure 3.3* looks quite different, due to a number of reasons:

1. Unlike widowhood, which is brought about by the death of one of the spouses, with men much more likely to die than women, the number of divorced men and divorced women should initially be the same, diverging only after the divorce, so the curves for men and women should be expected to be more similar than in the case of widowhood. However, as in the case of widowhood, divorced men do tend to remarry more often than divorced women.
2. Overall, divorce in Georgia is much less common than widowhood, especially female widowhood. Moreover, it is only in recent years that it has become somewhat more common. Hence the peak in the percentage of divorced persons around the age of 45. In the generation over the age of 60, divorce was still exceptional
3. Even in the younger generations, urban divorce

Figure 3.3: Percentage of divorced persons by sex, age and area of residence



Source: the 2014 General Population Census

rates are significantly higher than rural divorce rates. In *Figure 3.3*, this is particularly evident for women. Percentages of divorced men are also higher in urban areas, but the difference is smaller, possibly due to a higher propensity of urban men to remarry.

The following listings show the numbers and percentages of divorced men and women by region and also the percentages in the 30-59 year age group (the peak divorce ages) by regions and areas of residence:

witnesses or Protestants, are the most strongly against divorce (78 percent), followed by Muslims (72 percent), followers of the Orthodox Church (44 percent) or members of the Armenian Apostolic Church (31 percent).

As one would expect, the percentage of divorced persons in Tbilisi is high compared to other regions, especially for women. It is difficult to explain the high percentage of divorced women of the Kvemo Kartli region and higher percentage among men compared to women observed in

Table 3.8: Numbers and percentages of divorced females and males (15 and older) by region

Region	Females			Males		
	Number of Females	Number Divorced	%	Number of Males	Number Divorced	%
Tbilisi	503,571	34,162	6.8	393,198	11,364	2.9
Adjara	140,122	4,321	3.1	128,148	1,682	1.3
Guria	49,755	1,305	2.6	45,116	942	2.1
Imereti	231,182	5,570	2.4	209,805	3,884	1.9
Kakheti	135,999	4,825	3.5	125,880	3,632	2.9
Mtskheta-Mtianeti	39,355	1,462	3.7	39,153	1,379	3.5
Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo Svaneti	14,650	224	1.5	13,558	282	2.1
Samegrelo & Zemo-Svaneti	145,046	3,703	2.5	129,900	2,517	1.9
Samtskhe-Javakheti	67,313	1,801	2.7	61,475	770	1.3
Kvemo Kartli	173,999	7,249	4.2	160,418	2,975	1.9
Shida Kartli	112,045	4,197	3.7	102,787	2,801	2.7
Georgia	**1,613,037**	**68,819**	**4.3**	**1,409,438**	**32,228**	**2.3**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Not only the numbers of divorced are higher among younger generation, but as is revealed in Caucasus Barometer 2015 the attitude towards divorce differs across age. A larger portion of the older generation (55 percent) of those over 55 considers divorce not to be justified, while the same attitude is shared by 43 percent of 18-35 and 45 percent of 36-55 year-olds. Moreover, it is considered as not justified more by rural (58 percent) than urban (46 percent) people, least of all by those living in Tbilisi (30 percent). But much more than age or the type of settlement one lives in, religion seems to define attitudes to divorce. Followers of religions with fewer followers in the country, such as Jehovah's

Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo-Svaneti. The number of divorces has increased over time. The non-registration of marriages characteristic for the period of the end of XX and beginning of XXI century may be seen as a contributing factor.

In the paragraphs above, it was mentioned that one of the reasons for the lower numbers of widowed and divorced men is their higher propensity to remarry. The data from the census do not allow any confirmation of this statement, but the civil registration data on marriages do show the previous marital status of the marriage partners, so that the extent of remarriage of men

Table 3.9: Percentage of divorced men and women aged 30-59 by region and area of residence

Region	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Tbilisi	4.2	9.9	3.9	5.2	4.2	9.7
Adjara	2.2	6.0	1.6	1.8	2.0	4.3
Guria	3.1	5.4	3.2	2.8	3.2	3.6
Imereti	2.7	4.6	2.9	2.1	2.8	3.4
Kakheti	4.9	8.5	4.1	3.8	4.3	4.9
Mtskheta-Mtianeti	5.0	7.5	5.5	4.6	5.4	5.3
Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo Svaneti	3.4	3.8	3.3	1.9	3.3	2.4
Samegrelo & Zemo Svaneti	3.2	5.3	2.6	2.4	2.8	3.6
Samtskhe-Javakheti	2.5	6.0	1.6	2.4	1.9	3.7
Kvemo Kartli	3.5	8.8	2.0	3.4	2.6	5.8
Shida Kartli	3.8	7.5	4.3	3.4	4.1	5.2
Georgia	**3.7**	**8.2**	**3.0**	**2.9**	**3.4**	**6.1**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

and women can be ascertained. In this regard, the first thing to be noted is that remarriage in Georgia for both men and women until recently was very rare. Until 2009, more than 96 percent of official (registered) marriages of both men and women were their first. Since then, however, there has been a significant increase of second marriages, to the point where in 2015 9.9 percent of brides and 11.7 percent of grooms had been married at least once before.

This increase of remarriages is intimately linked to the increase in the number of divorces (see *Table 3.10*) as the vast majority of remarriages are of divorced persons and not of widows or widowers. In 2015, only 1.0 percent of brides and 0.8 percent of grooms were widowed. Note that the percentage is slightly higher for brides than for grooms, but this is due to the fact that there are many more widows than widowers, so the probability of remarrying for a widower, though small, is still about 5 times as large as for a widow, despite the fact that widows are, on average, 3.5 years younger than widowers (see above). It should be noted, however, that there has been some increase in the rate of remarriage among widows, both in absolute numbers and in comparison to widowers. In 2002, for example, only 0.35 percent of brides and 0.75 percent of grooms were widowed. Among divorcees, which constitute the vast majority of all remarriages, men clearly remarry more often (10.9 percent of grooms in 2015) than women (8.9 percent of brides). Divorced men also have a higher propensity to remarry single women, rather than women who are themselves divorced. In 2015, 49.8 percent of divorced brides married divorced men and 47.5 percent married single partners. Among divorced grooms, these percentages were 40.6 percent and 56.1 percent, respectively. There is also a difference in the ages of the second partners. Divorced women remarry when they are still relatively young and they do so with men of approximately the same age (average age of 46.6 years for divorced brides and 47.0 for their partners in 2015). But divorced men are older and tend to remarry with women that are considerably younger than themselves. Their average age in 2015 was 57.5 years and the average age of their brides 47.5, i.e. ten years less. This confirms the widespread notion that older divorced men tend to remarry with younger women.

Table 3.10: Numbers of divorces, average ages of the spouses at the time of divorce, and average duration of the marriage, 2002-2015

Year	Number	Mean Age Woman	Mean Age Man	Mean Duration
2002	1,836	37.2	40.2	12.0
2003	1,825	37.0	40.8	12.6
2004	1,793	37.8	41.4	12.7
2005	1,928	37.7	40.7	13.0
2006	2,060	37.9	40.4	12.6
2007	2,325	37.8	40.6	11.6
2008	3,189	36.2	39.4	12.7
2009	4,030	35.8	39.1	12.4
2010	4,726	36.1	39.4	12.8
2011	5,850	36.3	39.4	12.7
2012	7,136	36.3	39.4	12.5
2013	8,089	35.9	39.1	12.1
2014	9,119	36.2	39.3	11.8
2015	9,112	36.4	39.4	11.5

Source: Geostat

Apart from the fact that divorces have become more common, *Table 3.10* shows a slight tendency for them to affect younger couples, after fewer years of marriage, but this tendency is very weak. By and large, in those couples that end up divorcing the man is around 40 years old and the woman around 36 or 37, whereas the typical duration of marriage is 11-13 years. In 2015, about a third of the divorces took place in the first 5 years of marriage and about a quarter after 20 years or more. In 2002, just under a quarter of all divorces took place during the first 5 years of marriage.

The *Table 3.11* shows how crude divorce rates (per 1,000 population, regardless of age or marital status) in Georgia compare to neighbouring countries. The increasing trend in Georgia is more pronounced than in other countries, but otherwise the levels are similar to those found in Armenia, Azerbaijan or Turkey, though lower than in the Russian Federation, Ukraine or the Republic of Moldova.

Table 3.11: Crude divorce rates per 1,000 population in Georgia and neighbouring countries 2010-2013

Country	2010	2011	2012	2013
Armenia	3.2	1.0		
Azerbaijan	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.2
Bulgaria	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.5
Georgia[8]	**1.1**	**1.3**	**1.6**	
Republic of Moldova	3.2	3.1	3.0	
Romania	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.4
Russian Federation	4.5	4.7	4.5	
Turkey	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6
Ukraine	2.7	4.0	3.7	3.6

Source: UN Statistics Division. *Demographic Yearbook 2014*

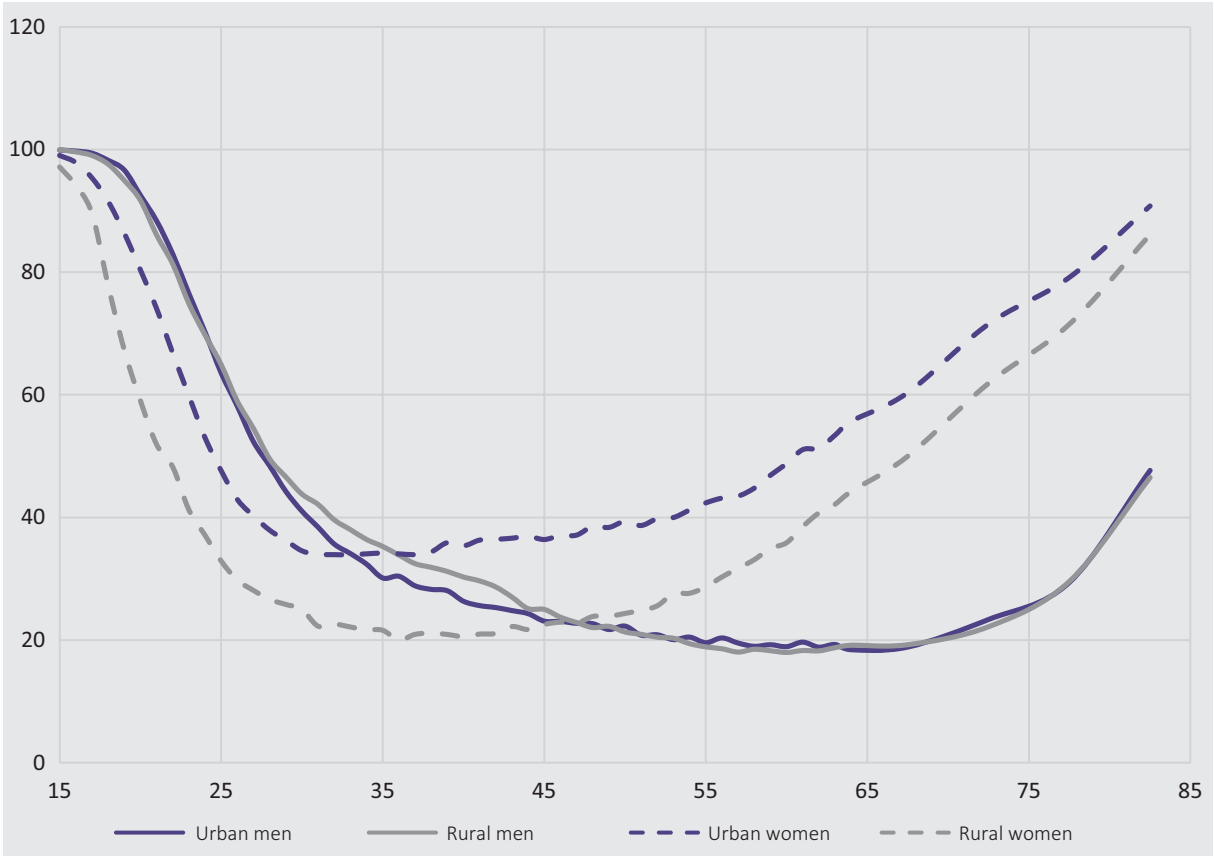
The combined effects of marriage, widowhood, divorce and remarriage, as well as migration, determine how much of their lives men and women will spend alone or rather living with a partner in the same household. The *Figure 3.4* shows this pattern for men and women in urban and rural areas. The general pattern is that both men and women start out without a partner, marry and start living together with a husband or wife, but towards the end of their lives tend to become solitary again as partners die, divorce or migrate. However, as the graph demonstrates, the pattern is markedly different for men and women. Men, in both urban and rural areas, without much difference, tend to live most of their lives with a partner. Only at the very end of their lives, after age 75, does their chance of living without a partner increase somewhat. But in the case of women, this process starts much earlier and reaches much higher levels of solitary living. Women are most likely (about 80 percent) to live with a partner between ages 30 and 40, but after that the percentage of women living alone increases, reaching levels of over 50 percent after age 60 in urban areas and after age 70 in rural areas. Overall, the probability of living without a partner is 5-10 percent higher in urban than in rural areas. In those cases where women

8 The rates for Georgia are, in fact, too low because they are still based on inflated population estimates. According to the adjusted population figures calculated from the 2014 census they would be 1.3 in 2010, 1.6 in 2011, 1.9 in 2012, 2.2 in 2013 and 2.5 in 2014.

do have a partner, the age difference between partners is fairly constant by age, with women typically living with spouses 4.4 years older than themselves. The difference is slightly higher (6.2 years) in women under age 20 who are living with a spouse, but not dramatically so. At older ages (over age 50) the difference diminishes somewhat, falling below 4 years, as the oldest husbands tend to die earlier.

There are more women (8,384) than men (7,372) with a Doctorate or similar advanced degree in the country. This may explain why a higher than average percentage (56.7 percent) of these women live alone, as these are women who do not necessarily need a husband for economic reasons and who may not be inclined to marry a man with a lower educational status. The percentage varies by age, but even in the 30-34 year age category, where the vast majority of women live with a partner, 42 percent of these highly educated women live alone. Among men, only 29.5 percent of those with a doctorate or equivalent degree do not have a spouse living with them, which is actually lower than the average for all educational categories. Of those highly educated women who do have a spouse, two thirds are married to men who have at least a Master's degree. Of the women (of all ages) with intermediate educational levels, about 45 percent live alone, but this percentage goes up again in the lowest educational categories: of the women with a basic level of general education or less almost 70 percent live alone. Many of these women have been married at some point during their lives, but they are disproportionally affected by widowhood, divorce, and migration of their partners. The same happens with men of low educational status, who are also much less likely to live with a partner as compared to men with higher educational attainment.

Figure 3.4: Proportions of men and women in urban and rural areas who are not living with a partner, by age



Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Table 3.12: Women living with a spouse by age and area of residence, according to whether they have the same educational level as their spouse, a lower level or a higher level

Age	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Same	Lower	Higher	Same	Lower	Higher	Same	Lower	Higher
15-19	50.4	40.4	9.2	53.0	37.6	9.4	52.0	38.7	9.3
20-24	51.5	27.2	21.2	57.0	22.2	20.9	54.1	24.9	21.1
25-29	51.4	21.2	27.4	53.2	20.3	26.4	52.2	20.8	27.0
30-34	53.1	20.7	26.3	53.2	21.8	25.1	53.1	21.1	25.8
35-39	55.6	18.4	26.0	52.6	22.2	25.2	54.3	20.0	25.7
40-44	57.2	18.1	24.7	55.3	19.9	24.7	56.4	18.9	24.7
45-49	58.8	18.4	22.7	57.7	19.2	23.1	58.3	18.8	22.9
50-54	60.1	19.4	20.4	57.7	20.3	21.9	59.0	19.8	21.1
55-59	59.7	20.0	20.3	57.8	20.3	21.9	58.8	20.2	21.0
60-64	59.3	20.4	20.3	57.1	20.5	22.4	58.2	20.5	21.3
65-69	60.9	19.7	19.4	56.7	20.4	22.8	58.8	20.1	21.1
70-74	60.7	19.2	20.2	56.3	20.8	22.9	58.3	20.0	21.7
75-79	59.6	19.4	21.0	56.1	20.0	23.9	57.6	19.7	22.6
80+	60.4	19.7	19.8	57.8	21.7	21.0	58.8	20.7	20.6
Total	**56.6**	**20.2**	**23.2**	**55.8**	**20.9**	**23.2**	**56.3**	**20.5**	**23.2**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Table 3.12 confirms that women are generally married to partners with the same educational level or, when that is not the case, more often than not they have a slightly higher educational level than their partners. The major exception are younger women, under the age of 25, who may not have completed their education yet. Maybe the most interesting aspect of *Table 3.12* is that it shows that the educational advantage of women over their spouses occurs in all age categories over 25, although it is less pronounced in older women. This suggests that it is not a recent phenomenon, but that it has existed for several decades, although it may have become a bit more pronounced among the younger generations. There is also relatively little difference between urban and rural areas in this regard.

Table 3.13: Percentages of ethnically homogeneous marriages (both partners belonging to the same ethnicity) among couples where one partner belongs to a given ethnic group, by area of residence

Ethnic Group	Total	Urban	Rural
Georgians	97.5	96.7	98.5
Azeris	97.6	90.8	99.1
Armenians	79.5	66.1	93.0
Other Groups	32.9	31.0	37.6
All Groups	**96.9**	**95.7**	**98.4**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

In terms of the inter-ethnicity of marriages, Georgian society appears to be relatively closed, with 96.9 percent of the couples living together belonging to the same ethnic group (between Georgians, Azeris, Armenians, and others). According to Oganesyan (2014), who bases her observations on marriage statistics by ethnicity (which existed until 2007), between 1994 and 2007 the number of mixed marriages in Georgia has declined by almost 50 percent. She cites public opinion data from the Caucasus Barometer Surveys (CRRC, 2009-2013), which show that the

overwhelming majority of people in the country approve of women of their ethnicity marrying ethnic Georgians (90–91 percent). According to the same survey, marrying Russians is more acceptable than marrying other ethnic groups. The same is probably true of Ukrainians, although Oganesyan does not mention them. Marrying Jews, Azerbaijanis, and Kurds/Yezidis, all often affiliated with various religious denominations, won less support. She concludes that the decline in intermarriage may *"indicate that boundaries separating ethnic groups in Georgia may have become more rigid since the demise of the Soviet Union. Such developments may negatively impact the social and civic integration of the country's minority population."* Another explanation may be the strengthening of religious sentiments and the fact that after independence it has become more difficult for Georgian men to marry Russian women than it had been in earlier days.

According to the census, among the couples where one of the partners is Georgian, in 97.5 percent of the cases the other partner is Georgian too (96.7 percent in urban areas, 98.5 percent in rural areas). Of course, this is to be expected, given the fact that Georgians make up the overwhelming majority of the population. But similar figures are also found for the Azeri population: 97.6 percent overall, 90.8 percent in urban areas and 99.1 percent in rural areas. The Armenian population is somewhat more mixed, with 20.5 percent of the couples with one Armenian partner consisting of mixed marriages. In the urban areas, fully a third of these marriages are mixed, but in the rural areas only 7 percent. The group with the largest incidence of mixed marriages (67.1 percent) is that of "other" ethnicities, including Russians and Ukrainians. This is in accordance with Oganesyan's statement that Georgian–Armenian and Georgian–Russian mixed marriages are the most common. It is probably significant that, among the 17,793 couples in which one belongs to an "other" ethnic group and one does not, the largest sub-group are Georgian men living with women belonging to an "other" group (10,317). The second most important group is that of Georgian women living with men belonging to an "other" group (5,113). The most plausible explanation for this finding is that it is the result of emigrants (most of whom are male) having brought foreign partners to live with them in Georgia. These patterns vary little between age groups.

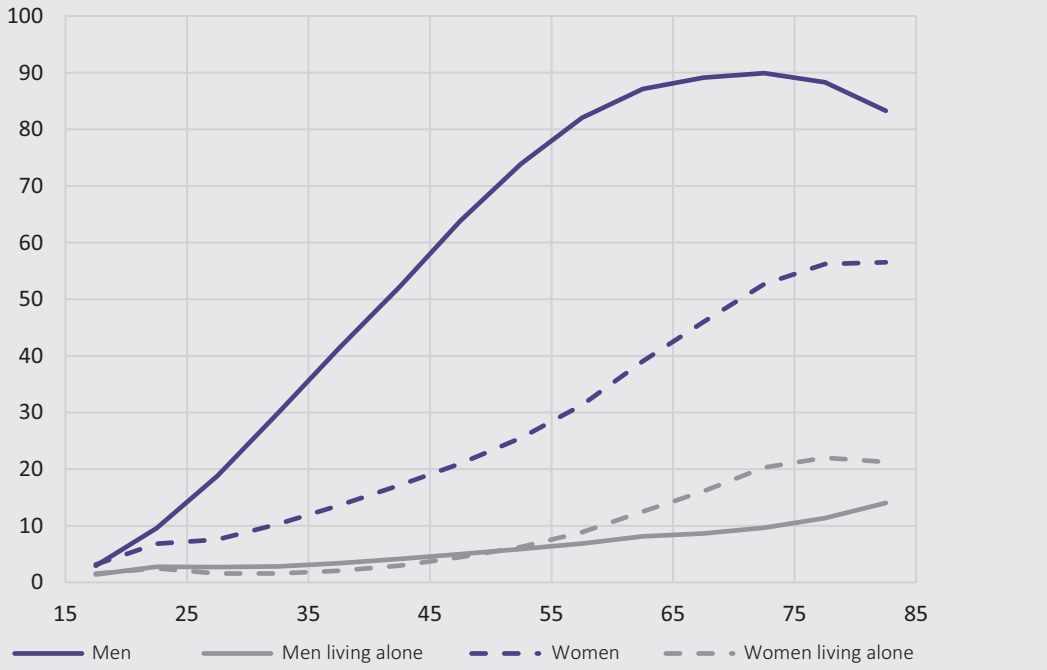
4. Household Composition

Household composition is relevant for a number of reasons, one of them being that there is a relationship between household composition and poverty. Women headed households, households with more than five members and those having children under age 15 are more likely to be poor (World Bank, 2016b). Unfortunately, the Georgian census does not contain any data that make it possible to assess this relationship directly and the particularities of the Georgian household structure, as a consequence of high emigration, make it risky to conclude that the relationship observed in other contexts will be applicable to Georgia as well. Therefore, this aspect will not be explored here.

The concept of "head of household" is controversial because it has different connotations depending on whether it is used in a purely statistical sense or in order to do gender analysis. In order to use the concept in gender analysis, it should convey a sense of "person primarily responsible for the maintenance of the household". This in itself can be difficult to operationalize because the main income earner is not necessarily the same person who owns the home or who takes the decisions about household expenditures. Moreover, there is not necessarily only one such person in the household, especially in urban settings where married couples may contribute more or less equally to the household budget and make decisions about household expenditures together. It has been noted that relatively minor differences in definitions in this regard can lead to considerable differences in the assignment of headship (Fuwa, 2000).

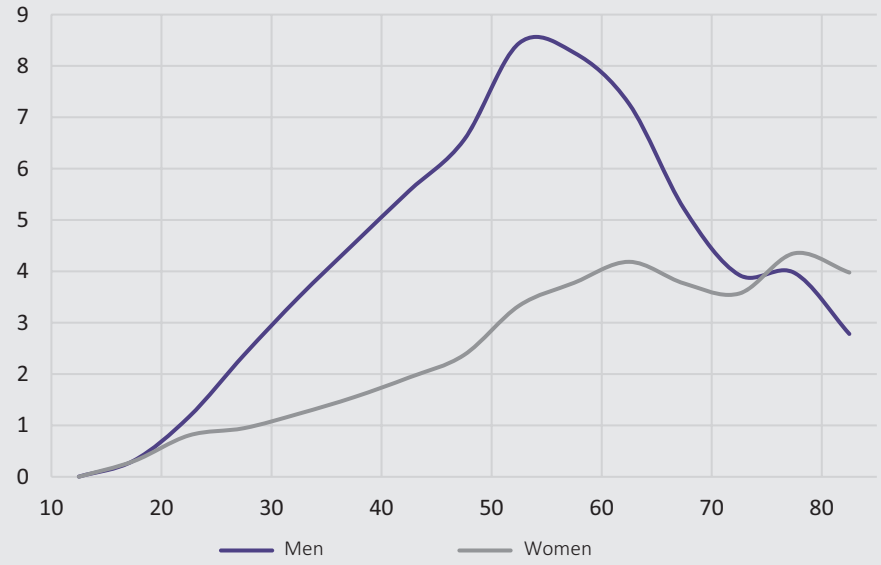
From a statistical point of view, the question of whether the head of household is primarily responsible for its maintenance is not a major

Figure 4.1.A: Proportions of men and women who are reference persons and who are heads of single-person households, by age



Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Figure 4.1.B: Percentage of households with a reference person of a certain age and sex



Source: the 2014 General Population Census

concern. Censuses need to have a focal point for the mapping of the family relations between the different household members and a main respondent to provide the information for the census questionnaire. Although it is generally convenient that this should be the main income earner or the person who takes the decisions on household expenditures, this is not indispensable. Therefore, there has been a trend away from the use of "head of household" towards the use of the term "reference person". This is also the term that was used in the 2014 census of Georgia. While this concept is useful in clarifying that the person thus identified is not necessarily the main income earner or the main decision-maker, it imposes limitations on the extent to which a gender analysis can be performed on the results, precisely because a gender analysis depends on this connotation.

In practice, there is still a strong cultural tendency to identify the head of household or the reference person with the oldest male household member, especially if this person makes a significant (though not necessarily the largest) contribution to the household budget. This is reflected in *Figure 4.1*, which shows the age profile of the headship rate, i.e. the percentage of men and women of a given age who are heads (in this case, reference persons) of their households. Both the male and female headship increase with age. For the very last age categories male headship decreases while female headship levels off as older persons gradually pass on the role of reference person to the younger generation. There is a clear tendency for males to be declared as the reference person which diminishes somewhat in the oldest age groups, where female-headed households become more common, likely as a consequence of women's greater longevity.

Table 4.1.B shows the issue of household headship from a slightly different perspective, namely that of the percentage of households with reference persons of a certain age and sex. Clearly, male headship is dominant and increases with age until about age 53, when it starts to decline. Female headship is lower but continues to increase until, by age 75, there are more female-headed than male-headed households.

The situations in which women end up being declared as household head or reference person are relatively few. One of them is that of women living alone in a one-person household. This accounts for a significant portion of the female-headed households. As can be seen in *Figure 4.1B*, over 20 percent of women over age 65 live alone, usually because their husbands have died and their children have left the home.

The differences in these patterns between urban and rural areas are relatively minor. In urban areas, female headship is somewhat higher, particularly at younger and intermediate ages. For example, 25.0 percent of urban women in their forties are reference persons, compared to 19.1 percent of all women of this age and 10.3 percent of all rural women aged 40-49. In the oldest age groups, the difference becomes less pronounced. Urban men also have higher headship rates at younger and intermediate ages than the male population in general, but at older ages their urban headship rates are actually *lower* than among the population in general. For example, 84.4 percent of urban men in their sixties are reference persons, compared to 87.9 percent of men in the general population and 91.7 percent of rural men aged 60-69. A similar pattern is found in the case of one-person households. Urban men under age 40 are more likely to live by themselves than rural men, but after age 40 the direction of the difference is reversed. In the case of women, the percentage living in one-person households is consistently somewhat higher in urban areas, except for women over the age of 75.

Table 4.1 displays the dominant living situations of male and female reference persons, which are rather different. The overwhelming majority of female reference persons live either alone or with others, who are not spouses, children or parents. The categories of female reference persons living only with children (5.4 percent), with children and "others" (2.4 percent), or with children and their mothers (0.3 percent) are surprisingly small. This profile is markedly different of that of male reference persons, which is dominated by men living with their spouse and "others" (33.7 percent) or with their spouse and children (18.2 percent). A fairly large percentage (14.7 percent) also live only with their spouse, without children. Surprisingly, it is more common for male reference persons to live with their spouse, children and "others" (6.5 percent) than with their spouse, children and one or both parents (2.9 percent).

Table 4.1: Main household composition categories of male and female reference persons

Household composition category	percentage
Men living with their spouse and others who are not children or parents	33.7 percent
Men living with their spouse and children	18.2 percent
Men living only with their spouse, without children	14.7 percent
Men living by themselves	10.1 percent
Men living with others who are not spouses, children or parents	7.2 percent
Men living with their spouse, children and others	6.5 percent
Men living with their spouse, children, and one or both parents	2.9 percent
Men living with their spouse and one or both parents	0.8 percent
Women living by themselves	30.6 percent
Women living with others who are not spouses, children or parents	48.2 percent
Women living only with children	5.2 percent
Women living with children and others	2.4 percent
Women living with children and their mothers	0.3 percent

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Only 15.1 percent of urban households and 9.4 percent of rural households consist of "typical" nuclear families (couples with children, but no other household members). Another 8.5 percent of urban households and 12.7 percent of rural households are made up of couples living alone, without children.

In urban areas, a significant percentage of these households (12.3 percent) have a female reference person, but in rural areas this is rare (2.9 percent). On the other hand, 22.9 percent of urban households and 20.7 percent of rural households consist of a reference person living with "others". A very high percentage of these households (80.5 percent in urban areas and 77.2 percent in rural areas) have a female reference person. Many of them are likely to be households in which the male spouse is abroad and sending remittances home.

Finally, *Table 4.2* shows the percentages of children under age 10 that live with either or both parents. Overall, 82.5 percent of children under age 10 live with both parents, a percentage which drops off slightly with age as older children are more likely to live in families that have broken up. The percentage is also higher in rural than in urban areas. Although women living alone with children make up only 5.4 percent of the households (see *Table 4.1*), young children in incomplete households are nevertheless much more likely to live with the mother (11.3 percent of all children under age 10) than with the father (1.4 percent).

Table 4.2: Children aged 0-9 years (absolute numbers) by whether they live with either or both of their parents (percentages) and urban or rural area of residence

Total	Total	Children Aged		
		0	1-4	5-9
Total children	**485,113**	**51,655**	**203,434**	**230,024**
Neither mother nor father in the same household	4.7	5.0	4.7	4.8
Only father is in the same household	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.8
Only mother is in the same household	11.3	8.3	9.4	12.9
Both parents are in the same household	82.5	85.6	84.8	80.5
Urban				
Total children	**292,067**	**292,067**	**122,108**	**139,301**
Neither mother nor father in the same household	4.4	4.5	4.3	4.6
Only father is in the same household	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.8
Only mother is in the same household	13.7	9.5	11.0	16.0
Both parents are in the same household	80.4	84.8	83.5	77.6
Rural				
Total children	**193,046**	**193,046**	**81,326**	**90,723**
Neither mother nor father in the same household	5.2	5.8	5.4	5.1
Only father is in the same household	1.4	0.8	0.9	1.8
Only mother is in the same household	7.7	6.5	7.1	8.3
Both parents are in the same household	85.7	86.8	86.7	84.8

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

5. Fertility and Childlessness

Fertility in the 2014 Georgian census can only be assessed to a very limited extent because the census did not contain a full set of questions to this end. The only fertility question asked (to women aged 15 and over) was the number of children ever born, which – by itself – is insufficient to assess current fertility, although it can be used for other purposes.[9] In addition, there was a significant percentage (7.3 percent) of non-response to this question. This typically happens because the interviewer, instead of explicitly writing "0 children", left the answer in blank, particularly if the woman, due to her age and marital status, was not expected to have children. This is similar to what happened in the case of marital status which was often not reported because the age of the woman seemed to lead to the conclusion that she was obviously unmarried. There is a method known as the El-Badry technique (Moultrie et al., 2013: 35) to assess the extent to which this is indeed the reason for the non-response and thus allow its correction. The application of this technique suggests that 2.9 percent of the answers are truly unknown and that the remaining 4.4 percent should be interpreted as 0. In the following this is the criterion that has been applied to correct data on children ever born, even though it applies only to the population as a whole and may obviously be different in specific population segments.

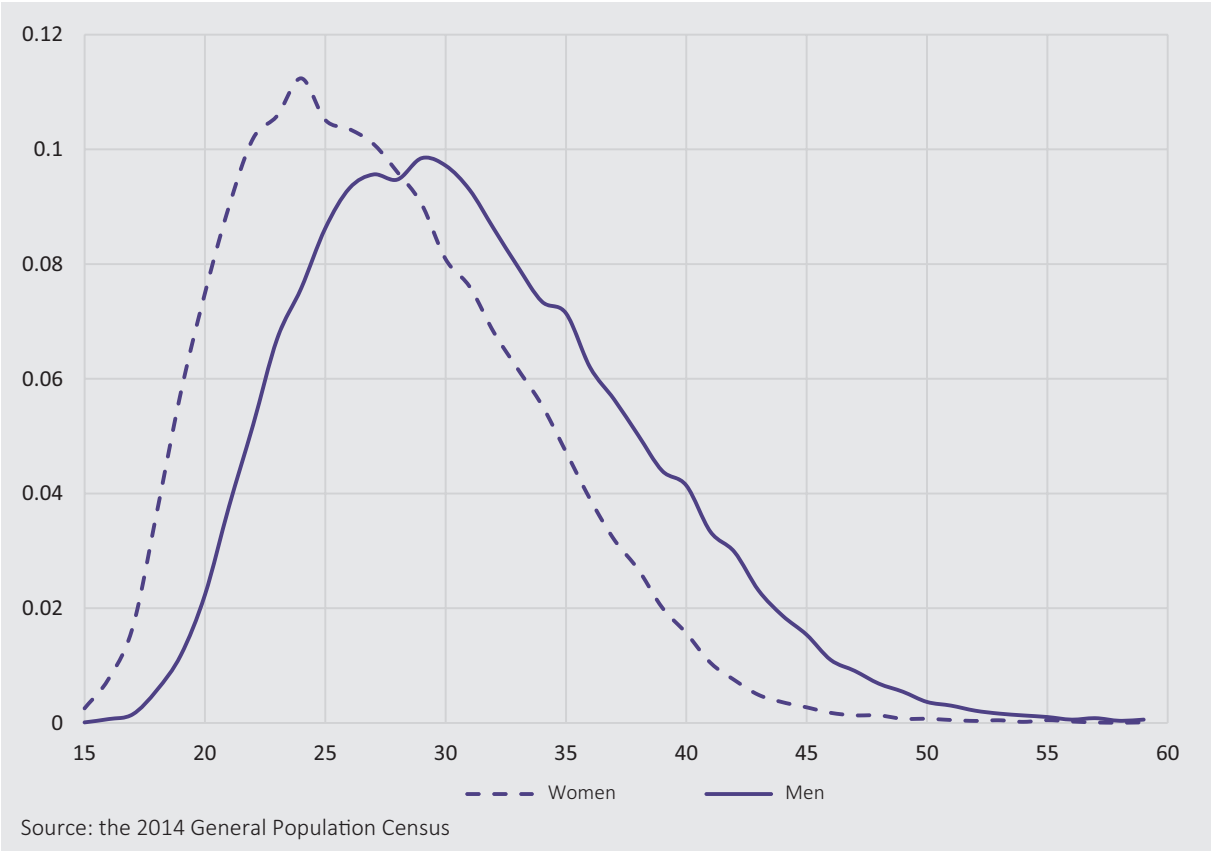
Despite the limitations of the fertility questions in the Georgian census, it does have one very useful feature that partly compensates for these limitations, namely the fact that it allows to identify the mothers of children living in the same household. To a large extent, this ends up providing the same information that would be provided by a current fertility question, except in those cases where children do not live with their mothers, but this is the case of only 6.2 percent of the children under age 1. Moreover, the same information can also be obtained for the fathers of the children, which allows identifying the age pattern of male fertility, as well as female fertility.[10] *Figure 5.1* shows the distribution of children aged 0 living in households where both parents are present, by age of the mother and father. This can be interpreted as the male and female fertility pattern. The male fertility pattern is about 5 years later and slightly broader than the female fertility pattern, as expected. Because the data are based only on children who live with both their father and their mother, one cannot interpret these figures directly as representing Age Specific Fertility Rates. However, taking into consideration that 85.6 percent of 0-year old children live with both parents and assuming that the age pattern of fertility of those who do not live with at least of the parents is not very different from that of children who do, one may estimate the overall fertility level at 1.98 children per woman for the year preceding the census.

Reproduction in Georgia is still very much contained within the context of marriage. Of all the never married women over the aged 40-44 enumerated in the census, only 3.7 percent had ever had a child. This percentage is slightly higher in urban areas (4.6 percent) than in rural areas (1.6 percent). *Table 5.1* shows the percentages of all never married women over age 15 who declared having children. The region with the highest percentage is Tbilisi (1.73 percent of all women over 15 and 5.7 percent of women aged 40-44), but the figures for all women over age 15 are slightly higher in the urban parts of Guria and Samtskhe-Javakheti. They are very low compared to typical patterns in Western European countries.

9 There was also a question on the number of surviving children which allows the estimation of infant and child mortality. In this technique, the percentage of children who died is combined with the retrospective fertility pattern declared by women of different ages, so that one can get a sense of both how many children died and the average age they had when this happened (Moultrie et al., 2013: 139).

10 In the demographic literature, analyses of this kind are known as the Own Children Method (Moultrie et al., 2013: 82). The method is usually limited to the mothers of children, but in this analysis children were linked to both their mothers and fathers, in households where both were present.

Figure 5.1: Male and female fertility patterns by age, based on children aged 0 in households in which both the mother and the father were present



Source: the 2014 General Population Census

If the El-Badry correction is applied, 14.0 percent of women aged 40-44, including never married women, were childless. This is quite close to the 13.4 percent found for the 1961-67 birth cohort of women in the Generations and Gender Survey of Georgia (GGS) and higher than the percentage found in the Armenian census of 2011 (11.0 percent). Again, the percentage is marginally higher in urban areas (15.4 percent with the correction) than in rural areas (11.8 percent with the correction). The relationship between gender equity and childlessness is not clear-cut as there are associations working in both directions. Miettinen et al. (2015: page 31) conclude that, considering all effects, *"the advancement of gender equity and women's social position is not, or is slightly negatively, correlated with higher childlessness."*

Miettinen et al. characterize the incidence of female childlessness in Georgia as "moderate". It is higher than in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Republic of Moldova (not mentioned by Miettinen et al.) and Russia, comparable (based on the 13.4 percent of the GGS) to France, Belgium, Germany, Norway, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Sweden, and the US, and lower than in Austria, Italy, Finland, the Netherlands and the UK, where the percentages are around 20 percent. Miettinen at el. investigated both male and female childlessness, but the former is not possible with data from the Georgian census because the question on children ever born was only asked to women (few

Table 5.1: Percentage of never married women over age 15 with children by region and area of residence

Region	Percentage with children		
	Urban	Rural	Total
Tbilisi	1.75	1.16	1.73
Adjara	0.97	0.14	0.63
Guria	2.12	0.82	1.22
Imereti	1.08	0.54	0.83
Kakheti	1.96	1.09	1.34
Mtskheta-Mtianeti	1.40	0.78	0.95
Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo-Svaneti	1.30	0.73	0.87
Samegrelo & Zemo-Svaneti	0.98	0.49	0.69
Samtskhe-Javakheti	1.99	0.40	1.03
Kvemo Kartli	1.66	0.74	1.24
Shida Kartli	1.39	0.92	1.13
Georgia	**1.58**	**0.67**	**1.29**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

censuses ask this question to men). Male lifetime childlessness is highest (above 23 percent among men aged 45–49) in Finland, Italy, Germany, the UK and the Czech Republic. Male childlessness is typically higher than female childlessness, but data from the 2009 Georgian GGS (which did ask the question to men) indicate that this is not the case in Georgia, where male childlessness at age 45-49 was 12.2 percent (Miettinen et al., 2015: Table 3c).

The *Table 5.2* breaks the numbers down by region and by marital status.

These are extremely small percentages, even in categories like widowed and divorced women who might not have had the opportunity to have children before their divorce or the death of their partners. This suggests that the birth of the first child typically occurs very soon after the beginning of the marriage and that couples do not take the time to put their careers and financial lives in order before proceeding to having their first child.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to test this proposition directly because the census does not contain information on the time between marriage and the birth of the first child. The only information is on the number of children ever born, which can be broken down by area of residence and marital status, as shown in *Figure 5.2*. A number of things stand out from this graph:

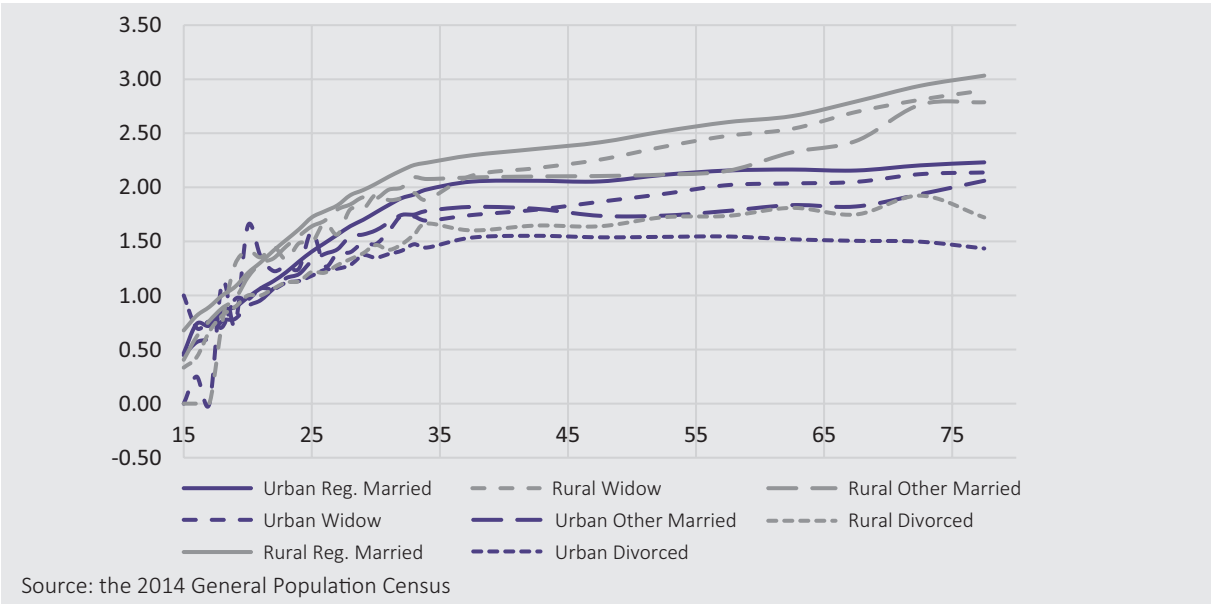
1. Clearly rural fertility is higher than urban fertility.
2. The average number of children per woman in urban areas stabilizes more or less after age 40, but it continues to increase in rural areas, suggesting that urban fertility has been more or less stable for some time now while rural fertility has continued to decline and is getting close to the fertility level in urban areas.
3. The fertility level in formal (registered) marriages is higher than in informal unions, but the difference is small.
4. The completed fertility of widows is lower than that of women currently married, but not by much, suggesting that widowhood typically occurs after childbearing has been completed.
5. As one would expect, the completed fertility of separated or divorced women is the lowest of all, although even in this case it is not radically different from that of married women.

Table 5.2: Percentage of ever married childless women aged 40-44 by marital status

Type of Settlement	Registered Marriage	Other Marriage	Widowed	Separated/ Divorced
Urban				
Tbilisi	1.9	5.4	2.0	3.9
Adjara	1.2	4.4	1.3	4.7
Guria	0.8	5.1	2.1	3.6
Imereti	1.5	4.9	0.8	3.0
Kakheti	1.7	4.6	0.9	4.1
Mtskheta-Mtianeti	0.8	5.6	-	6.1
Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo Svaneti	1.3	-	-	8.3
Samegrelo & Zemo Svaneti	2.0	3.4	0.7	2.1
Samtskhe-Javakheti	0.7	3.2	1.9	0.9
Kvemo Kartli	1.2	3.1	1.4	2.4
Shida Kartli	1.6	2.8	1.2	3.9
Georgia	**1.6**	**4.7**	**1.6**	**3.7**
Rural				
Tbilisi	0.5	5.4	4.0	6.0
Adjara	0.8	6.7	0.9	7.8
Guria	0.9	1.3	-	5.9
Imereti	1.1	4.6	0.8	2.7
Kakheti	0.9	3.8	0.9	3.8
Mtskheta-Mtianeti	0.9	3.3	0.9	8.1
Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo Svaneti	1.6	4.4	-	-
Samegrelo & Zemo Svaneti	1.0	6.1	0.6	3.3
Samtskhe-Javakheti	0.3	5.6	-	1.5
Kvemo Kartli	0.5	1.3	0.6	6.8
Shida Kartli	0.7	4.1	0.4	5.9
Georgia	**0.8**	**3.8**	**0.7**	**4.9**
Total				
Tbilisi	1.8	5.4	2.1	4.0
Adjara	1.0	5.1	1.2	5.3
Guria	0.9	2.5	0.6	5.0
Imereti	1.3	4.8	0.8	2.9
Kakheti	1.1	4.0	0.9	3.9
Mtskheta-Mtianeti	0.9	3.8	0.7	7.4
Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo Svaneti	1.5	3.0	-	3.2
Samegrelo & Zemo Svaneti	1.3	4.9	0.7	2.0
Samtskhe-Javakheti	0.4	4.6	0.9	1.1
Kvemo Kartli	0.8	2.2	0.9	3.7
Shida Kartli	1.1	3.6	0.8	4.6
Georgia	**1.3**	**4.4**	**1.2**	**3.9**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Figure 5.2: Average number of children ever born to women by age, area of residence and type of union



Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Table 5.2 shows how women's economic activity affects fertility levels. Broadly speaking, there are three factors that weigh in on this relationship:

1. Income and economic security;
2. Availability of time to care for dependent children;
3. The potential economic contribution made by children.

These factors taken together explain why the highest average numbers of children (2.14 among 35-39 olds) are found among rural women who are self-employed on their own peasant farms or who are contributing family workers. These women have a certain measure of economic security in a setting where their work does not interfere significantly with child care and where children, in fact, represent some economic value. On the other hand, urban women who are employed as hired labour may have sufficient income to maintain children, but the time constraints implied by their type of work make it difficult to care for young children, particularly in the context of deficiency of institutional child care facilities. Their average number of children at age 35-39 is only 1.49, the lowest of all categories considered. Women who are unemployed or, to a lesser extent, those who are economically inactive have time but often lack the economic security necessary to have additional children. All in all, perhaps the main conclusion to be drawn from *Table 5.3* is that it does not matter so much whether women work or not, but the specific conditions under which this work takes place, e.g. the flexibility of the work schedule. Nevertheless, *Table 5.3* does show that hired workers do have fewer children than women who are unemployed or economically inactive.

The previous findings should be considered in the broader context of the discussion currently going on in the more developed countries, about the "familistic model" and the relationship between women's economic activity and fertility. The familistic credo resounds quite powerfully in the public policy debate in much of the EECA region, including policies designed to raise the region's low fertility rates. It attributes current low rates to the legacy of the Soviet policies that altered people's 'normative need for children'. Conservative thinkers support strengthening 'family values', including the idea that stimulating women to stay at home and not pursue careers might stimulate fertility. Yet paradoxically, the societies where such beliefs prevail tend also to be the societies with the very lowest fertility. In modern societies, an excessive focus on rigidly family-oriented institutions and attitudes has become an obstacle to fertility.

In particular, recent research on the role of female employment suggests that the relationship

Table 5.3: Average number of children ever born to women aged 25-29, 30-34 and 35-39 by area of residence (urban/rural) and employment status

Employment status	25-29		30-34		35-39	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Total	**1.04**	**1.36**	**1.46**	**1.75**	**1.67**	**1.97**
Employed	0.73	1.32	1.23	1.76	1.54	2.00
Hired	0.69	0.87	1.18	1.43	1.49	1.77
Employer (entrepreneur, farmer with hired workers)	1.00	1.16	1.42	1.95	1.69	1.69
Self-employed (except peasant farms)	0.96	1.19	1.43	1.67	1.67	1.86
Self-employed in their own peasant farm	1.59	1.58	1.92	1.95	2.10	2.14
Contributing family worker	1.57	1.59	2.03	1.90	2.06	2.11
Unemployed	1.13	1.18	1.53	1.64	1.72	1.84
Not economically active	1.38	1.47	1.74	1.80	1.88	1.96
Not stated	1.00	1.17	1.29	1.44	1.34	1.61

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

between fertility and *national* levels of female employment, which was negative in the past, has become positive for most of the OECD countries, even as *at the individual level* the relationship continues to be inverse (Matysiak & Vignoli, 2008; Neyer, Lappegård & Vignoli, 2011). The positive relationship observed at the aggregate level has even found its way into policy formulation. This takes the form of the European Commission strategy for the reconciliation of work and family life to increase female labour-force participation rates to 75 percent by 2020 and to strengthen women's economic independence, not least for women with parenting responsibilities (European Commission, 2010). The European Commission maintains that equal economic independence through higher female employment and through measures to facilitate work-life balance will have a positive impact on fertility.

However, in Eastern Europe, where facilities to support working women deteriorated significantly after the transition to a market economy in the 1990s, the relationship between work and fertility still tends to be negative. These countries once actively promoted gender equality in labour-force participation, but did not aim at altering the gender division of unpaid family work (Matysiak & Vignoli 2010). This suggests that it is not female employment as such, but rather the conditions of women's economic activity that is likely to define its effect on fertility. Where the greater economic activity of women is based on choice, it is likely to lead to the kind of relationship now typically observed in Western and Northern Europe (Hakim, 2000). But where women need to work in order to complement their family's income and face rigid work environments with little opportunity for flexible working hours and other facilities to reconcile their productive and reproductive roles, the relationship between female economic activity and fertility is likely to remain negative. In the high fertility countries of Western Europe both men and women perceive no negative effect on children of the economic activity of their mothers, whereas in much of the EECA region traditional perceptions according to which women should dedicate themselves to their roles as mothers continue strong. The World Values Survey data of 2014 showed that only one third (32.9 percent) of surveyed disagreed or strongly disagreed to the statement that *"When the mother works for pay, the children suffer".*

The situation with respect to gender equality in the EECA region may have been a major factor behind fertility trends in these countries. While women were usually paid equally to men for equal work, they faced increasing levels of discrimination at home and in the workplace, and were more likely to hold lower paid jobs.

6. Mortality

Several countries in Eastern Europe are characterized by very large differences between male and female life expectancies. The life expectancy gap in Georgia is also considerable, but not as large as in some other countries of the region. The following tables show life tables for men and women in the 2010-2014 period, based on deaths from the Civil Registry and population denominators obtained by backprojecting the population of the census.

These life tables confirm the relatively large difference between male (67.72 years) and female (76.54) life expectancies. Life tables and life expectancies were also computed for the 2002-2004 and 2005-2009 periods. The former shows a male life expectancy of 66.62 years and female life expectancy of 73.67 years; the values for the latter are 65.86 and 74.64 years, respectively. This indicates that mortality conditions have improved between both censuses, with a life expectancy increase of 1.10 years for men and 2.87 years for women, thereby widening the life expectancy gap, which was already substantial in 2002. In order to place these findings in perspective, the following table compares Georgia with neighbouring countries.

Table 6.1.A: Male life table for Georgia, 2010-2014 based on the numbers of deaths by age and the population denominators obtained in the backprojection model

Males	$_nm_x$	$_nq_x$	$_nd_x$	l_x	$_nL_x$	T_x	e_x
0	15.32	15.14	1,514	100,000	98,789	6,772,296	67.72
1	0.56	2.23	219	98,486	393,409	6,673,507	67.76
5	0.30	1.49	146	98,267	490,987	6,280,097	63.91
10	0.37	1.86	182	98,121	490,174	5,789,110	59.00
15	0.79	3.96	388	97,938	488,850	5,298,936	54.10
20	1.47	7.32	714	97,550	486,099	4,810,086	49.31
25	1.75	8.73	845	96,837	482,189	4,323,987	44.65
30	2.58	12.81	1,230	95,991	477,083	3,841,799	40.02
35	3.67	18.17	1,722	94,761	469,718	3,364,716	35.51
40	5.50	27.13	2,524	93,040	459,130	2,894,998	31.12
45	8.90	43.58	3,945	90,516	443,311	2,435,867	26.91
50	12.89	62.55	5,415	86,571	419,915	1,992,556	23.02
55	18.74	89.64	7,275	81,156	388,293	1,572,641	19.38
60	26.70	125.35	9,261	73,881	346,812	1,184,348	16.03
65	37.49	171.83	11,104	64,620	296,199	837,536	12.96
70	57.77	252.93	13,536	53,516	234,314	541,337	10.12
75	88.56	362.73	14,502	39,980	163,761	307,023	7.68
80	142.38	520.18	13,253	25,478	93,085	143,262	5.62
85	243.64	1000.00	12,225	12,225	50,177	50,177	4.10

Source: Backprojection statistics

Table 6.1.B: Female life table for Georgia, 2010-2014 based on the numbers of deaths by age and the population denominators obtained in the backprojection model

Females	$_nm_x$	$_nq_x$	$_nd_x$	l_x	$_nL_x$	T_x	e_x
0	11.91	11.80	1,180	100,000	99,056	7,652,568	76.53
1	0.47	1.89	187	98,820	394,799	7,553,513	76.44
5	0.24	1.20	119	98,633	492,841	7,158,714	72.58
10	0.21	1.05	103	98,515	492,337	6,665,873	67.66
15	0.30	1.49	147	98,411	491,709	6,173,536	62.73
20	0.35	1.73	170	98,265	490,885	5,681,826	57.82
25	0.49	2.46	241	98,095	489,876	5,190,941	52.92
30	0.75	3.76	368	97,854	488,453	4,701,065	48.04
35	1.05	5.26	513	97,487	486,222	4,212,612	43.21
40	1.66	8.26	801	96,974	483,006	3,726,390	38.43
45	2.67	13.27	1,276	96,173	477,864	3,243,384	33.72
50	4.20	20.82	1,976	94,897	469,950	2,765,520	29.14
55	6.62	32.60	3,029	92,921	457,650	2,295,570	24.70
60	10.49	51.18	4,601	89,892	438,647	1,837,919	20.45
65	17.14	82.46	7,033	85,291	410,278	1,399,273	16.41
70	31.54	146.98	11,503	78,257	364,659	988,995	12.64
75	59.41	260.30	17,376	66,755	292,468	624,336	9.35
80	108.07	426.00	21,035	49,379	194,642	331,868	6.72
85	206.55	1000.00	28,344	28,344	137,226	137,226	4.84

Source: Backprojection statistics

The symbols above the tables are standard life table functions. The most important are l_x, which indicates how many persons are still alive at age x, out of 100,000 born alive, and e_x, the average number of years that persons of age x can still expect to live. The function $_nq_x$ describes the probability (per 1,000) of dying during the next n years, after having survived to age x.

Table 6.2: Male and female life expectancies for Georgia and neighbouring countries, 2010-2014

Country	Male	Female
Armenia	70.64	77.03
Azerbaijan	68.58	74.55
Bulgaria	70.83	77.78
Georgia[11]	**68.47**	**76.97**
Rep. of Moldova	66.74	75.21
Romania	71.35	78.37
Russian Federation	64.66	75.92
Turkey	71.53	78.12
Ukraine	66.07	76.02

Source: UN Population Division, World Population Prospects, 2017 Revision

11 The UN figures include Abkhazia, Georgia and Tskhinvali Region/South Ossetia, Georgia and were obtained with a different methodology from the one used here.

As *Table 6.2* demonstrates, the estimates for Georgia of the UN Population Division are slightly higher than those based on the backprojection model. This may be due to the fact that mortality in the backprojection model was adjusted slightly upward. According to the UN Population Division, Georgia's mortality level is better than those of the Eastern European countries (Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, Ukraine) and not unlike that of Turkey. The mortality gap between the sexes (7.23 years) is moderately large, but not as large as in the Russian Federation or Ukraine. The gap estimates in this monograph (8.82 years) is slightly larger, but still smaller than the UNPD estimates for the Russian Federation and Ukraine.

7. Disability

The absolute number of women suffering from disabilities is larger than the number of men. The 2011 World Report on Disability (WHO/World Bank, 2011) indicates that the worldwide female disability prevalence rate is 19.2 percent whereas it is 12 percent for men. However, this does not mean that the prevalence of disabilities by age is necessarily greater in women. To a large extent, the greater number of disabilities in women is explained by the larger number of women at older ages and the fact that the age-specific prevalence of most disabilities increases sharply with age. *Figure 7.1*.A shows the prevalence of severe or total lack of vision in men and women and in urban and rural areas by age. As can be seen, once age is controlled, the differences between men and women are very small.

The *Figures 7.1.A-F* show the urban-rural difference in impairments. In seeing and hearing, the percentage of impaired is higher in rural compared to urban settlements for both sexes, and in communication and self-care it is higher among rural women, but it does not differ by settlement type among men. In the case of remembering, the situation is worse for men and women living in urban areas.

With respect to the consequences of particular disabilities for the lives of men and women, two issues were investigated in some detail. One concerns the school attendance of boys and girls aged 6-15 years. The UN Convention on Persons with Disabilities postulates that persons with disabilities should be able to live independently and participate fully in society (Articles 3). According to the Ombudsman's report) the rights of PWDs in Georgia are problematic (Ombudsman's Office, 2015). Inclusion and the right for independent living can only be realized through access to education, employment, services and information, leisure and possibilities of having family. Article 24 of the Convention postulates that persons with disabilities should not be excluded from general education system on the basis of disability and that they should be able to access tertiary education, vocational training, adult and lifelong learning on an equal basis with others.

In Georgia, a programme of inclusive education operates since 2006. Nowadays all schools are obliged to accept children with disabilities. Besides there are 9 integrated classes in public schools for children with combination of different impairments, with hearing impairments, autistic children and leukemia patients. Since 2012 8 special schools are operating for the children with mental problems, for those with impaired sight, with impaired hearing and for children with behavior and emotional disorders. In 2015 in special schools studied 449 children (The all-inclusive report of the government of Georgia, in accordance with Article 35 of the UN Convention).

In the 2014-2015 school year 4,927 (37.4 percent of girls and 62.6 percent of boys) and in the 2015-2016 years 4,277 (36.8 percent of girls and 63.2 percent of boys) children with disabilities attended schools. Only a very small fraction of disabled children managed to graduate (79 in 2014-2015 and 92 in 2015-2016 school years). Boys outnumber girls both in school attendance and school graduation ratios, although the difference is smaller among graduates (46.8 percent of girls and 53.2 percent of boys) in 2014-2015 and (43.5 percent of girls and 56.5 percent of boys). Physical access to educational institutions is identified as a serious impediment for father pursuing education. In the 2014-2015 school year only 426 people with disabilities were enlisted in vocational institutions. In 2016 only 67 persons with disabilities became University students (Women with Disabilities, 2016).

According to the census, there is a clear tendency for children with serious disabilities (severe impairment or total inability to see, hear, walk, etc.) to attend school in smaller numbers than their peers without such disabilities. Non-attendance

among children without disability is only 0.7-1.4 percent, depending on sex and area of residence. As *Table 7.1* demonstrates, the percentages among children with disabilities are considerably higher than that, particularly for those that have difficulties communicating, remembering or concentrating. However, the differences between boys and girls are relatively minor. Girls seem to do slightly better than boys in case they have a sight impairment, but boys do slightly better in the case of hearing problems, at least in urban areas. Girls with problems in walking or climbing steps, remembering or concentrating or self-care do considerably worse in urban settings, but – somewhat unexpectedly – the relation is the opposite in rural areas. Girls with communication problems also do worse in urban areas, but in rural areas the difference is much smaller. All in all, the comparison tends to favor boys over girls, but the differences are not large and not always consistent across area of residence categories.

When these same numbers are broken down by region, clearly Tbilisi and, to a lesser extent, Adjara display a more favorable situation than the other regions. Guria, Kakheti and Kvemo Kartli have more unfavorable indicators. This would seem to be related to the better infra-structure for children with disabilities in Tbilisi and Adjara. In some of the remaining regions, the situation is somewhat contradictory. In Imereti, for example, the situation of boys with disabilities is better than the national average, but the situation of girls with disabilities is worse. In Samtskhe-Javakheti the opposite is the

Table 7.1: Percentages of boys and girls aged 6-15 with specific disabilities (a lot of difficulty or cannot do at all) who are not attending school, by area of residence

Type of Disability	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Seeing limitation	5.0	3.6	9.5	7.8	6.6	4.9
Hearing limitation	9.2	10.6	20.3	20.1	13.9	15.1
Walking or climbing steps limitation	13.8	19.6	25.7	22.0	19.3	20.7
Remembering/concentrating limitation	23.5	26.7	29.9	27.7	26.6	27.2
Communicating limitation	21.8	29.9	30.5	31.3	25.9	30.5
Self-care limitation	17.3	22.0	26.2	23.5	21.3	22.7

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Table 7.2: Percentages of boys and girls aged 6-15 with specific disabilities (a lot of difficulty or cannot do at all) who are not attending school, for the Tbilisi (low impact) and Guria (high impact) regions

Type of Disability	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Seeing limitation	2.8	2.3	17.6	9.1	6.6	4.9
Hearing limitation	9.1	12.1	30.8	21.4	13.9	15.1
Walking or climbing steps limitation	9.1	15.4	28.9	31.4	19.3	20.7
Remembering/concentrating limitation	20.3	20.8	40.0	31.3	26.6	27.2
Communicating limitation	15.4	24.8	42.3	33.3	25.9	30.5
Self-care limitation	13.6	18.1	27.9	25.6	21.3	22.7

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Figure 7.1.A-F: Percentage of men and women with a lot of difficulty or total impossibility (cannot do at all) to perform certain functions by age and area of residence

Figure 7.1.A: Seeing

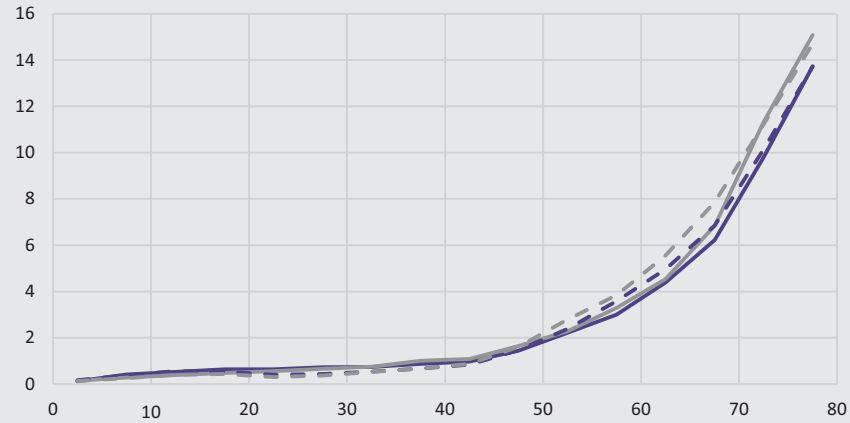


Figure 7.1.B: Hearing

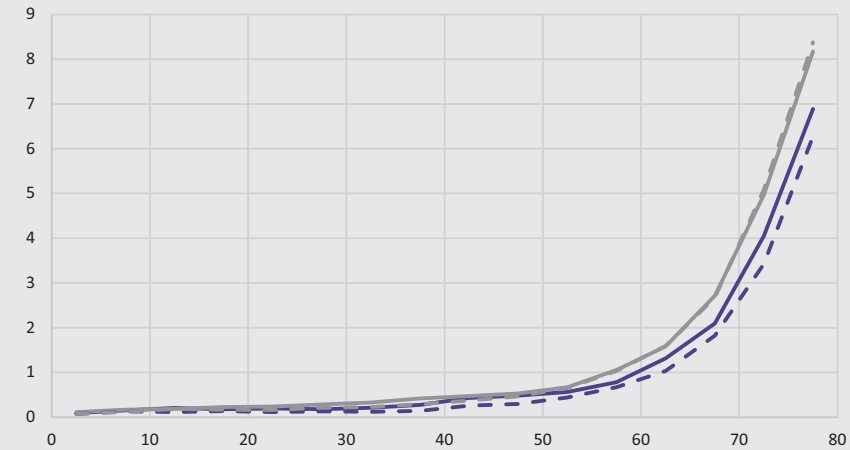


Figure 7.1.C: Walking / Climbing Stairs

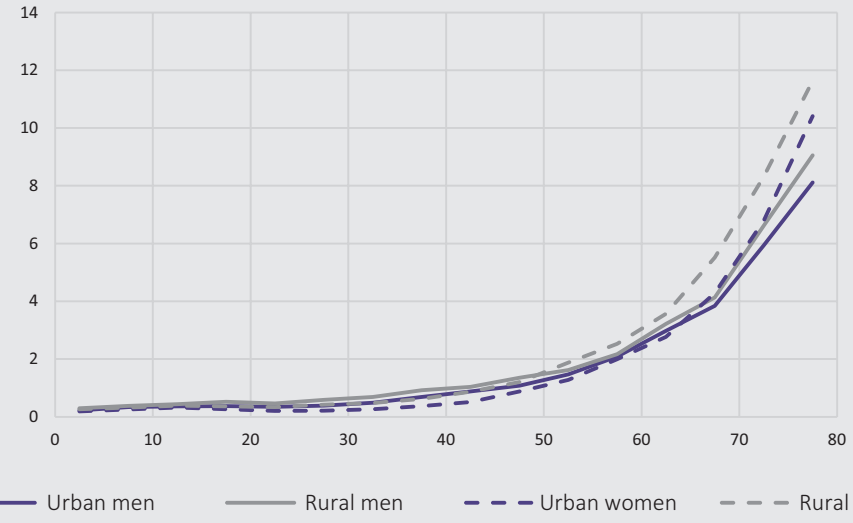


Figure 7.1.D: Remembering / Concentrating

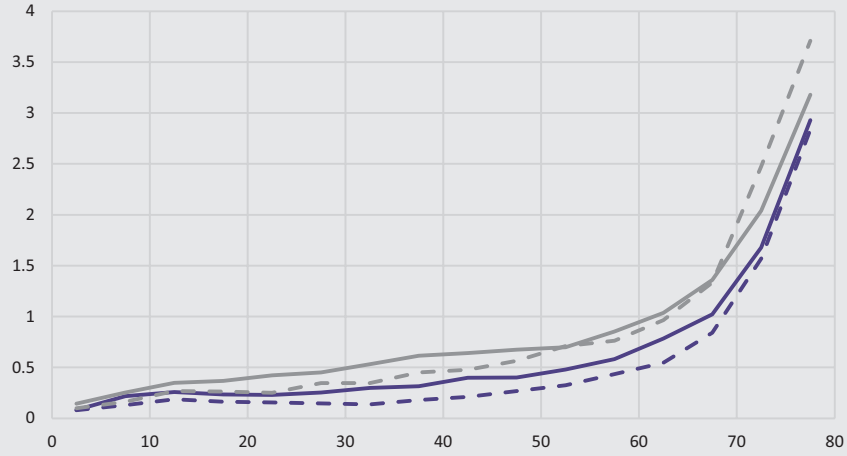


Figure 7.1.E: Communicating

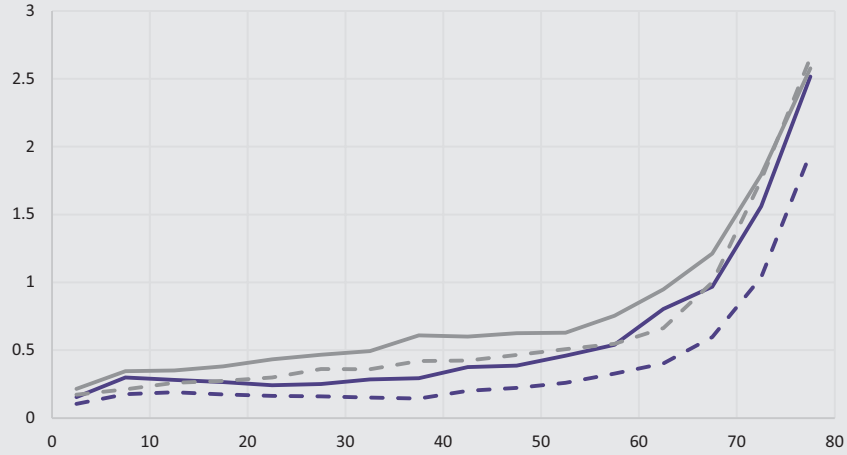
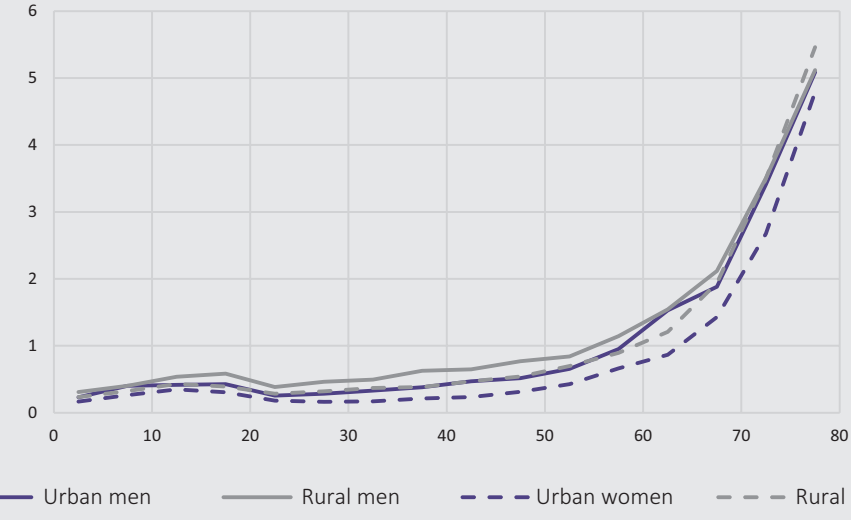


Figure 7.1.F: Self-Care



Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Table 7.3: Percentages men and women aged 25-44 with specific disabilities who are not married, by area of residence

Type of Disability	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Seeing limitation	37.9	29.6	41.3	31.4	39.3	30.3
Hearing limitation	43.1	43.4	54.0	49.2	48.6	46.5
Walking or climbing steps limitation	47.7	56.1	52.5	51.7	50.1	53.8
Remembering/concentrating limitation	76.6	77.9	77.7	71.9	77.2	74.3
Communicating limitation	75.0	79.2	76.9	76.1	76.1	77.3
Self-care limitation	70.7	80.5	72.0	73.4	71.4	76.6

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

case. It is probably wise not to read too much into these kinds of anomalies as they may be related to data quality and small numbers of cases rather than to actual differences in the treatment of boys and girls.

Similarly, the proportion of men and women aged 25-44 years who are not married is considerably higher for those with a disability than for those without a disability. The latter varies between 15 percent and 30 percent, depending on sex and area of residence. But as the *Table 7.3* demonstrates, the percentages for men and women with disabilities are much higher, especially if their disability is related to remembering, concentration, communication or being able to care for themselves. Men with a sight impairment apparently have greater difficulty finding a partner than women with this problem. A hearing problem also constitutes a greater problem for rural, but not for urban men. Limitations in walking or climbing steps are more of a disadvantage for urban women than for urban men, but – again, against expectations – this does not seem to be the case in rural areas. The same holds for communication problems. Problems in remembering or concentrating affect rural men more than rural women, but in urban areas there is no clear difference. Self-care limitations are a greater problem for women than for men in urban areas, but in rural areas the difference is rather small. All in all, the gender differential in difficulties that men and women with specific disabilities encounter in finding a spouse does not seem to follow any clear trend. However, apparently, it is much easier to find partners for both men and women having sensory and mobility limitations than for those having problems with cognitive functions and self-care.

The main document regulating rights of persons with disabilities is the "Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities" (UNCRPD) adopted on 13/12/2006 by the UN and ratified in Georgia in April 2014. The Convention defines disability as including: *"those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others."*

In Georgia, there are four legal categories of disabilities: persons with clearly, significantly and moderately expressed disabilities and children with disabilities. The biggest share comes on persons with a considerably expressed disabilities who constitute 60.8 percent of all the disabled. In the census 26,784 persons were recorded as having a disability status of the first, most severe level. Another 58,255 were recorded as having a disability of the second level, 9,902 of the third level, and 5,172 were recorded as children with a disability. This compares with 25,532, 76,047, 13,747 and 9,696, respectively, as registered by the Agency for Social Services. According to the census, the percentages of women in these different categories were 46.7 percent, 49.6 percent, 45.0 percent and 40.0 percent, respectively. The fact that women are slightly in the minority is surprising because the highest incidence of disabilities is at older ages, where women are clearly a majority. What this suggests is that maybe some disabilities of women are not officially classified as such,

in cases where they do not involve the loss of income-earning potential, whereas disabilities of male breadwinners are more likely to be officially recognized. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that 69.4 percent of officially recognized male disabilities and 58.4 percent of officially recognized female disabilities fall in the 25-64 year age group, i.e. the ages of highest economic activity, whereas relatively few cases fall in the 65+ age category where the incidence of disabling conditions is known to be highest.

Article 27 of the Convention points that State Parties recognize the right of persons with disabilities to work on an equal basis with others. Moreover, the State has the responsibility to employ persons with disabilities in public sector and to stimulate private sector to employ them.

Table 7.4: Persons with officially recognized disability status according to sex and regions

	Total	None	Clearly expressed	Significantly expressed	Moderately expressed	Child with disability	Refused answer	Not stated
Male								
Tbilisi	502,890	478,702	3,298	6,609	1,208	847	595	11,631
Adjara	162,928	153,861	1,353	2,262	489	321	343	4,299
Guria	54,660	51,073	559	1,138	189	139	332	1,230
Imereti	258,598	244,148	2,692	5,990	1,009	446	63	4,250
Kakheti	156,154	148,142	1,427	2,925	514	286	380	2,480
Mtskheta-Mtianeti	47,645	44,500	416	885	168	57	197	1,422
Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo Svaneti	15,584	14,428	234	558	95	22	16	231
Samegrelo & Zemo Svaneti	159,070	150,730	1,360	2,918	521	282	101	3,158
Samtskhe-Javkheti	78,521	75,164	605	1,244	264	107	44	1,093
Kvemo Kartli	208,532	198,770	1,152	2,049	484	337	965	4,775
Shida Kartli	128,282	121,100	1,182	2,771	501	257	32	2,439
Georgia	**1,772,864**	**1,680,618**	**14,278**	**29,349**	**5,442**	**3,101**	**3,068**	**37,008**
Female								
Tbilisi	605,827	580,111	3,157	6,850	979	563	626	13,541
Adjara	171,025	161,505	1,162	2,583	574	245	350	4,606
Guria	58,690	55,075	485	1,199	138	86	346	1,361
Imereti	275,308	261,300	2,409	5,846	699	333	62	4,659
Kakheti	162,429	155,254	1,067	2,636	364	164	389	2,555
Mtskheta-Mtianeti	46,928	44,925	306	807	111	45	18	716
Racha-Lechkhumi & Kvemo Svaneti	16,505	15,293	228	623	84	17	15	245
Samegrelo & Zemo Svaneti	171,691	163,386	1,186	2,876	510	171	100	3,462
Samtskhe-Javkheti	81,983	78,886	516	1,057	276	74	33	1,141
Kvemo Kartli	215,454	206,715	986	1,969	400	217	340	4,827
Shida Kartli	135,100	128,574	1,004	2,460	325	156	35	2,546
Georgia	**1,940,940**	**1,851,024**	**12,506**	**28,906**	**4,460**	**2,071**	**2,314**	**39,659**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

The positive effect of employment on the lives of persons with disabilities is difficult to overestimate. As noted by persons with disabilities, employment next to material benefits, serves as an escape from isolation, possibility to be in society, breeds feeling of satisfaction and self-assurance, increases self-esteem, has a therapeutic effect on health, makes possible career advance, promotes friendships and increases social capital (Sumbadze et al., 2015). Only a very small portion of persons with disabilities is currently employed. In 2015 among 53,109 public servants only 112 (0.2 percent) were persons with disabilities (Report of Public Bureau of year 2015). The situation is not much better in the private sector. In February of 2016, 1,689 persons with disabilities were registered in the information system of the Labour Market Management, of whom only 21 were hired (Ombudsman's Office, 2015).

Article 30 of the Convention speaks to the right of participation in cultural life, recreation, leisure and sport. All these possibilities are very limited in Georgia. TV stations do not provide translation into sign language or subtitles for persons with hearing impairment, the only exception being some programmes on Public Broadcasting. There are no media products adapted for persons with visual impairment (Ombudsmen's Report, 2015). Museums, theatres, concert halls, stadiums, touristic sites or sports facilities are rarely adapted to the needs of persons with disabilities.

8. Education

The issue of educational differences between men and women was already discussed in the context of the characteristics of marital couples, where it was noted that many highly-educated women in Georgia do not marry and that a relatively high percentage of Georgian women who do have a higher educational level than their partners. Obviously, these differences do not only reflect certain patterns in the choice of a partner, but they reflect the fact that the educational levels of women in Georgia in general (regardless of marital status) are higher than those of men. This is true up to age 55 in rural areas and up to age 60 in urban areas, showing that this advantage of female over male education has a long history in Georgia going back as far as the 1960s. As for the younger generation, of men and women aged 25-34 years, *Table 8.1* shows the distribution by educational levels and urban and rural residence.

In the beginning of XIX century the main mission of women's movements in Georgia was women's education and their professional development. Next to the home-based women's schools in small towns and villages a number of boarding schools for women began to operate in almost all regional centers of the country. The main benefit of women's education was seen in educating their own children (Khomeriki & Javakhishvili, 2005).

The same idea is reflected in an essay of famous poet of that time Vaza-Pshavela, who wrote: *"The mother's role is decisive for the future of children, therefore its necessary for every mother to be educated and developed, to plant the seeds of kindness at home and in public…, as she is capable to ruin the nation or rebuild it"* (Vazha-Pshavela). In 1872, the first group of eight Georgian women went to Switzerland for obtaining University education (Khomerili & Javakhishvili, 2005).

The *Table 8.1* clearly shows that women have higher percentages of university and professional education, both in urban and rural areas, and that their percentages of completed general (secondary) education or less are lower than those of men. Geostat (2015: 30) also shows that female graduates outnumber male graduates in most scientific fields, except for engineering, manufacturing and construction and of services, but including science and agriculture. Women also predominate among the teaching staff (Geostat, 2015: 26), except at the rank of full professor, where two thirds of the professionals are still male.

Table 8.1: Percentage distribution of levels of completed education of the population aged 25-34 years by sex and area of residence

Level of Education	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Doctorate or equivalent	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3
Master's or equivalent	15.2	18.7	4.5	5.9	10.7	14.0
Bachelor's or equivalent	32.4	35.6	15.0	17.2	25.1	28.9
Professional based on secondary	7.7	11.0	6.5	11.3	7.2	11.1
Professional based on general	3.4	4.1	2.6	3.6	3.0	3.9
Professional based on primary	2.0	2.5	2.2	3.4	2.0	2.8
Complete general (secondary)	33.6	23.6	54.0	44.3	42.2	31.2
Basic general	2.9	2.0	10.2	9.1	5.9	4.6
Primary level of general	0.5	0.4	2.0	2.3	1.1	1.1
No primary but literate	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.3
Illiterate	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.3
Not stated	1.7	1.4	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.5

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

9. Ability to Speak Georgian

One of the relevant components of the position of minority women in Georgia is their ability to speak Georgian, as a way to be independent in their day-to-day interactions with the Georgian-speaking environment. Knowledge of the official state language is a prerequisite for obtaining tertiary education. Inability to speak Georgian largely determines the lower educational attainment of the ethnic minorities, especially those living in secluded areas. Only 5.1 percent of Azeri and 12.9 percent of Armenian youth (ages 15-29) have university education, compared to 23.4 percent of Georgian youth. Minorities can take United National Exam in skills in the Abkhaz, Armenian, Azeri, Ossetian or Russian language and in case of passing it can be enlisted at University with a precondition of graduating one year course in Georgian. But the numbers of those who passed the language exam are very small. In 2014, only 351 and in 2015 443 minority students were as a result enlisted at universities. Knowledge of Georgian is also necessary for judges and notaries to pass their professional exams.

In general, women from ethnic minorities in Georgia are less able to speak Georgian than men from these minorities (native speakers of Abkhazian, Ossetian, Azerbaijani, Russian, Armenian and other foreign languages). The percentage among these groups who can communicate in Georgian is 40.9 percent for men and 39.6 percent for women. This is a relatively small difference, of course. The differences are larger when analyzed in terms of specific native languages and areas of residence, as shown in *Table 9.1.*

The *Table 9.1* shows that Georgian language skills are, in fact, higher among women than among men in the case of "other" native language groups. But among the more traditional minority groups in Georgia the opposite is true. The ability to speak Georgian is lowest among the Azerbaijanis and in this group women are clearly at a disadvantage, especially in the rural areas. The female disadvantage also exists in the other native language categories, except for Russian. In urban areas, fewer women who are native speakers of Russian know Georgian than men from the same group, but in the rural areas the opposite is true.

One would expect the differences to be more pronounced among men and women with relatively low education. *Table 9.2* reproduces the same figures as the *Table 9.1*, but only for the population with primary education or less.

On the whole, these figures are not very different from the ones in *Table 9.1* and in some cases knowledge of Georgian is actually slightly *higher* among persons with relatively low education. In other cases, such as the Azerbaijani community, the results go in the expected direction, with sex differences that are more pronounced for the low education group than for the Azerbaijani minority in general. Azerbaijani women with primary education or less in rural areas are less than half as likely to speak Georgian as men in the same conditions.

Table 9.1: Percentages of non-native speakers who speak Georgian, by native language, sex and area of residence

Native Language	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Abkhazian	97.6	87.6	100.0	91.3	97.8	88.3
Ossetian	98.3	97.6	99.0	98.0	98.8	97.9
Azerbaijani	48.9	40.0	21.6	12.2	26.4	17.2
Russian	85.3	76.4	61.2	67.0	82.4	75.2
Armenian	78.9	76.9	24.0	20.5	47.4	46.4
Other	71.2	76.6	72.0	80.0	71.5	77.8
All languages other than Georgian	**71.0**	**69.3**	**25.7**	**20.0**	**40.9**	**39.6**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Table 9.2: Percentages of non-native speakers with primary education or less who speak Georgian, by native language, sex and area of residence

Native Language	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Abkhazian	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ossetian	100.0	98.7	96.2	92.6	96.7	93.9
Azerbaijani	45.5	31.7	23.2	10.4	25.8	12.8
Russian	70.4	56.0	47.8	47.2	63.9	53.2
Armenian	72.7	64.9	25.8	16.0	40.7	29.5
Other	72.3	73.7	69.3	60.6	70.9	67.5
All languages other than Georgian	**62.1**	**51.7**	**26.7**	**14.9**	**33.8**	**21.8**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

10. Sources of Livelihood

The three main sources of livelihood for both men and women in Georgia are income from work, pensions, and dependence on the income of others. In addition, some people depend on income from property, savings, scholarships, social assistance, other types of government assistance, and remittances, but these are statistically less important. *Figure 10.1* shows the age profile of men and women with respect to each of the three main sources of livelihood.

One major difference between the male and female curves in *Figure 10.1* is the lower incidence of work as a major source of livelihood among women in all age categories. This difference does not apply so much to wage employment. There is relatively little difference between the number of men (356,865) and women (327,733) that declare wage employment as their primary source of livelihood. In urban areas, the difference is even smaller: 258,703 and 253,519. There are, however, major differences in the other categories of work, especially income from individual economic activities and from the revenues of peasant farm activities. A total of 95,453 men declared individual economic activities, whereas only 35,511 women did so. The difference is particularly pronounced in the rural areas: 36,042 compared to 9,915, respectively. On the other hand, 244,252 men declared peasant farming as their main source of livelihood, compared to 175,377 women. The latter figure is probably biased downward as it is likely that farm women spend at least part of their time helping on the farm, even if this is not their main activity. Women and men according to the gender assessment in agriculture (UN Women, 2016) are equally involved in farming, with men spending 98.1 and women 84.3 days per year in the crops value chain, while men spend 165.8 and women 259.9 days in the animal husbandry value chain.

Finally, there are fewer women (23,313) running their own enterprise than there are men (32,865).

It should be noted that, even during peak economic activity ages (30-59), about a third of men do not rely primarily on income from work for their livelihood. About 15-20 percent are maintained by others, presumably their working partners, and another 15-20 percent are dependent on different kinds of government assistance.

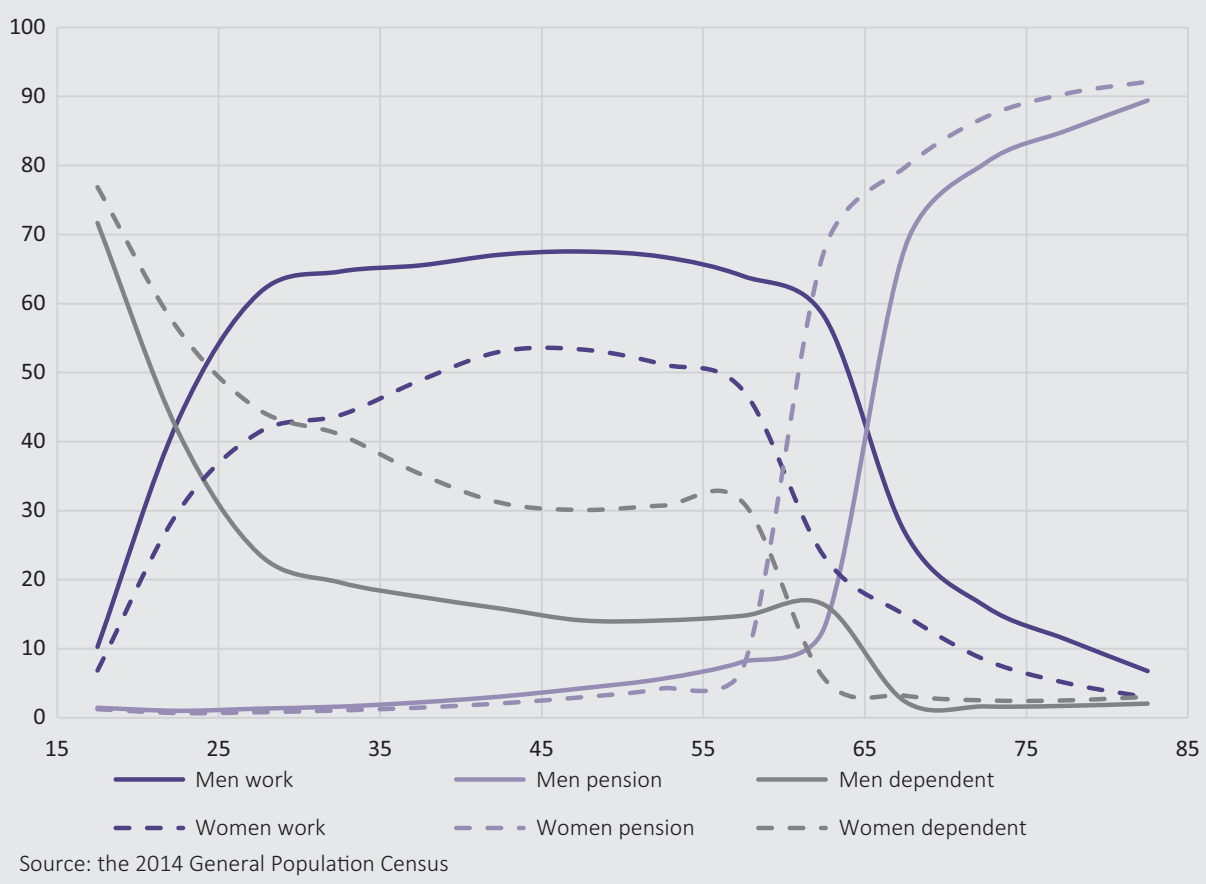
In terms of absolute numbers, women over age 15 who depend on pensions as their primary livelihood (397,053) greatly outnumber men in the same situation (205,456). There are three reasons for this large difference:

1. Women live longer than men and hence there are many more older women than older men;
2. The legal retirement age of women is 5 years earlier (60) than that of men (65); and
3. More men than women continue working after they have reached the legal retirement age. Given the low level of pensions, which only recently exceeded minimum subsistence levels, it seems likely that in many cases work continues their primary livelihood.

Figure 10.1 clearly shows the effect of the 5-year difference between male and female retirement and the fact that even after the legal retirement age of men they continue to have a slightly lower dependence on pensions, resulting in a 3-12 percent gap between both curves after age 65.

An interesting feature of *Figure 10.1* is the sharp dip in the percentage of both men and women who depend on others for their livelihoods that coincides with the time when they reach retirement age. This demonstrates that the retirement pension is in fact, an important mechanism in allowing older people to attain a degree of financial independence, even if prior to their retirement, they were financially dependent

Figure 10.1: Main sources of livelihood (work, pension, dependence on others) for men and women in Georgia, by age



Source: the 2014 General Population Census

on other people. The graph also shows that between the ages of 30 and 60 the percentage of women financially dependent on others is about twice that of men, but in the age group of 60-64 the female percentage briefly dips below the male percentage, after which both become close to zero.

Social assistance benefits men (60,360) and women (69,600) about equally, whereas other types of social protection benefit men (25,877) slightly more than women (19,810). The total number of persons who are primarily dependent on foreign remittances is surprisingly low (34,053) and only slightly higher for women (18,604) than for men (15,449). This does not necessarily mean that foreign remittances are unimportant, just that the recipients do not depend on them exclusively but generally also have other sources of livelihood. It can also mean that much of the remittances are transferred outside formal channels.

11. Economic Activity

As was noted in the section on education, women in Georgia have an advantage over men in terms of their educational attainment. *Table 11.1* breaks down how this advantage affects men and women in the labour force. It also shows the distribution of men and women by employment status. It was already noted in the previous section that women have a lower economic activity rate than men. According to *Table 11.1*, 46.1 percent of urban women and 34.3 percent of rural women over the age of 15 are not economically active, compared to 30.1 percent of urban and 15.2 percent of rural men. Unemployment, on the other hand, is about the same for both sexes: slightly higher for men than for women in urban areas and the opposite in rural areas. The other main differences are in the categories of employers and self-employed, where men form a clear majority, and in the category of contributing family workers, of whom two thirds are women, especially in the rural areas.

With regard to educational achievement, it is impressive to note that 64.4 percent of male and 75.6 percent of female urban hired workers have higher education.[12] The same goes for 71.1 percent of male and 71.7 percent of female urban employers. The fact that the percentages in other categories of employment status are lower bears witness to the fact that the urban job market is competitive and that having higher education is a significant factor in securing a job, possibly more so for women than for men. Contributing family members generally have the lowest educational level, but even in this category 31.7 percent of urban men and 32.4 percent of urban women have higher education. In rural areas, all of these proportions are lower. The other feature of *Table 11.1* that stands out is the fact that in almost all categories women have higher educational achievement than men. The only exception are self-employed persons on their own peasant farm and rural employers. Even economically inactive urban women have about the same proportion of higher education as self-employed men. Comparing younger members of the labour force (ages 25-39) to older ones (ages 55-64), one notes that this difference has been increasing over time. Among hired urban workers aged 55-64, the sex difference is 6.9 percent, but among workers aged 25-39 it is 11.2 percent. Among older members of the labour force there are also more categories where males have an educational advantage over females.

Table 11.2 shows the sex ratios of workers in different occupational categories. This allows identifying typical male-dominated or female-dominated occupations. The former include particularly the armed forces; legislators and senior officials; general managers; and physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals or associate professionals. Typical female occupational categories are life science and health professionals or technicians; teaching professionals or associate professionals; and office or customer services clerks.

The sex ratios of the male-dominated occupations are generally less extreme in the case of the work force with higher education. For example, extraction and building trades workers have a sex ratio of 59.36 males per female, but among those with higher education the sex ratio is 40.92. As women in Georgia generally have an educational advantage over men, the few women that work in such male-dominated occupations tend to perform tasks that require a more advanced education, such as administrative functions. Whether this also translates into a hierarchical advantage (e.g. more women in direction or supervision) cannot be ascertained from these data and it should not

12 This includes post-secondary professional education. The inclusion of this sub-category tends to widen the educational gap by sex because it includes many careers that attract more women than men. If higher education is defined without this sub-category, the difference between men and women narrows, but it continues to be favourable to women.

Table 11.1: Distribution of men and women by employment status and percentage in each category who have higher education, by urban or rural residence

Employment Status	Urban				Rural			
	Distribution		% Higher Education		Distribution		% Higher Education	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population 15+ years of age	**100**	**100**	**48.2**	**54.2**	**100**	**100**	**24.6**	**27.6**
Hired	36.3	28.6	64.4	75.6	17.9	12.8	41.3	65.4
Employer (entrepreneur/farmer w hired workers)	2.1	0.7	71.1	71.7	0.4	0.1	47.5	45.1
Self-employed (except peasant farms)	6.7	2.4	44.0	55.1	4.5	1.4	23.7	34.1
Self-employed in their own peasant farm	5.6	3.4	38.4	35.7	53.4	38.6	23.4	22.3
Contributing family worker	0.1	0.3	31.7	32.4	2.3	4.9	17.2	22.5
Unemployed	15.2	14.7	43.8	54.1	3.9	4.5	22.7	36.2
Not economically active	30.1	46.1	34.7	43.4	15.2	34.3	12.2	19.5
Not stated	3.8	3.9	27.1	37.8	2.6	3.4	14.0	20.4
25-39 population	**100**	**100**	**55.7**	**65.7**	**100**	**100**	**25.8**	**34.4**
Hired	50.2	39.6	67.6	80.9	25.2	18.7	41.4	68.2
Employer (entrepreneur/farmer w hired workers)	2.2	0.7	68.3	73.8	0.5	0.1	42.3	49.1
Self-employed (except peasant farms)	7.5	2.2	40.3	56.9	6.7	1.8	21.3	33.2
Self-employed in their own peasant farm	2.6	1.5	31.2	33.0	40.5	28.7	19.7	21.7
Contributing family worker	0.2	0.3	33.6	31.9	3.9	6.2	19.7	23.4
Unemployed	17.7	20.5	49.1	61.3	6.5	8.4	28.1	42.0
Not economically active	15.9	32.1	42.3	54.5	13.3	32.2	19.2	27.2
Not stated	3.7	3.2	25.6	40.1	3.4	3.8	18.1	25.0
55-64 population	**100**	**100**	**57.2**	**57.8**	**100**	**100**	**31.9**	**31.0**
Hired	36.1	27.5	66.9	73.8	18.6	13.6	47.1	65.5
Employer (entrepreneur/farmer w hired workers)	2.7	0.8	75.5	70.0	0.5	0.1	57.0	44.4
Self-employed (except peasant farms)	8.6	3.3	49.4	52.7	3.9	1.6	31.1	35.2
Self-employed in their own peasant farm	9.4	4.9	44.1	39.5	70.6	47.4	28.2	25.4
Contributing family worker	0.1	0.3	41.3	37.4	0.6	5.2	27.2	25.8
Unemployed	13.2	10.6	57.5	59.3	0.8	2.0	34.8	36.4
Not economically active	26.6	47.9	51.8	52.1	4.4	27.0	26.5	24.5
Not stated	3.3	4.7	35.8	41.4	0.7	3.1	23.0	23.3

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Table 11.2: Sex ratios in different occupational categories by age group and educational stratum (all workers and workers with higher education)

Occupational Categories	Population Over 15		Population 25-39		Population 55-64	
	All	High	All	High	All	High
Total employed population	**1.24**	**1.03**	**1.40**	**1.06**	**1.20**	**1.10**
Armed forces	13.82	8.82	19.79	13.21	5.58	5.82
Legislators and senior officials	4.46	4.22	3.09	2.85	5.73	5.97
Corporate managers	1.47	1.42	1.33	1.27	1.77	1.76
General managers	1.76	1.75	1.56	1.51	2.42	2.69
Physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals	2.68	2.59	2.94	2.79	3.01	3.05
Life science and health professionals	0.23	0.24	0.22	0.23	0.25	0.27
Teaching professionals	0.17	0.17	0.13	0.12	0.21	0.21
Other professionals	0.68	0.66	0.79	0.75	0.56	0.57
Physical and engineering science associate professionals	3.40	3.25	3.59	3.40	3.83	3.86
Life science technicians and related associate professionals	0.21	0.20	0.23	0.20	0.24	0.25
Teaching associate professionals	0.14	0.15	0.09	0.10	0.24	0.31
Other associate professionals	1.79	1.52	1.91	1.62	1.81	1.76
Office clerks	0.82	0.74	0.81	0.71	1.03	1.01
Customer services clerks	0.26	0.24	0.24	0.22	0.41	0.42
Personal and protective services workers	0.98	1.00	1.36	1.48	0.58	0.63
Models, salespersons and demonstrators	0.78	0.72	0.95	0.76	0.69	0.77
Market-oriented skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1.28	1.34	1.51	1.54	1.21	1.40
Subsistence agricultural and fishery workers	1.24	1.30	1.43	1.28	1.24	1.38
Extraction and building trades workers	59.36	40.92	78.36	47.44	47.48	44.69
Metal, machinery and related trades workers	128.56	98.90	270.54	178.83	86.45	77.71
Precision, handicraft, printing and related trades workers	2.65	2.03	3.05	2.14	2.67	2.36
Other craft and related workers	0.79	0.59	1.16	0.95	0.56	0.51
Stationary-plant and related operators	7.32	7.13	15.49	11.73	5.36	6.52
Machine operators and assemblers	2.59	2.10	4.29	3.06	1.67	1.97
Drivers and mobile-plant operators	181.91	178.77	298.10	255.62	149.01	152.90
Sales and services elementary occupations	0.72	0.73	1.02	1.09	0.63	0.73
Agricultural, fishery and related labourers	2.47	1.93	3.70	2.98	1.69	1.74
Labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transports	14.97	10.84	19.94	13.13	12.28	9.67
Not stated	1.80	1.44	2.41	1.69	1.27	1.28

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

be assumed that this is the case. Unfortunately, the census does not contain a question that directly addresses the issue of hierarchical position within occupations, nor is there any information on salary levels.

The sex ratios also vary somewhat by age category, i.e. between younger workers (ages 25-39) and older workers (ages 55-64). In the case of the armed forces, for example, the sex ratios among older workers are less extreme than among younger workers. This is to be expected, as older members of the armed forces are more likely to be found in administrative functions, where women tend to have an advantage. An interesting question for investigation is whether the dominance of one sex over the other in particular occupational categories is less pronounced in the younger generations than in the older ones and if this is a sign of changing cultural norms. There is some indication of that in certain categories, such as legislators and senior officials, where the sex imbalance among 25-39 year olds is less extreme than among 55-64 year olds. Something similar happens among "other" craft and related workers, where the younger generation has more male workers in a typically female-dominated occupational category. But in general, there is no consistent trend towards a greater occupational sex-balance and in some occupations, such as teaching and health occupations the sex imbalance is actual greater among younger workers than among the older ones. One should be careful, however, in concluding that social norms are not changing because there may be other explanations. For example, it is possible that women in teaching and health occupations have a stronger tendency than men to withdraw from these occupations as they grow older.

Although the census does not provide any direct information on incomes, it is known from other sources that women generate less income than men. In 2014, the nominal average monthly salary of women was 618 GEL, whereas men earned 980 GEL (Geostat, 2015). Men and women have the same salaries on similar positions at least in state institutions and enterprises, but women are more often found in lower positions. Another factor contributing to the lower income of females is gender imbalance in different occupational spheres, which is largely determined by gender stereotypes, defining many occupations as suitable for males or females. Different motivations and sources of satisfaction sought in employment can be considered as a contributing factor of gendered occupational choices. Men value the material side of work more, while women seek the possibility for self-realization. 45.7 percent of surveyed women and 34.0 percent men considered work mainly as an opportunity for self-realization, while 65.4 percent men and 49.0 percent women as source for livelihood (Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Affairs, 2016). Another reason for the imbalance is the necessity of combining work and family duties that women face. This prompts women to seek jobs with more flexible work hours, such as teaching jobs. Due to above mentioned considerations women end up in lower paid occupations, as teachers and clerks. Occupations dominated by males include drivers and mobile-plant operators; metal, machinery and related trades workers; extraction and building trades workers; labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transports, as well as the armed forces. Female-dominated occupations include teaching; life sciences and health professions; customer services and clerks; office clerks, and models, sales persons and demonstrators.

12. Migration

Much of the information in this section is based on the findings of the Georgia State Commission on Migration Issues, in its *2015 Migration Profile of Georgia*. This document considers several sources of information, but only a few data from the 2014 Population Census were available at the time of its publication, so the present section will supplement it with some additional data, based on the results of the census.

The *Table 12.1* shows border crossings by sex and citizenship for persons who left the country or stayed in the country for a period of more than 6 months.

women predominate among emigrants over age 50 and immigrants over age 55. This should not be a surprise as these are age groups in which the number of women in the general population significantly exceeds the number of men. The State Commission on Migration Issues also informs that in November of 2015, according to the Federal Migration Service of Russia (the main destination of Georgian emigrants), there were 26,371 male and 17,391 female migrants from Georgia residing in the Russian Federation, confirming the same pattern of male predominance by a proportion of about 3 to 2. The report notes that among

Table 12.1: Emigrants and immigrants by citizenship in 2014, according to data from the Ministry of the Interior

Citizenship	Emigrants			Immigrants		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Georgia	69,855	40,221	29,634	49,706	29,047	20,659
Russian Fed.	5,424	3,065	2,359	9,692	5,224	4,468
Turkey	2,395	1,785	610	4,672	3,617	1,055
Armenia	2,821	1,684	1,137	3,856	2,313	1,543
Azerbaijan	1,254	697	557	2,163	1,175	988
Ukraine	762	419	343	1,552	757	795
Iraq	333	261	72	1,777	1,491	286
USA	690	436	254	883	537	346
Greece	371	211	160	997	545	452
Iran	392	284	108	825	575	250
Other countries	4,338	2,748	1,590	5,923	3,586	2,337
Missing	69	47	22	115	71	44
Total	**88,704**	**51,858**	**36,846**	**82,161**	**48,938**	**33,223**

Source: Georgia State Commission on Migration Issues (2015): Table 1

According to *Table 12.1*, even though there is a significant number of female international migrants, both immigration and emigration to and from the country are still dominated by men. This is true of migrants of all nationalities, including Georgians. However, when the data are disaggregated by age (not shown here), it becomes evident that

the returning citizens registered at the Mobility Centres in Georgia in 2014, 170 men received assistance, compared to 139 women. It concludes from this that the financial crisis has hit men more than women emigrants. However, given that these numbers are roughly in accordance with the overall number of men and women residing abroad, this conclusion does not seem justified.

The data on immigration from the 2014 census confirm that men are in the majority among returnees[13] from the main emigration countries, even though the difference is relatively small. Among the immigrants born in Georgia that returned to the country in 2014, 5,293 were men and 4,876 were women. The corresponding data for 2013 were 4,181 and 3,709. The predominance of male returnees was particularly strong among immigrants from Russia and Ukraine (4,122 men and 2,341 women in 2013 and 2014 combined). However, women were a majority among those that were coming back from Armenia, Turkey, Greece, and Israel. Among the (smaller) segment of immigrants not born in Georgia the sex ratio was more balanced. Women actually predominated among immigrants from Russia, Ukraine and Azerbaijan, whereas men predominated among migrants from Turkey, i.e. the opposite pattern from what was observed in the case of return migrants. One possibility is that many of the women immigrating from Russia, Ukraine and Azerbaijan and who were not born in Georgia are the spouses of young male Georgians who went abroad to work and married local women in the countries where they worked. This is indeed confirmed by the census data which show that 50.0 percent of the women not born in Georgia who immigrated between 2010 and 2014 from Azerbaijan, Russia or Ukraine were living with a husband born in Georgia. Conversely, only 19.0 percent of the men not born in Georgia who immigrated from these countries during the same period were living with a Georgian wife. As one would expect, Georgian men who go abroad to work have a higher propensity to marry there with local women than the other way around.

The main instrument for analyzing the characteristics of emigrants from Georgia is the Migrant Form that families filled out in the census to account for family members living abroad. It is suspected that the number of actual persons living abroad is larger than what can be obtained from the migrant forms, but it nevertheless provides some idea on who is migrating and where they are going.

13 Strictly speaking the census does not distinguish between return migrants and other immigrants, but it seems safe to assume that Georgian nationals immigrating from those countries are return migrants.

According to these forms, in 2014 there were 7,527 men and 6,820 women born in Georgia who left the country; in 2013, the numbers were 5,248 and 4,532, respectively. Again, these numbers suggest that men are slightly in the majority among recent emigrants. It should be noted, however, that the data on persons who left the country before 2012 show a predominance of female migrants. It is not known if this is due to a higher incidence of female emigration in those years or to the fact that female migrants more often migrate for shorter periods, whereas men stay away for longer times. In any case, it is risky to draw too many conclusions from the Migrant Forms in the census as they are affected by many different factors.[14]

Table 12.2: Share of male and female emigrants across countries of destination

Destination	Total Migrants	% Males	% Females
Russia	19,195	71.06	28.94
Greece	14,048	16.98	83.02
Turkey	9,922	32.88	67.12
Italy	9,612	14.28	85.72
Germany	6,259	44.86	55.14
USA	5,021	48.93	51.07
Spain	3,597	47.93	52.07
France	3,293	57.58	42.42
Ukraine	3,283	79.77	20.23
Azerbaijan	1,802	60.54	39.46
Other	11,590	55.94	44.06
Not stated	919	48.20	51.80
Total	**88,541**	**45.38**	**54.62**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

Consistent with what was noted in the case of return migrants, men are a large majority among

14 Alternative estimates of some of the quantities mentioned here can be found in the monograph on population dynamics based on the 2014 census (Hakkert, 2017). In particular, Table 12.2 of this document provides alternative estimates for the numbers of emigrants by region of origin. It also estimates the total number of emigrants between the 2002 and 2014 censuses at 1,145,744, compared to the 88,541 Migrant Forms. To a large extent, the large difference between these numbers is accounted for by the fact that the Migrant Forms do not consider persons who at one time emigrated, but who have now returned, whereas the former number includes all emigrants, regardless of whether they have returned or not.

emigrants to Russia and Ukraine (4,927 in 2014 and 2013 combined, compared to 1,734 women). Women, however, predominate among those leaving the country for Israel, and especially Turkey and Greece. Women also predominate among migrants over the age of 40. The attitude towards female migrants, especially those who are married, is equivocal: on the one hand, it is considered inappropriate to leave the family, while on the other hand their financial assistance is seen as indispensable.

More men than women express interest in permanent migration: 13 percent of males and 10 percent of females. Much bigger is the share of those who are interested in temporary migration (58 percent of males and 44 percent of females). Among them never married persons prevail (70 percent) (Caucasus Barometer, 2015).

The majority of migrant women are married (56.9 percent), followed by never married (20.6 percent), widowed (10.3 percent) and divorced or separated (7.7 percent); 4.59 percent did not state marital status. Among never married predominate persons under 25 years of age (69.9 percent), among all other ages married persons comprise the biggest share. Among women migrants the share of persons with tertiary education (36.3 percent) is higher than among men (32.0 percent).

According to the Migrant Forms (with their known deficiencies), women prevail among migrants from Mtsketa-Mtianeti (63.8 percent), Guria (60.7), Imereti (60.7 percent), Kakheti (58.9 percent), Shida Kartli (56.6 percent) and Tbilisi (55.8 percent). Men outnumber women among migrants from Adjara (57.8 percent), Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti (55.8 percent), Racha-Lechkhumi and Kvemo Svaneti (55.4 percent), Samtskhe-Javakheti (55.0 percent) and Kvemo Kartli (51.8 percent).

A considerably bigger share of them (56.4 percent of female emigrants) compared to men (46.3 percent of male emigrants) send remittances home. If in case of divorce or widowhood men's financial responsibilities towards family seem to diminish drastically, only 39.75 percent of divorced men, 52.9 percent widowed compared to 55.6 percent of married men send money home, women's responsibilities increase - 61.7 percent of married, 66.6 percent of divorced and 71.8 percent of widowed women send money. The same holds true to never married women and men, 56.4 percent women and only 33.6 percent of men send remittances. The Georgian census data do not allow comparison of the *amounts* of remittances sent by men and women.

Sen (1999), as cited in The State of Migration in Georgia, argues that the litmus test for development theorists is not the growth of income per se, but the increase in the capabilities of people to control their own lives. Emigration definitely increases capabilities of female migrants as their financial support to the families contributes to having more say in family decisions and possibilities to invest more in their children's education and health. Investment of remittances in education is high, with money sent by female migrants more likely to be spent on it (Tchaidze & Torosyan, 2010; ETF, 2012).

Census data on migrant family members show that although the overwhelming majority of migrant family members who went abroad are presumably economic migrants, 9,709 or 11.0 percent of households with migrants indicated that had family member who migrated for educational reasons. 73.4 percent of them are 20-39 years old and can be supposed to emigrate to obtain tertiary education. Destination countries of this age group (7,122 persons), do not differ by sex: the majority choose to study in Germany, USA, Russia and France.

Table 12.3: Share of those who migrated for getting education across destination countries

Country	%
Germany	32.85
Other countries	30.02
USA	10.59
Russia	6.88
France	4.91
Ukraine	3.79
Italy	3.17
Turkey	2.63
Spain	2.37
Greece	1.66
Azerbaijan	0.51
Not stated	0.62
Total N=7,122	**100**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

The Declaration of Independence of Georgia in 1991 was followed by secessionist conflicts with two provinces, Abkhazia, Georgia and Tskhinvali Region/South Ossetia, Georgia. As a result, a majority of ethnic Georgians residing in these parts of the country were displaced. In 2014, the country numbered 262,653 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), 53.59 percent of them being female and 46.41 percent male. Women are a clear majority among IDPs from Abkhazia, Georgia who account for the largest number of IDPs in the country, and they are a narrow majority among the smaller group of IDPs from South Ossetia.

According to the census, the age profile of IDPs is different for men and women. Male IDPs predominate in the youngest age groups, under age 20. But as the ages increase, the sex ratio of IDPs tends to become lower, especially in urban areas; 47.0 percent of female urban IDPs are over age 40, compared to 38.4 percent of male urban IDPs.

The educational profile of IDPs is similar to that of the general population, 30.9 percent of females and 27.8 percent of males compared of 30.0 percent of females and 27.0 percent of males in the general population has a tertiary education. Only 35.6 percent of IDPs are employed. A much bigger share of men are employed (43.2 percent) as compared to women (29.6 percent). Among the employed a larger share of women (64.6 percent) than men (60.2 percent) is hired.

Table 12.4: Number of IDPs registered in Georgia by year and sex

Year	From Abkhazia, Georgia			From Tskhinvali Region/South Ossetia, Georgia		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
2010	226,218	103,052	123,166	31,022	15,068	15,954
2011	230,439	105,345	125,094	32,168	15,643	16,525
2012	235,119	107,867	127,252	33,488	16,345	17,143
2013	238,037	109,121	128,916	34,923	17,084	17,839
2014	227,733	104,791	122,942	34,920	17,112	17,808

Source: Georgia State Commission on Migration Issues (2015)

13. Population Distribution

A gender difference that usually does not receive a lot of attention is the remarkable difference between the distribution of men and women in Georgia by urban and rural residence. *Table 13.1* shows the urban and rural populations by age and sex. Georgia displays a rather extreme difference in rural and urban sex ratios, with a much lower urban sex ratio (85.9) than the rural equivalent (99.1). The difference cannot be accounted for in terms of differences in age structure as median age of the rural population is actually about 5 years higher than that of the urban population. Barring the possibility of under-enumeration of women in rural areas, the only explanations for this are an excess migration of women to urban areas or selective emigration of men from urban areas or women from rural areas. This last hypothesis, about differential emigration, is not supported by the data of the international Migrant Forms, which show about equal numbers of male and female

Table 13.1: Male and female populations in urban and rural areas by age group, with age-specific sex ratios

Age	Urban			Rural		
	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
0-4	78,799	73,967	106.5	53,901	48,422	111.3
5-9	72,526	66,775	108.6	48,719	42,004	116.0
10-14	62,645	56,642	110.6	46,836	40,093	116.8
15-19	66,924	63,522	105.4	51,953	43,623	119.1
20-24	79,100	83,236	95.0	56,205	47,584	118.1
25-29	80,608	87,993	91.6	59,337	50,724	117.0
30-34	76,264	84,358	90.4	53,657	47,781	112.3
35-39	71,177	79,530	89.5	50,766	47,076	107.8
40-44	67,326	76,520	88.0	50,992	48,443	105.3
45-49	60,443	73,227	82.5	53,593	52,144	102.8
50-54	66,843	83,171	80.4	59,867	61,505	97.3
55-59	57,828	75,520	76.6	53,813	58,230	92.4
60-64	47,738	67,170	71.1	44,674	51,803	86.2
65-69	33,489	50,944	65.7	31,400	39,869	78.8
70-74	22,399	38,858	57.6	26,084	36,264	71.9
75-79	21,828	43,165	50.6	28,067	42,704	65.7
80-84	10,106	22,013	45.9	14,994	24,562	61.0
85-89	4,154	11,803	35.2	6,012	12,539	47.9
90-94	712	2,761	25.8	908	3,114	29.2
95-99	69	387	17.8	94	621	15.1
100+	...	76		...	197	
Total	**980,985**	**1,141,638**	**85.9**	**791,879**	**799,302**	**99.1**

Source: the 2014 General Population Census

emigrants from rural areas and a predominance of female migrants from urban areas. Another remarkable fact is that the difference is also present in the population under age 20, where one would not expect strong sex differences in migration. Note, for example, the sex ratio of 109.5 for urban children aged 5-14, compared to a rural sex ratio of 116.4. Part of the explanation may be the higher incidence of sex-selective abortion in rural areas, but the difference is still rather large.

Large differences in urban and rural sex ratios are not uncommon in the region. They reflect the fact that women have relatively more economic opportunity in urban than in rural areas, especially considering the circumstance that female educational levels in Georgia are higher than the educational levels of men. The same seems to occur in several of the former socialist countries, but not in Turkey and to a much lesser extent in Azerbaijan or Ukraine, as the *Table 13.2* demonstrates.

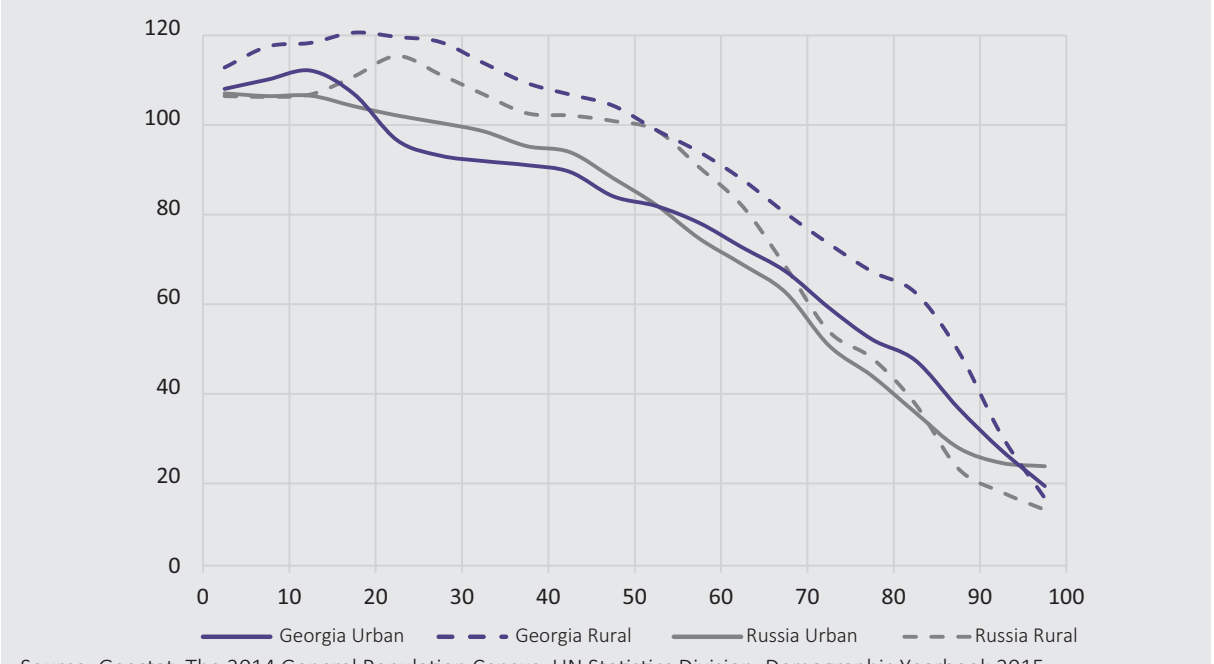
Table 13.2: Urban and rural sex ratios (total population) for Georgia and neighboring countries

Country	Urban	Rural
Armenia	88.1	99.6
Azerbaijan	97.5	100.4
Bulgaria	93.5	98.5
Georgia	**85.9**	**99.1**
Rep. of Moldova	88.7	95.6
Romania	91.8	100.1
Russian Federation	84.2	91.9
Turkey	100.6	101.7
Ukraine	84.6	88.8

Source: UN Statistics Division. *Demographic Yearbook 2015*

The 13.2-point difference in Georgia is by far the largest in the region, followed by the 11.5-point difference in Armenia. *Figure 13.1* compares the sex ratios by age in Georgia (2014) and the Russian Federation (2012). In the Russian Federation, there is also a significant difference between urban and rural areas, but up to age 15 the sex ratios in both urban and rural areas are around 105, as expected, and in old age they also tend to become rather small. In Georgia, however, the difference is very large from early on and it stays large until relatively advanced ages.

Figure 13.1: Comparison of urban and rural sex ratios by age for Georgia (purple) and the Russian Federation (grey) in 2014 and 2012, respectively



Source: Geostat. The 2014 General Population Census; UN Statistics Division. Demographic Yearbook 2015

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APPENDIX*

* **Raw Numbers for the Major Topics of**
the *GENDER ANALYSIS of 2014 Georgian General Population Census Data*
by Ralph Hakkert and Nana Sumbadze (2017) – available as a part of the
E-version of the Monograph at **https://georgia.unfpa.org**