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**Woman and Man differences and stereotypes through
Georgian feast**

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Table of Contents

SANTRAUKA.....	3
SUMMARY.....	4
ABSTRACT.....	5
1. GERGION FEAST IN ANTHROPOLOGY PERSPECTIVE.....	8
1.1 Food practices.....	8
1.2 Theories about the origin of the Georgian feast.....	10
1.3 Supra and National Identity.....	13
1.4 Supra and personal networks.....	14
1.5 Gender issue in Table Context.....	16
1.6 Components of the feast.....	17
1.7, „Tamada“ as performer of feast.....	20
2. GENDER DIFFERENCES AND ROLES.....	21
2.1 Gender Stereotypes.....	21
2.2 Gender beliefs.....	25
2.3 Gender differentiation.....	27
3. METHODOLOGY.....	29
3.1 Fieldwork place and informants.....	29
3.2 Ethics.....	30
3.3 Methods.....	30
4. THE GENDER ISSUE ON THE CONTEXT OF THE FEAST.....	33
4.1 Interviews and focus group.....	33
4.2 Woman role in feast.....	41
4.3 Providing supra and sharing.....	43
4.4 Man role in feast.....	44
4.5 Between city and village.....	45
4.6 Comparing between young and old generation (perspective).....	47
CONCLUSION.....	48
AKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	49
LITERATURE LIST.....	51

SANTRAUKA

Pagrindinės sąvokos: *Gruzijos stalo tradicijos, "supra", lyčių vaidmenys, stereotipai, kultūrinė antropologija*

Gruzijos gyvenimas ir kultūra sulaukia tiek pat daug dėmesio, kaip ir Gruzijos vaišės, dar kitaip vadinama „supra“. Vaišės yra kiekvienos dienos ritualas, kuris yra charakterizuojamas pagal platesnį socialinį kontekstą ir yra pateikiamas, kaip vienas iš visuomenės santykių modelių Gruzijoje. Šis fenomenas reprezentuoja gruzinių lyčių vaidmenis ir identitetą. Tyrimo problema yra išreikšta klausime: Kokie yra lyčių skirtumai ir stereotipai matomi per Gruzijos stalo tradicijas? Tai tuo pačiu atskleidžia Gruzijos stalo tradicijų esmę, jų simbolinę reikšmę ir parodo Gruzijos identitetą.

Tyrimo tikslas – Atskleisti lyčių skirtumus per Gruzijos vaišes, stalo tradicijas, lyčių susiduriamus sunkumus, stereotipus ir simbolinę prasmę. Antropologiniai metodai, kurie buvo naudojami: literatūros teorinė apžvalga ir analizė, dalyvaujantis stebėjimas, užrašai, pusiau struktūruoti interviu, klausimynai, “focus” grupės ir neformalūs pokalbiai su žmonėmis iš kaimo.

Pirmoje darbo dalyje pateikiamas Gruzijos vaišių, stalo tradicijų poveikslas iš antropologinės perspektyvos ir pateikiami jau atlikti antropologiniai tyrimai. Taip pat aprašoma istorija apie Gruzijos stalo tradicijas, įtaka nacionaliniam identitetui ir asmeninių ryšių reikšmė. Taip pat šioje dalyje yra apibūdinami pagrindiniai Gruzijos stalo tradicijų komponentai, tokie kaip „tamada“ ir tostai, jų reikšmė.

Antroje darbo dalyje yra aprašomas trumpas apibūdinimas apie kylančias lyčių skirtumų teorijas ir stereotipus lyčių antropologijoje. Šioje dalyje tuo pačiu yra apibūdinama Gruzijos lyčių tikėjimai ir lyčių diferencialams. Tyrimo analizės dalyje yra analizuojama ‘focus’ grupės ir atlikti interviu su kaimo gyventojais. Taip pat yra aprašoma moterų ir vyrų vaidmenys Gruzijos stalo tradicijose ir tuo pačiu yra parodomi jų skirtumai tarp miesto ir kaimo gyventojų šių stalo tradicijų kontekste. Šiuos skirtumus atskleidžia atliktos “focus” grupės su jaunos ir senos kartos žmonėmis, kad parodyti lyčių perspektyvą. Tyrimo išvadose tyrimas atskleidžia

Gruzijos vaišių, stalo tradicijų reikšmę. Lyčių skirtumus ir sunkumus, kuriuos jos susiduria bei susiformavusius stereotipus šiuolaikinėje Gruzijos visuomenėje

SUMMARY

Key words: *feast, supra, gender roles, stereotypes, culture anthropology*

Georgian life and culture have attracted as much attention as the Georgian feast, or “supra”. It is an everyday ritual, which is characterised by broader social context and serves as a model of relations in society and representation of gender roles and Georgian identity. The problem of the study is formed in question: Which gender difficulties and stereotypes have Georgians which can be seen through feast? It also seeks the nature of Georgian feast, its symbolic meaning and shows Georgian identities.

The purpose of the research is to reveal the gendered nature thought feast, its difficulties, stereotypes, and symbolic meaning. Anthropological methods which were used: theoretical literature overview, participation as researcher, taking notes, the focus group of students, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews as well as informal conversations with village inhabitants in Georgia.

In the first part of the work was performed the picture of Georgian feast in anthropological perspective. There were described accomplished researchers of culture anthropology and view of the origin of the feast, its representation of national Georgian identity and personal networks. Also, there were described the main components of the feast such as Tamada role and toasts.

In the second part, there is a brief description about rising theories of gender differences and stereotypes in gender anthropology. Additionally, there were described Georgian gender beliefs and gender differentiation. In the research field part, there is an analysis of focus group and interviews with village inhabitants. Furthermore, there is described the woman and man role in feast and showing the differences between village and city, which are represented by the focus group in order to compare gender perspective between young and old generation. In the

conclusion of the study, during the research, it is emphasised the meaning of feast, the gender difficulties, and stereotypes which exist in contemporary Georgian society.

ABSTRACT

Actuality of problem. In some cases local food culture has been very popular and well-known for a long time, but in other cases it has been an active project to form and promote gender roles and its problems in society. The Georgian feast or supra, can be ideal example to represent such data.

The feast for Georgians is a daily, ordinary and natural phenomenon, which is why it is the subject of consideration or reflection. For foreigners, however, it is quite astonishing and often unintelligible ritual. On the one hand, they are pleasantly surprised by the overwhelming hospitality hosted on the table, and on the other hand they are strangely surprised when they found out that it has many strict rules.

Regrettably, the feast as a central social institution is insufficiently studied, although in the last two decades the surprise of the table has attracted foreign researchers. The Georgian authors do not have serious research on this topic (periodically). Furthermore, existing studies are almost only qualitative (based on observation in the case of foreign researchers, and in the case of Georgian personal experience and observation) and the theories and hypotheses established in this way are supported just in few quantitative research or data. The present work is an attempt to make the further step in the study of the Georgian feast.

In the literature review, we will see that the feast is not static and unchanged, as it is often represented by its participants. On the one hand, due to the flexibility of the table, its face and functions are well reflected in the change of historical, economic, political and other circumstances; It is a reaction mechanism of society. On the other hand, the supra itself is a means of strengthening the world view.

It is especially interesting and important for a feast in contemporary Georgian society because this has occurred (and occurs) the fundamental changes in

circumstances. By researching the feast it is possible to say how the new reality and what problems are reflected on the Georgian nation.

The literature review had been used. Based on participant observation in naturalistic settings undertaken by me in Georgia and the study of Darra Goldstein and Helga Kotthoff's. In works by Tuite 2005 and Mühlfried 2006 consumed at feasts and their significance: material, symbolic and communicative, for the establishment and workings of networks.

The result of the study should be interesting to any academic level figure of the sociologist and anthropologist (and other social science researchers), who on the study current Georgian society, and have an interest in generally in the feast, toast, communication, gender, national or another identity.

Problem: Examine the symbolic and communicative role of the feast in Georgian society. Review of gender stereotypes and difficulties in Georgian contemporary society, which are well represented in the traditional feast.

Purpose; Reveal the gender differences and gender stereotypes which exist in Georgia. Compare the view of the old generation and young generation on gender issues.

Research group: Villagers and students.

Methods: Theoretical literature overview, participation as researcher, taking notes, the focus group of students, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with village inhabitants in Georgia.

Structure: The first chapter includes the anthropological theoretical overview of the Georgian feast. It's the symbol of representation nation identity and gender issues, the origin and components of the feast. The second part dedicated to theories of gender differences and stereotypes in gender anthropology. Also, there were described Georgian gender beliefs and gender differentiation which exist in Georgia. Research part includes the analyse and comparing of focus group and villagers interviews in order to reveal the gender stereotypes which take place during the feast. The

conclusion shows man and woman roles, gender difficulties, and stereotypes and symbolic meaning of the feast for Georgians.

Definitions:

Supra - (სუპრა) feast .It is a ritualised social institution where through the use of alcoholic beverages and food mediums are using tamada and toast maker institution, which have different social function including socialization, communication and building relationships between people.

Tamada - (თამადა) leader of the feast.

1. GERGION FEAST IN ANTHROPOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

1.1 Food practices

The concept of "food practices" includes all the socio-cultural aspects associated with food: the composition of the products used, the methods of processing them, the set of dishes to be prepared, dietary restrictions, diet, rituals associated with eating, the special communicative genres accompanying it, the use of food in rituals and much more. Like any element of culture, food practices, on the one hand, respond to any changes that occur in society, and on the other hand, retain information about all previous states of this society.

F. Braudel made an attempt to examine food practices in the context of the era, taking into account economic, political and social factors. The development of the theoretical and methodological line in the study of the practice of food as a cultural phenomenon falls on the 1960s-1970s. And is connected with research activity of structuralists. In the works of K. Levi-Strauss, R. Barthes and M. Douglas, the idea of food as a specific cultural code is developed. Their research has stimulated the further development of analytical work, in which food is viewed as a special sphere of culture, being in a relationship of mutual conditioning with a historical, social and cultural context. Thus, economic factors of the formation of gastronomic culture were the focus of attention in the works of D. Goody and M. Harris; The study of gender aspects of the practices of cooking and consuming food are devoted to the work of S. Borda and C. Bynum, and so on.

The Georgian feast is the subject of ideal research to study modern Georgian society. According to Paul Manning, "Supra is one of the moulds in which all the secular rituals, formal and informal social occasions are drawn on to celebrate all life transmissions from all holidays and births to death. The feast is the same social form as it is mandatory.

The feast for Georgians is a daily, normal and natural phenomenon, which is why it is the subject of discussion or reflection. For foreigners, however, it is quite astonishing

and often unintelligible ritual. On the one hand they are pleasantly surprised by the excessive hospitality hosted on the table, and on the other hand, they are strangely surprised when they are strictly asked to protect a lot of rules.

Regrettably, the feast as a central social institution is insufficiently studied, although in the last two decades the surprise of the table has attracted foreign researchers. The Georgian authors do not have serious research on this topic (periodically). Furthermore, existing studies are only qualitative (based on observation in the case of foreign researchers, and in the case of Georgian personal experience and observation) and the theories and hypotheses established in this way are not supported by any quantitative research or data. The present work is an attempt to make the first vacuum. Feast study is important because it is multifunctional social institution around which the (Georgian) the social world is carried out. Its present form is a kind of social world.

Lévi-Strauss (1966, 1986) attributes to boiling the peak of acculturation in food preparation - as opposed to raw food at the other extreme, symbolising nature, which by the process of cooking becomes transformed into the culture; and to rotten food, which is the transformation of the raw by natural process. Applying Lévi-Straussian conceptualisation to the Georgian supra, it could be argued that cooking as represented here in the form of boiling, frying and baking (baking is in line with boiling and frying. Similar to the other methods, it involves the use of a cultural device (a mould) and the mediation of the “elements”: water, air and fire as transforming agents) is a conscientious and deliberate effort of creation (and as such it differs from the natural process of food transformation - the rot) directed at interfering with and manipulating nature. This is of particular significance in the feast, where the preparation of the numerous dishes and the banquet, in general are a laborious task, demanding heavy investment in time, energy, material resources and the involvement of a great number of people.

The national cuisine reflects the ecosystem in which ethnic group was formed, and in close association with a national eating habits are formed. A special methodological

significance for the analysis of national gastronomic cultures is the model of the culinary triangle of K. Levi-Strauss. The culinary triangle of K. Levi-Strauss is based on the structure of interaction of elements with respect to natural processing, which, in depending on the culinary attitude to it, acquires the status of fried, boiled, smoked (as cooked); Or remains raw (outside cultural influence), or becomes rotten (as, on the contrary, exposed to natural effects).

K. Levi-Strauss insists that the culinary art of each people in its own way operates this triad - the culinary triangle, and the triple raw - fried - rotten is understood and applied differently. Levi-Strauss also makes an important remark regarding the gender architectonics of the kitchen: the internal kitchen (everyday food - the one that forms day-to-day the corporal identity of a person as the bearer of a given national culture) is a woman's business - in this sense, preparing daily meals, She becomes the author of the culinary body of culture. Food is festive (external) is a man's business, because it not only forms an identity, how much it destroys, however, this periodic destruction is also the way of its formation as a victim, confirming the accepted order of being.

However, the position of K. Levi-Strauss regarding the gender specification of the kitchen is that the woman is the author of everyday food and everyday cuisine - it has a cultural function. At the same time, the etiquette of the traditional society, as a rule, carefully marks the status of each participant of the feast: the gender subordination of the places of the feast is a steady, archetypal top's feast that occurs in many cultures and has survived to this day always given women a secondary role. Moreover, often, being the cook, the woman could not take in feast part at all.

1.2. Theories about the origin of the Georgian feast

A guest in Georgia has always been considered a messenger of God. The ancient tradition of hospitality maximally embodies in the Georgian feast. The Georgian feast - "supra" - is an action. The table is full of delicacies, the cups are full of delicious wine. Everyone is attentive to each other, a beautiful speech is pouring on the toasting,

a multi-voiced Georgian song is overflowing. All these are components of the Georgian meal, started in order to bring the highest joy and honour to the guest. Regardless of social status, the owner covers a rich table. To confirm the inability to organise a brilliant feast means to announce host defeat.

Georgian feast, as we know today is a process which starts in the 19th century. This conclusion is based on the fact that before the 19th century, the words "toast" and "Tamada" is nowhere mentioned in the Georgian sources. The situation is the same with foreign sources. For example - Italian missionary Arcangelo Lamberti or French traveller Jean Chardin, describe Georgian banquet, Bregadze, the 19th century was the era of romanticism when the tradition of Georgian feast (supra) formed in aristocratic circles and then spread over the whole Georgia. According to Bregadze (1999), this process is impressed on the contemporary literature, specifically in Akaki Tsereteli "My adventure" and "Tornike Eristavi". In the Bregadze opinion, the tradition of supra is also started because of difficult Georgian historical period. The loss of independence instilled unfulfilled obligations due to nervousness caused by this situation. The feast became psychological compensation, more specifically, the toast of the outstanding commitment compensation. The ritualization and religiosity of the supra have a compensatory function. As a result, the toast making becomes a process; for example –toast for the homeland shows the care and patriotism but also some kind of justification of laziness, which is not easy to admit.

The different point of view can be seen in Gigi Tevdadze (2002) works, where he based on Georgian folk origin. The form of Georgian supra, which we know now – is just a reaction to the foreign government which was in Georgia at that time. According to him, the current structure of feast is coming from mountain regions, where the influence of Russian Empire was weak; So local were trying to save this tradition by spending it in other regions. It can be said that all the all components of the supra are unchangeable and as a result, it's formulated in a form of feast which we know nowadays. This opinion is similar to Kevin Tuite, his anthropological interest in

the situation in Georgia and from working experience concludes that the feast is well-rooted in the local traditions as folk performances.

One of these folk performances (component) is not changed from today – the hospitality rules, which spread across the Caucasus. Based on these rules (which all agree unconditionally) the host is obliged to issue and to provide, and the guest is obliged to accept. In addition, guest's exception is necessary to all social group. This topic was mentioned in Laura Linderman (2011) observation where the hospitality rules faced the gender roles (example: Female guests are not obliged to help female host making feast or take part in it).

Tuite's (2008) last observation relates to the perception of the public space in the Georgian society, opposing comfortable personal space. The feast, in this case, symbolising secure of personal space. Such attitude considers as a Russian Empire and the Soviet Union mental offspring. Based on Tuite, it may be connected to the north-east of the Georgian mountainous areas of on traditional concepts, where the village (home) is protected space and beyond, the foreign territory is wild and dangerous.

Paul Manning (2007) sees the Georgian supra in the contexts of Soviet Union. He believes that the feast, in his present form, and his criticism, was formed during the Soviet Union. His analysis is based on the caricatures published in the Soviet newspaper "Niangi" for over a decade. Manning is idealising the model of the ritual (table) opposes to its caricature which contrasts with the opposite, hoping that this resistance will show a perfect picture of the issue. These caricatures have been shown to the feast in the 60s as an inconsistent uncontrolled consumer. This feast, as a negative covering of private life, was seen as a state from the origin of positive production. According to Manning, after the 60s, the feast turned into "a cultural personal life of socialist consumption." That means that Soviet ideologists decided to use the feast after initial distrust, remodelled it made the process more strengthened. Supra was used to disseminate the ideology of cultural consumer within the program of "managed wishes". The supra was no longer represented as a symbol of

wastefulness. He became a symbol of wealth and provision of the Soviet citizen. In addition to the food and drinks, the cultural feast was added to the need for a valuable dish and a specially arranged interior. And even traditional elements, for example, traditional clothes, dance and singing. Giga Nizharadze's opinion that the original toasts on the feast were fashioned into the Soviet Union and may be linked to this topic. According to Manning, the Soviet State swallowed a feast and made it its symbol. This change can be seen in "Niangi" magazine that shows resistance between the feuds and the state over the 60s, and after the 60s they have already moved to the criticism of the feast as a normal component of life. In the opinion of the author, it is not just a feast in the Soviet Union, but its critique was created (controversy between cultural fever and nostalgia) which continues in post-soviet times. Gigi Tevzadze also agrees of the artificial spread of the table due to ideological goals in the Soviet Union. In his opinion, supra in the 19th century was not entirely complete, but later in the whole population, it was finally established in the whole population.

1.3 Supra and National Identity

German researcher Florian Mühlfried agrees with Levan Bregadze(2003) that the beginning of the feast was in the 19th century, although he does not say anything about the psychological compensation of the feast. Mühlfried present the origin form of the feast as follow: After entering the Russian Empire, there was a need for a cultural diversity. The reason for this was that religion, which has successfully fulfilled the distinguishing function in the case of other invaders, could not do the same with the Russian Empire. Consequently, this feature was imposed on the strongest, folk-based distinction after the religion, i.e. the feast. The new form of the table (strengthening the role of toast and the introduction of the Tamada Institute) initially appeared on the aristocratic circle's parties, and then spread throughout the country. Mühlfried (2005) describes specific mechanisms where feast serves as a

preservation of Georgian national identity. First of all, it is the status of its old age and tradition that forces the participants to continue their unconditional activities from the ancestors. The material component parts of the feast also perform the above this function. The wine is presented as Georgian blood, so after drinking wine all members of the feast became relatives. The capacity of the food as a national identity enhancement mechanism is particularly noticeable in the Georgian Diaspora, where Tkemali is acquired by "Georgian flavour" and Georgian "third blood" status.

It should be noted that Mühlfried (2005) does not consider strengthening national identity as the only function of the table. In his opinion, this activity led to the origin of its present form, although now it has different meaning. Supra is the defining and strengthening cultural institution of any other type of identity, as well as hierarchy, gender roles, power and social status. The function of creating and maintaining Georgian identity is best expressed in impotence of the topic of feast and many researchers noted that. For example, Kevin Tutte or Paata Gurgeneidze (2008) describes the table as unending process of baptism in Georgia and a monopoly of socialization instrument.

1.4 Supra and personal networks

John Altman (1990) discusses the feast in two directions. The first is more economical and refers to the period of Soviet Georgia, more specifically, the reality of a centrally managed economy. In this context, Altman sees the table as the main mechanism by which Georgians have created and maintained their ‘personal social support network.’ More easily - the network of acquaintances, which in the Soviet Union (and in a more lighter manner in the rest of the republics of the Soviet Union) was established as an opportunity to deal with the existing economic system.

The familiar network consists of an individual (ego), i.e. from the centre, his immediate family members and close friends. It works through a support system -

through a system where open and uninterrupted relationships between users are available. Members are obliged to pay back after receiving assistance, which is rarely the primary support proportionate and can be touched by the other liabilities of its acquaintance network instead of its immediate issuer.

Altman (1990) embodies three functions of the network of familiarity. The first is to obtain goods and services. In the centralised economy where goods, including even daily consumption, are a little bit and hardly available, only money is not enough to get them and it is necessary to use the acquaintance. The second function of unforeseen and/or coping with the unhappy circumstances. On the one hand, people who need to be on the network know the entire immunity to certain threats, if something bad happened, "the network of (the acquaintances) in the wake of a reserve fund can mobilise a large resource. It can expand to the maximum of its ability and comprise dozens of people, most of whom may not be familiar with the supporting protagonist.

The third feature is the choice of profession. Altman's research finds that the specific correlation between a particular type of profession and the acquisition of the network of acquaintance with its owner is between the total income and risks. The person has chosen the profession by considering the personal needs of the network and the benefits and risks that are ultimately controlled by the help of network members. Altman (1990) believes that the type of current network current network in Georgia has grown and matured in the ideal environment of the centrally managed economy. Strong awareness networks were necessary to ensure income, security and professional development, as well as to obtain goods and services, to manage bureaucracy and to monitor the risks.

As Altman says, building a familiar network and maintaining it through the table is the continuous confirmation of friendship and the commitment of loyalty to each other. He described the feast as a Centre for Secondary Economics of Soviet Georgia. One of the features of the table, the attending individuals will definitely perceive the

representatives of any social group (family or acquaintance network) or organisation, as well as encourage individuals to be linked together with other individuals.

Connecting people to each other as a main function of the table is often recognised by its participants. Through the table, it is possible to attract people who are useful and get acquainted with the acquaintance network. You can also check the loyalty of any member of the network, such as the attendance of the obligatory tablets and the absence of attendance. Altman's theory is well suited to Manning research where people need to present a gift. It is considered to be the so-called polite, which is set in exchange for other services in the future. In contrast to the direct cash flow, the food and drinks of the baking and the gift makes the margin of vague.

Finally, the question arises: why do people spend so many resources on the table? The answer lies in the fact that the main expressions of dignity and prestige in the society is the shame to be an ordinary consumer. Because of this, the expenses incurred on the feast are not a waste of resources but a reasonable investment. In this case, material resources are transformed into a social resource that can be used to gain more material resources in the future.

1.5 Gender issue in Table Context

Almost all main researchers do not pay much attention to gender issues on the supra: Be it Tuite, which says that the table makes it possible for women to be invisible; Ghia Nordia (2000) in the sense that women can play tamada but never be it; Paul Manning (2007) and Giga Nagaradze saying women are free from the rules of the supra and its obligations. More about gender issues speaks Laura Linderman, she questions the idealised version of the table in which the men are in the centre, while women have only duties and rules. In fact, a significant part of the life-threatening social life in preparation for the table oriented on women, they are in the centre. During preparation of the feast, women have a lot of decisions about the menu, table

visuals and resources. They largely care about creating a suitable environment for the feast. At the same time, there is also the distribution of functions, determination of hierarchy, communication, exchange of knowledge and deepening of relationships.

The fact that the main researchers in the feast are men, they automatically open the close door to the women's world. They are predominantly prepared for the feast and are less likely to be able to observe it directly during it or go to the kitchen after feast end. Because of this, they cannot pay attention (or not want to) to the women's side, which results in the inadequate study of the feast.

Laura Linderman concludes that women have their own rules and the world, one of which is not interfering in men's space. The idea of their functioning is considered to be biased. Linderman says, that the basic researchers of the table are influenced by the effect of his self-identification (the abstract and ideal form of the table presented on the table as exclusively for men), which hides the reality and complexity of this social practice. Despite the fact that the table itself seems to be unchanged, it is often expressed in its active self-expression. In reality, compromises are consistent with regard to the rules of the table, and Linderman believes that learning from the norm would be more important and profound.

1.6 Componets of the feast

Toasts

German linguist Helga Kotthoff discusses Georgian toasts. The toast is a fairly common social act in the world and in all cases it is characterized by the formalistic character (its shape determines the degree of assembly form), exclusively positive content (message should be positive: appreciate, sympathy, love), and the advantage of the form of content (it is more important how you say than what). In Georgia, all three of these are characterized by the extreme character: the language of toast is clearly separated from the flow of daily speech and speech possesses superiority; Its

positive content is often exaggerated by the participants of the table; The contest between the toasters is rarely going on content level, as a rule, it does not go beyond the level of form. This trio is also added to the style and religious aspect of the excessive particle conversation. With the observation of Kotthoff in the framework of the feast, Georgian men are given the opportunity to express their feelings and work emotionally through toasts. With the many linguistic types of equipment equipped with the so-called ethnos performance, "The ceremonial process takes place in constant confirmation, renewal and strengthening ... the one who finds the publicly recognised values of the society as a linguistic expression will gain recognition for the feast.

But why do you have toast such great importance and strength? Emzar Jgerenaia (2004) responds to this question: Toast, as an example of the oral culture, the importance and effectiveness of one of the main features of Georgian culture are: "Writer's Priority Writing", or when the laws were written are only formal and cannot affect the lives. According to Emzar Jgerenaia, this is why the change in the history of Georgia has not changed in the traditions. As the result of which the Holy Scripture and Sacrifice were closer to each other, religion became a ritual, and the elements of the living were purchased by religious significance, which ultimately resulted in the moral compulsion of the law.

The role of wine during toasts are the most important. The foreign researchers have been described simply as "ritual consumption of wine (or alcoholic beverages). There is a hierarchy in this part of the feast: The first place is wine, followed by vodka and champagne and finally beer, which is often considered to be inappropriate for the table. Without wine supra is not imaginable, it has symbolic and connection meaning. Mühlfried (2008), also speaks about the difference between wine and beer, which can be potentially competitive in the competition. Wine is exclusively consumed on a table, formal and obligatory drink, and beer is more massive and rules for its use are free. There is no doubt that it is impossible to have a feast without alcohol, however, the chaos caused by uncontrollable entertainment can have potential conflicts.

Kotthoff observed that the effect of toast is balanced to get a result of "constructive drinking".

Researchers have different expectations and predictions about the future of the feast. K.Tuite and Ghia Nordia asking the question: Whether it is necessary to refuse the feast for necessary transfers? In response, he draws attention to the changes that have occurred since independence. He believes that economic hardship factor should not be ignored. The hardship made the public space more hostile, and therefore the importance of the feast as the creator of a protected private space should not be a matter of actuality, however, it is also derived from the country's economic development would weaken the role of the feast. According to Tuite, the feast is threatened by serious potential "threats" to women, or "shadow" workers, because feast can't exist without them Nodia and Mühlfried suggest that today's feast of the reality of globalisation may serve as an adversary role. And according to Emzar Jgerenaia, "democracy can only be" cut down on the feast.

Paata Gurgenidze (2007) believes, that the democratisation of the feast will not disappear, but over time its form of use may change. This view is somewhat contradicting to Emzar Jgerenaia's observations on two qualities of Georgian culture: First, the feast as newsletter (integration into the table structure), it makes them proficient; And secondly, everything that can't be celebrating with supra will be annoyed at the same time (i.e. what you cannot "get" better not have).According to Akaki Kulijanishvili, democratisation will bring to the table a free-market situation with newer competitors (for example, civil society).The good examples of this are the already existing competition between wine and beer, and the growing popularity of the Alfurchette as a competitor with the contrary structure. According to Emzar Jgerenaia, "the area of the feast is reduced and the new type of relations will be introduced soon". There is also a new kind of "Presentation - Alfurchette Georgian". As I mentioned earlier, Zaza Shatirishvili (2008) believes that the approaches to the table emerged as a sign of active changes in the future.

Finally, Altman's theory that, since independence, centrally managed economies of the capitalist system change, and its part is at the feast and it should be used to position the centre of the economy. The cloak described by Altman (1990) emerged in the environment that was characterised by the size of the secondary economy, the lack of material goods and services, the lack of bureaucratic barriers and meritocracy. It is logical that the elimination of these problems will slowly reduce the role of a feast.

1.7 “Tamada” as performer of feast

"Tamada" is the head of the Georgian feast, which is always elected from among respected and educated guests. The main mission of the "toastmaster" is to pronounce toasts, which allow him to touch on different issues and make the meal more interesting, involving in the process of toasting the other participants in the feast. "Tamada" above raises the "evaluation bar" of the participants of the feast - marking the individual qualities of the toasted them, thereby making each participant feast respectful of others and of himself.

In this case, the study by Helga Kotthoff (1999) described toast meaning and speech during it. The speech itself and toast are base for supra; it determines it and even wine cannot be drunk before the first toast. Tamada as a leader chooses the right time and moment for first toast and supra begins.(Tuite 2005);There minimum amount of toasts which should be done in any supra; usually it three toasts and tamada cannot choose topic of toast by himself, it should be close to occasion and place where supra has place (Tuite 2005)According to this, tamada should be wise and sometimes should improvise (Manning)He should be poet and be able to drink large amounts of wine and in the same time control himself and supra in general (Manning).

2. GENDER DIFFERENCES AND ROLES

2.1 Gender Stereotypes

The development of a gender theory is directly related to the work of professional anthropologists who studied other non-European peoples and cultures, highlighting differences in the understanding of the social roles of men and women, their status in society, and value orientations. Studies of anthropologist Margaret Mead, published in the 30-40's. In XX century, became basic. Her research has shown that gender is not determined biologically, but socially and through culture, being historically relative. The definition of gender is influenced by social factors such as social status, age, race and ethnicity.

Gender used as clarification between woman and man. It is a base for almost all social life in all cultures.(Wharton, 2004).Based on that people make groups differences (Fiske & Taylor, 1991); K. West and D. Zimmerman proposed the following understanding of gender: "Gender" is created "by men and women whose competence as members of society is the guarantee of their activities for creating gender". At the same time, they pointed out that in traditional societies sex is understood as socially approved and accepted certainty set by biological criteria. The socially accepted certainty of sex is expressed through the categories of sex attribute accepted and approved by the society (the corresponding clothing, behaviour, voice, movements, etc.)Gender is the product of a special kind of social work (creation) in the course of social interaction.

Eagly (1987) has suggested that gender stereotypes, in essence, that they are the social norms. This means that we all have the notion that men and women are endowed with certain sets of specific qualities and behaviours that the overwhelming majority of people hold the same point of view and that usually, we realise what kind of it is behaviour that is considered correct for members of a particular sex. Stereotypes of gender roles are generally accepted in the given society views on the behaviour that is

appropriate for a man and a woman. In stereotypes, male and female role-playing behaviour reflects certain public expectations (gender ideals).

Lippman believes that the maintenance and reproduction of stereotypes has a decisive impact on culture as a collection of norms and concepts. And according to (Allport.G. (1954), a person is forced to rely on stereotypes because he does not have the ability to treat each group or individual as unique. Stereotypes are treated here as the basic units of the process of cognition. The process of cognition is recognised as imperfect, and consequently, the possibility of inaccuracy of stereotypes is allowed. Allport 1954, was one of the first who proposed a detailed nature of stereotyping. Stereotyping is due to the fact that the process of rational cognition itself is impossible without such a phenomenon as categorization. Stereotyping, therefore, was interpreted as a cognitive process.

Tajfel (1969), suggested interpreting stereotypes as a result of man's cognitive activity, consisting of three processes: categorization, assimilation and ordering. As a result, categorization occurs emphasising the similarities and differences between their own and other groups. The assimilation involves the contribution of the subject stereotyping in the modification of social representations and norms; Ordering is already an explanation of group behaviour in terms of the characteristics of its group. Tajfel (1969), substantiated the assumption that stereotypes, depending on the context of intergroup relations, representing a function of the interaction between the out-group and the group.

However, hierarchical relations are not only between genders but also within the gender. Gender is the whole set of relations resulting from the division of humanity into two groups; the relations between men associated with their belonging to this group are also gender-as well as the relations within the class of women. (Connell)

Different types of masculinity are in certain respects - first of all in the relations of competition and struggle. Masculinity, therefore, can be interpreted as a field of competing discourses. Representatives of hegemonic masculinity exercise power over the bearers of subordinate masculinity and, more than the latter, receive privileges

from gender inequality, patriarchy. It is equally permissible to talk about hierarchy and struggle of different types of femininity: femininity is also a field of competing discourses determined by different social identifiers.

Deaux K., Lewis L. (L. Structure of Gender Stereotypes: Interrelations among Components and Gender Lab, 1984), include in the definition of the representation of the various personal qualities of men and women, including their physical properties and appearance, behavioural patterns, skills and interests, as well as the gender specificity of social roles and occupations.

Some stereotypes are clearly confirmed in reality, especially those generalisations, which are based not on the individual, but on group experience; Culture often produces completely correct generalisations. (Schneider D. J.) Stereotypes contain an element of falsity - the question, however, is whether they really have more errors than any other generalisation, or not. (Schneider D.J.)

(Deaux K., Lewis L), have suggested that not all components of gender stereotypes have an equal impact on the perceptions of men and women. Priority, in their opinion, is the characteristics of appearance and corporeality, that is, physical attributes. The social status and social roles of the stereotypical influence on his perception (including through stereotypes) to a much greater extent than physical features. In the work of (Deaux K., Lewis L), also shown that any additional information about the status position of an individual reduces the role of gender stereotypes in his or her perception.

Stereotypes function, in this case, have not the last role. (Tajfel, 1969), proposed to distinguish between two groups of functions - working at the individual and at the social level. Among the first, he included cognitive function, which allows you to talk about stereotypes as a necessary element of the process of cognition and protective (value-protective), aimed at creating and preserving a positive "I-image". Among the latter, the ideological function responsible for the formation and maintenance of group ideology, and identifying, suggesting the creation and preservation of a positive group

"We-image" (including supplying the group with means for positive group self-evaluation and encouraging group actions).

(Hinton P. R), the function of stereotypes is to simplify and systematize the knowledge that an individual receives from the environment. The picture of social reality, which is created with the help of schematized images, helps a person to imagine a complex and infinitely diverse world in very simple categories - it becomes more understandable and accessible than it really is. Thus, stereotypes save the efforts of the individual when perceiving complex objects. Trying to interpret the surrounding reality, a person turns to the familiar information for help, placing the perceived individual in a suitable category. At first sight, this characterizes purely psychological mechanisms of perception. However, this function is closely related to social processes. (Baron R. M 1983) the perception of the world in simplified categories contributes to social adaptation, helps a person to quickly make an optimal decision about the form of behaviour in a given situation, which is often a necessary condition for his survival.

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(Pickering M.) Interprets stereotyping as a process of defining, maintaining and reproducing norms of behaviour, identity and values.(Berger J.) Women turn into the object of the gaze of men, perceiving themselves from the point of view of the generally accepted socially constructed femininity.(Bourdieu P.), expresses the idea that the domination of men not only produces women as symbolic objects but also preserves them in a state of permanent symbolic dependence.(Joan Wallach Scott), gender means his constant involvement in the signification and legitimation of power relations. Gender discourse does not simply polarise the male and female but also hierarchizes them. Power refers to such attributes of masculinity as force, reason, will, responsibility, activity, control, justice. Attributes of femininity - including passivity, emotionality, bias, suggestibility, weakness, helplessness, indecision - are correlated with subordination. Gender asymmetry of power means that having power is a man, and "real man" is someone who has power. (Connell R. W)

The tradition of identifying power with masculine, and subordination - with feminine, inherent in patriarchal culture, gets quite definite formulations already in ancient and medieval thought, later becoming even more pronounced. First of all it concerns the actual social relations between men and women, which is characterized by a privileged position of the first.(Connell R.W.).Examining how gender stereotypes serve the function of establishing and maintaining power relations, it is necessary to take into account the above-mentioned property of sex-heterogeneity. Hierarchical relations are not only between the sexes, but also within the sexes - between different types of masculinity or between different types of femininity.(Connell R.W.)

2.2. Gender Beliefs

The tradition of identifying power with masculine, and subordination - with feminine, inherent in the patriarchal culture, gets quite definite formulations already in ancient and medieval thought, later becoming even more pronounced. First of all, it concerns

the actual social relations between men and women, which is characterised by a privileged position of the first.(Connell R.W.).Examining how gender stereotypes serve the function of establishing and maintaining power relations, it is necessary to take into account the above-mentioned property of sex-heterogeneity. Hierarchical relations are not only between the sexes, but also within the sexes - between different types of masculinity or between different types of femininity.(Connell R.W.)

In (Kachkachishvili, 2014) work, can be seen traditional Georgian beliefs in Georgia. The woman "duty" for childcare and housework still are strong. A similar pattern has (Sumbadze, 2012), who is talking about both man and woman roles, that man is overwhelming force and decision maker, while from woman expect to be submissive and obedient.

It is obvious that patriarchal system still works in Georgia, and men are more likely who support gender beliefs and interpret them in a conservative way. Men usually are more traditional than women (Quarm's ,1983); It can create in "family context" (Liao and Yang 1995) and these beliefs are copying from childhood by the parent (usually same sex).Especially such copying method used by women as a result of personal experience (Moen 1997).Mothers impact their daughters by showing their gender beliefs and attitudes, and therefore daughters construct their own beliefs which based on them (Moen 1997).(Gilligan, S. 1982), the method of female perception of oneself differs significantly from the perception of the masculine. While men perceive themselves as isolated autonomous beings, women tend to perceive themselves as interconnected with other people, copying or picking up their beliefs.(Gilligan, S. 1982).

As was mentioned before, Georgia still is traditional country with a closed society and patriarchal beliefs are dominant when women have household responsibilities (Japaridze, 2012) based on that Georgia still has the low level of gender equality (Bendeliani 2012).Being passive and social life and decision making situations almost all political and economic fields of the country consist of men (Bagratia 2012).Even young generation support traditional beliefs and Georgia itself shows the poor gender

equality position, yet many government organisations spare a lot but without result (Bagratia 2012).

2.3. Gender differentiation

According to Kimmel (2002), gender differentiation is common for every society so is gender inequality. It is the truly common phenomenon in the globe, especially in Georgia. Women role here is more investigated. Amaryta Sen (2001), usual females are in passive position and don't participate in social life fully, they against changes and they enjoy themselves. Indeed they don't have real chance to change their position and make choice. The traditional masculinity force pressure on them and they don't have freedom to choose (A.Sen 2001).

Sanikidze,(2006), mentioned that gender differentiation is not seen as an issue in Georgia, in the opposite, male position are negative and they prefer to base on "hierarchical order". For males gender identity is not so important, they based on dominance and decision-making attitudes when for women they do not give any choice just to be housewife and child takers.

The dominance of man is them the main reason why gender identity has secondary role for them. As soon as females are more emotional and expressive they need to feel more independent from man to feel confidence (Deaux and Major, 2000).

The dominance power of man also can be seen as power and controlling force. Gender power has the traditional description of maleness and feminist. Social life itself promote manpower, which makes woman interest inconspicuous (Hawkesworth, 2006).Such gender power example can see in Georgian families, where patriarchal values and female household responsibilities take place. (Gogichaishvili, 1976).''The legitimate authority'' of man in the family is undoubted. Authority of man should be considered among family members, it gave him the power to make serious decisions,

control wife and make them economically depend on them (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). If the male has legitimate authority, female first are seen as mother and caretaker. Reproducing and taking care of children her first role (Surmanidze, 2002). This on it, the emotional boundaries between mothers and children are very strong, when with fathers situation is opposite, he offcut role. (Kagitsibasi, 2006).

These roles differences can be explain by function of male as bread-winner and woman care-taker (Narayan, 2000). The emotional force of the families represent by females when surviving function took by males (Parson's, 1965)

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Fieldwork place and informants

Field participants: villagers from Adjara region, focus group with students from Tbilisi State University and interview with restaurant staff member.

Investigation period: My fieldwork and observations were done from 17.01.2017 till 18.02.2017 in Adjara region and 20.02.2017 - 24.02.2017 focus group and questionnaires' with Tbilisi State University students.

Informants: Focus group include 8 people from Tbilisi State University. All of them are students and they represent youth attitudes in my study. The interviews were done with villagers, it include 4 respondents from different age and status.

Name	Age	Status
Dito	22	Student (single)
Anna	23	Student (single)
Tamta	27	Student (single)
Irina	25	Student (married)
Keti	24	Student (married)
Dachi	24	Student (single)
Luka	22	Student (single)

3.2 Ethics

I made sure that everyone known that I've conducted observations and interviews and people for questionnaires were informed as well. Some names were changed in order to be confidential. Despite this, sex, age and profession have not been changed.

During informal conversations the personal details were also not used.

3.3 Methods

Observations.

To understand more deeply the differences in gender roles and function of the feast. I made observations in different places in order to compare city and village. I observed how locals enjoy meals and how this comes together. The observations in restaurants of Tbilisi and Mcxeta also were made.

Informal conversations

This another method which I used to gather more information people I met at a restaurant, village and university. Consider that it were short conversations with non-personal questions I can say that it was plus, without strong personal band people. Because people don't know me they less cared to give socially accepted answers. Little conversations are not enough to get to a deeper understanding of peoples motivations however, for this you need to invest in a relationship with your respondents and build a band of trust.

Semi-structed interviews

For more in-depth information about perceptions of identity and motivations of people I did a few semi structured interviews with duration of a few of hours. With

this method I could retrieve more information than with small informal conversations, especially about feelings of belonging, attachment to the town and the region or even country. The difficult part of this method is finding people who are willing to sacrifice a few hours of their time for you, in particular because they get nothing for it in return. I did several times you can hear things people would never just tell you in a short conversation. They would share their wants and believes, their fears and hopes with me, which gave me a rich insight in how they look to the world.

Participant Observation

To experience Georgian to the full extend I cooked a few times with different people and was participate in feast itself. With one of my respondent I did the whole process of grocery shopping in local stores, cooking the feast and serving it to guest, and then even enjoying the meal myself. In other cases I only helped preparing food, or assisted in another way in the kitchen. Part of understanding the food dynamics between tourists and local people required some research of the food that was served for tourists. To research this I went “undercover” as a tourist, and ate in as many restaurants as possible and was able to make a map of the food that are served to tourists. Sometimes I went as a researcher and had some informal conversations with waitresses and cooks about motivations of putting certain dishes on the menu, which proofed my earlier hypothesis that all the restaurants serve basically the same foods, because the common idea is that these types of dishes are what the tourists want to eat.

Being researcher in your own population.

By being treated as a guest I experienced more clearly why people acted what means for them guest caring. I only used this undercover method during observations and informal conversations, because I did not want to fool people who I did in-depth interviews or participant observations with. With these people I tried to build a professional relationship, but more important also band of trust. The professional side

of the relationship made it possible to sit down with people and have extensive interviews, but the personal side made it possible for me to get them in a place where they wanted to help me. When I managed to build a stronger band it was even possible for me to return for more questions or to do participant observations, because my participants did not see me as an inconvenience or an obligation out of politeness anymore, but they started to see me as a friend.

4. THE GENDER ISSUE ON THE CONTEXT OF THE FEAST

4.1 Interviews and focus group

The post-Soviet period for Georgia is a period of radical socio-political changes in many areas. During this period, the restoration of the state's independence, the change in the political regime and the socio-economic structure took place. There also began the formation of a new social strategy. Changes in the political, social, cultural and economic life of society have affected all types of relationships between people.

Changes that occurred in Georgia, could not bypass my environment, my relatives, friends, and acquaintances. In different areas the changes had different consequences. Today, life itself determines the flexibility of the distribution of roles (functions) in the family and in society. With the change in the role of woman in society, the woman took on such responsibilities that the man always performed, which also affected family relations. A woman is forced to work to support her family, and she is still not exempt from her former household duties. The economic activity gave the woman more power than she had traditionally. On this basis, the role of women in decision-making has increased, in particular with regard to the definition of the future of children, the distribution of household duties, resources and the organisation of leisure.

Interviews results

The environment in both cases, village and city have the almost main role in the supra. It is a starting point of any feast. Does not matter it is village or city.

“Food should be good of course, but the environment too” (Dito 22 years.)

With the environment, people in focus group also mentioned several times the verb: *‘sharing’*. The feast itself they consider as an ambassador and symbol of Georgia which should be *‘shared’* with others or it can lose its symbolic meaning. If in focus

group ‘*sharing*’ was the centre of the Supra, in interviews with inhabitants the main component was the *tamada* role, which they consider as a most important:

“Tamada is a leader, without him, I can't imagine any Supra. This person can share his wisdom and make every meeting more meaningful” (David 47 years.)

The inhabitants have seen *tamada* as someone, who knows the history of his homeland and respect family and relationship in general. His ‘*wisdom*’ is based on his experience, that is why it cannot be a young person. *Tamada* should know exactly what he is saying as soon as he already experienced it on himself. In focus groups, members did not mention such qualities. For them, *tamada* is a part of the environment, part of the feast, but not the main component.

“Tamada should be positive for sure. Of course, tamada tradition is multicultural in Caucasus but in Georgia it is different - our tamada is more friendly and kind.” (George 22 years)

The most important that in interviews with inhabitants they see *tamada* as a position only held by men. Female *tamada* for them is some kind of taboo. They cannot imagine that woman can be a leader of the feast event in general:

“Woman as tamada - such a nonsense. Women place is in the kitchen, she should take care of guest, but at the same time, she should be invisible not to disturb us” (Ghia 51 years)

So, for women, in this case, it is almost impossible to change place and be a leader in the event. The force of traditions is strong in village and men see women as only ‘*invisible*’ workers, which should have a secondary role and think about the comfort of the guest. All males from the village with whom interviews were taken think in the same way and represent women only as ‘*guest keeper*’.

In focus group, the picture was not cardinally different. Young males felt puzzled when the question about female *tamada* was mentioned. They were trying to explain and give answers on why female just cannot be the leader. In this case, it was easy for

them to imagine that female should not be ‘invisible’ when opposite, the inhabitants did not give any explanation.

“Females emotionally are more attached to their lives. Males know how to lead, how to express something in more emotional way with brief words”

(George 22 years.)

“Females talk too much, but males know what to say to bring right emotions into society, but I would not mind attending supra where tamada will be a woman. It should be amusing” (Dito 22 years.)

The female voices were not different in the village. The woman agreed that the tradition should continue this way and its woman duty to be ‘guest keeper’.

“I can't imagine myself as a tamada...never... It would be very odd. Supra should be traditional and everyone has their places.” (Tamara 39 years.)

The places are strictly separated between kitchen which considers only female space and the place where supra is going on - man space. Including observations, it should add that man consider shameful even to go in the kitchen. From ancient times if the woman did not make food for her male and his guest it was considered as a great shame. Male had the right to even beat his own wife or abandoned her. From childhood girls taught how to cook and how to be useful in the kitchen. Looks like things did not change much from that time. Even now females from villages were mentioned that they will try to save this tradition and teach their daughters to be good ‘guest keepers’ and good wives. (For example, if the young bride cannot cook well for her future husband, it is considered as a shame of her family.)

“My daughter already knows how she should act and what she should do when a guest is at home.” (Irma 39 years.)

Inhabitants respect traditions and since childhood explaining the young generation that feast means a respect for history and respect for other people, not only in the village but strangers too.

In focus groups, males had different points of view. The gap between village and city could be seen very easily as soon as young generation think that ‘*kitchen - woman place*’ is ancient and unuseful opinion for our century.

“If guests will come I will help my wife in the kitchen that's not a problem for me at all. And I will try to make her comfortable too, we both should be taking care of the feast but at the same time enjoying it too” (Dito 22 years.)

Here the opinions are different from villagers and males did not consider help to females as a something shameful. Young females from focus groups were complaining about stereotypes and that in 21-century woman should have more space and freedom in Georgian society. Interestingly, the woman Tamada has not seen almost a third of the respondents. However, taking into consideration the experiences and wishes of women's demands, it can be said that women's demands are not a rare or unhealthy phenomenon.

“In Georgia males are still dominant. Even if woman earning more money she should listen to her husband. Of course, family is basic in our country but it doesn't mean that we should take secondary role and be invisible” (Anna 23 years.)

“I know that in little cities and villages woman still consider as a servant. It's such humiliatingly. We should outgrow it, even if it means loss of tradition.” (Irina 25 years.)

In the village, women take on themselves all household chores and affairs, which could be redistributed among male family members. Female willingly does all sorts of work so that her "*children or husband will be well*" and etc. The instrumental function is mainly performed by men (usually senior). Traditionally, a man in Georgia has long

been considered a breadwinner, the head of the family and the protector of family honour. He should pay for a feast as well and support a family financially.

“My husband keeps us, despite the fact that I am also working” (Tamara 39 years.)

In focus groups, males still preferred to be a ‘*support leader*’ in this case.

“It will be good if my future wife will have a good salary and etc. But I should provide main things and be the breadwinner. It is man duty.” (George 25 years.)

Apparently, the stereotype of a male breadwinner is firmly in the subconscious of Georgian people. The role of the breadwinner is assigned to the man, this is one of the most important gender roles in the Georgian culture, and the ability to be the breadwinner of the family is the main component of the image of the "*real man*". But if the breadwinner role is already fixed by males in the decision-making situations, the female's positions in focus groups and villagers change. In city, the situation is changing and men are gradually taking on more and more household chores.

“My husband always asking my point of view and it should be like this, we are one team. Even when guests arrive we are trying to work together to make them feel comfortable. In this cooperation, we both also feel comfortable and can enjoy supra together.” (Irina 25 years.)

In the forefront of this trend are men in cities, especially Tbilisi, where men spend more time on family and more often encourage career aspirations of their wives. But this trend does not indicate that enlightened views are rapidly spreading in Georgia - they are still very conservative in the country. Changes occur for economic reasons.

“It is hard times ,I will be okay with the fact if my wife will earn more money than me, it is hard to keep family only if one person works.” (Luka 22 years.)

Doesn't look like the stereotypes about the role of men and women change. Rather, the socio-economic situation makes men and women look at things differently.

From villagers' point of view, man is responsible for everything. He is not only breadwinner but the boss and knows what is better for the family.

“I can ask my wife some advice but the final decision I will make by my own. It is the same with supra, if a guest arrives we should be shown hospitality even if you don't have money to have a food you should manage to have a great table and great wine, otherwise you will disgrace your family in the eyes of neighbours and guests who arrived.” (David 47 years.)

The role of shame here playing as a motivation to do supra and welcome the guest even if the financial situation could not allow it. Also, the role of the house is not last. For villagers inviting the guest to their houses, it is a sign of respect to a stranger. But it should be mentioning, about neighbourhood as ‘*supporting*’ force. If the person cannot provide feast he can ask his neighbours to help him. Supporting force working still ancient times and its consider as a respect of local traditions. But ‘*neighbours supporting system*’ depends on region. In some part it is normal and practical, in other it shows the weakness of the host and can be seen as disgrace sign.

“We are very close with our neighbours, it can be said that they are part of family. We see each other almost every day. In a case if we will have unexpected guests I am sure they will help my family to take in the guests and help with products and not only.” (Ghia 51 years.)

‘*Neighbour supporting system*’ is very useful for women, especially in villages. They helping each other, trying to not disgrace their family names and support each other. But again, as was mentioned before it depends on region.

‘I cannot count how many times our neighbours helped me. Especially when guests came and I needed the help. We always trying to help each other in any

circumstances. But my sister for example is living in North and she should do everything by herself, because it is shame to ask help.” (Tamara 39 years.)

The restaurants in small cities have had a secondary role and mostly used only to celebrate memorial meals or wedding when it is impossible to keep so many people in the house. In other cases, the guest is always invited to a house of the host.

“Supra should be in the house to show our hospitality. What kind of host I would be if will not invite my guest to my home? I want to share not only food but show our culture too” (David 47 years.)

For the younger generation, a restaurant has more important role. It is a more practical to invite a guest to cafe or restaurant and have a feast there. Even if people seeing it as something ‘*not traditional*’.

“It is new to go to a restaurant in Georgia and have supra there. But I am a modern man and think it is normal. I’m not always able to invite someone to my house” (Dito 22 years.)

Term ‘*modern man*’ was used often. It is implied to our century and our reality, when is hard to keep guest at a home where restaurant it is a practical way which will take less time. But there were respondents who were thinking the opposite:

“The ancient tradition of supra can be forgotten because of restaurants I think... I’m trying to save this tradition that’s why I’m doing supra at my home and not some unfamiliar place. But I’m in the minority, all my friends of my age don’t do like this.” (Keti, 24 years.)

The restaurant can be considered as a danger for feast tradition. In observations in restaurants and interview with staff member, this topic was also mentioned. Young generation thinks differently and tries to ‘*live in 21 century*’.

“I know many people who took a credit just to provide good and expensive feast in restaurant. Some of them were my friends and I was really surprised at first. But that’s how it works here...you should show the guest your wellness, even if its imaginary.” (Tamta 27 years, waitress.)

The term “*should show*” and “*should do*” have almost the same meaning. People taking credits just to provide guest with food and attention. It “*should be done*” and there are no other options. But what can be the main motivation of that?

“Guess the main thing is a shame...people showing off because they think that it is a shame not be able to invite guest and have traditional supra...it is some kind of sign of our hospitality but I think this tradition will die because of economical reasons” (Tamta 27 years, waitress.)

Again, the motivation is shame. The force of “*shame*” playing one of the main role of providing supra itself. Not only in villages but in city too. But from focus groups, young generation start to think cordially different and claiming that it is “*old generation stuff*”.

“Yes, my grandfather and father are the same. They can borrow money on not necessary dinner with absolutely unfamiliar people. I think it is foolish for our realities. They living by old rules, but I will not spend money or take a credit just to show that I am able too. You can show hospitality in different way...”

(Dachi 24 years)

“*Living by old rules*” means be conservative and not up-to-date to our century. Almost all respondents in focus group agreed that this tradition is not useful anymore and they do not see the meaning of that.

“For my parents it is very important. It is our culture, tradition and etc. But as for me, economic situation will change that. Time changing, traditions too.” (Irina 25 years.)

Again, the opinions are not the same compare to focus group and correspondents from village. Inhabitants have more conservative view and they look at ‘‘living by old rules’’ as a only a tradition saver component and symbol of Georgians.

‘‘Hospitality is our uniqueness. We should not reject our ancestor’s traditions only because of economic reasons. Of course they are important. But we should do our best to save it’’ (Ghia 51 years)

‘‘I think spend money on something that will make you and other people feel good and enjoy each other it is not a wasting. In opposite, you invest them as a result, you have connections, love and respect..’’ (David 42 years)

4.2 Woman role in feast

When you are interested in gender roles in Georgian society, Georgian supra is the best example. The woman place in Georgian culture is strictly separated not by legal laws but by expected behaviour from woman side and man side too. The woman here has decoration and cooking function.

Based on that, even in choosing the future companion of life in the village, along with other positive qualities, not least appreciate its ability to "take guests well." So from the presence or absence of such abilities often depends on how the life of a young woman will develop in the future. A woman should be a good guest keeper (Goldstein 1999), knowing every rule of supra and its etiquette.

Mother role is very respected and appreciated because women's notion is often identified with motherhood. The woman, first and foremost, is a mother and her work is reproduction and upbringing children (Surmanidze, 2002).So, strict moral rules and codes regulated gender relations and they both have different criteria.

Not the last important characteristic for woman that she should be modest and not show her individuality in front of everyone and if she did however somehow show it then it consider as a great shame for all her family (Javakhishvili 1982); One of the

main component of supra - drinking wine is considered as taboo, it is considered a disgrace even for a man if he gets drunk, or worse - falls drunk. This will be tantamount to losing face and will become a dark spot on his reputation. As for the Caucasian woman, society will soon approve of her refusal of alcohol in general, then will forgive his unreasonable use (Kikvidze 1987).

Continue with a modest characteristic, it can be said that women are symbolic representations of identity and honour in the group. With 'modest and proper behaviour they protect the honour of the whole group.(Yuval-Devis 2001).Referring to the group should include the neighbourhood support system which still exists in villages. Especially it has a positive side from a women point of view, they help each other during the feast and preparing the meal (McFann 2002), in order not to face with shame and not to be unhostable with guests (Goldstein 1999).

As Kevin Tuite mentioned, if women stop preparing food and cook for supra, the supra itself will be in danger because it is performed mostly by mothers and girls.

Despite the global tendency of more gender equality in families, the roles of men and women remain very different in Georgian families. Women are busier with everyday family work than men, even when women have a paid job and not men. Women's labour remains largely unnoticed in the family, and it is not as much appreciated as men's work outside the home. More than that, many women have a double burden to guide the family and stay home while men do not accept the responsibilities of women as traditionally. For Georgian man traditionally it considers shameful to help woman household duties - such as preparing food and shopping. Compared to men, a lot more women are preparing food, helping their children to prepare homework, care for family members, including children and elderly people, drinking water and cattle, while men care for home heating, home repair and land plots. Based on that can say that women are more involved in the everyday family than men.

4.3 Providing supra and sharing

Experts of traditions know that the owners of the feast not only accept gifts but also remember or write down what they have received in order to return the certain money, goods, and services with a similar feast from a member of a social network. But again and usually - in a larger or smaller amount. That allows the exchange to be more flexible than in official institutions and in official exchange contracts.

Only in terms of people's need for social capital and communication and for demonstrating unity, one can understand the "irrationality" of Georgian feast tradition. The traditions of feasts fulfil a consolidating role for members of social networks that form a community, a group based on a common identity, including ethnic identity. Speaking of the latter, ethnic feasts do not scale the costs, but cultural features. If traditions and rituals disappear that at times seem ridiculous and are followed voluntarily by people, then there will be no ethnic groups, the richness of their diversity of cultures, the unity of people facing common challenges for them and for the achievement of their human goals.

The sizes of expenses for feasts and exchanges for them by goods and services are determined by the need for the amount of social capital that a member of the network claims - The need for the influence and scale of the social network, as well as, as a consequence, the types and sizes and types of the expected benefits.

High status and symbols of prestige play such an important role as a force of shame in Georgian society. A high status in social networks is acquired by one who provided a personal service to a member of this group. Including in the case when someone invested in the feast so much professional work, products, materials, time or money, which significantly and significantly allocated it from other members of the social network.(Ralph 2007).

Social capital is measured in the costs not only of money, but in the degrees and symbols of status, prestige, time, quality and quantity of labour that circulate in social

networks and have less of an economic value than symbolic value in demonstrating one's identity, charity, respect, friendship And love for members of the network.

The higher the costs, the higher the benefits of investing in social capital. These benefits are measurable not only in value and in symbols of identity, but also in the achievement of social goals, for example, in fulfilling the duty of parents to marry a daughter or marry a son through networks and to strengthen and expand networks of kinship relations.(Blitz 1993)

Opponents of expenses for feasts consider that people could invest in more profitable education, profession, financial institutions and funds. But such invests can be not-profitable. Some people prefer to invest in the reproduction of families, in social networks and in capital, which will securely provide members of the network and profession, and the workplace, and support the network when retiring or losing income. Therefore, the financial institutions and their percentage of people reasonably do not trust.(Hayden's 2001).

4.4 Man role in feast

It can be said with certainty, that toasting, drinking and almost main components of the feast itself belong to masculinity.(Tuite 2005).The institution of tamada is a representation of ideal man in Georgian culture and they should have certain characteristics and knew many rules of supra etiquette (Mühlfried 2006).

Men's properties are more oriented to the public sphere and are closely linked to employment, whereas women's significance is more related to family and children. Such distribution of roles will be complemented by the globally distributed basic functions - a family breadwinner and decision makers, and a woman who cares about a family (Narayan, 2000).It also corresponds to the Parson, (1965) by the explicit instrumental role of the father in order to survive.

From the above-mentioned results, the fathers are not in the children's education, many of them are not engaged in their work and are not helping them to prepare

homework. Intercultural examination revealed the specific characteristics for the general and Georgian emotional closeness in the family: young people are most emotionally close to their mother, than - brother and lesser father (Georgas, Berry & Kagitsibasi, 2006).

The fact that the man does not want to play the role of women is not only for Georgia. (Georges, Berry & Kagitsibasi, 2006. p. 49) notes that "despite the modernization of the Western society, husbands refuse to help a woman in family affairs. "Poor society is more respect for the traditional value and men's strength." In addition, the issues of gender equality are closely linked to the established religion. Some religions make more equality, some are less. (Georgas, Berry & Kagitsibasi, 2006).

4.5. Between city and village

In this part, the perspectives of feast and gender roles from village point of view which is represented by data based on interviews with the village. They represent older generation, these are respectful and conservative people. The younger generation is represented by focus group and them all citizens. They also are students and represent the youth attitudes toward gender stereotypes and why they are playing so big role in Georgian culture.

It is clearly, that in the village are the distribution of roles. Everyone has its own place and everyone know how to be "good guest keeper".(McFann 2002).Even places in the house are strictly separated - the kitchen is women area and another part of the house man area.(Kotthoff 2004).It is shameful for man, in the village to help a woman in the kitchen. It considers as women duty and the man provides leader function in the family. It can be said patriarchy.(Spehar 2008)

Gender roles are strictly separated even in everyday life and especially in a case when guests arrive and family should show their hospitality in order not to be ashamed by others. As I mentioned before, for villagers the role of shame have one of the main

motivations to provide supra. Supra it are the scene of gender differences, where the woman has to be invisible workers. It dominating discourse in the village- values of women's roles as mothers and wives, who should ideally not have to work or have a career (Khomeriki 2003). Women and men have separate fields and different liabilities in relation to the feast. Due to the strong patriarchy, the acceptable direction of crossing these areas strictly separated from women to men. A woman can behave like a man (for example be Tamada), but it is unacceptable for a man to do a woman's work. It may be a tempting action for a woman, but at the same time it resembles a man (at least in the eyes of men) and loses her female charm.

Man role is in the centre of the feast and it represented by tamada - wise person, who are respected by villagers and knows traditions. He can be called the "traditional saviour" in village perspective. (Mühlfried 2008).

Here when supra comes the neighbourhood as "supporting" system appeared. It is very common in villages in Georgia, but usually, it is a large group of women, who help each other in food preparations.(McFann 2002).In this case, it is obvious, that village inhabitants have a more conservative view and they look at institutionalised gender hierarchies as the symbol of Georgians (Blitz 1993).

In the city, situation is different. More and more young Georgians trying to be "modern" and not paying such big attention to segregated places in the house or symbolic roles in supra itself. Mostly all respondents support woman and help them in family issues and not feel shameful to help in household duties (Subashvili 2007).If in village inviting a guest to the house it is a necessary role to be polite, in the city mostly prefer restaurants. It more practical and take less time, even if villagers consider restaurants as a danger of supra tradition, young people do not agree.

4.6 Comparing between young and old generation perspectives

Based on questionnaires and focus group data, it can be said that there are large differences in gender roles and supra between young and old generation. The focus group mentioned several times such terms as, "modern man", "living in 21 century" and etc. The gender roles are not so segregated as in the village, but man as a leader still have a strong position.(Khomeriki 2003).

The motivation of "shame" and spending finance resources on feast they consider as conservative and not useful anymore. 'Living by old rules' as they called it, are one of the most important keys to social life and its symbolic meaning. Villagers trying to save this tradition as a representation of Georgians. When the young generation argue, that traditions can be saved different way, not by spending wealth and money.(Ralph 2007).

In a relation of gender, focus group showed that young man still considers for woman a mother role, their gender beliefs presuming what woman can and should do due to their "maternal instincts" (Khomeriki 2003). Young woman tired of such gender stereotype and traditional patriarchal family model (Chatterjee's 1989), they require equal participation in the public sphere, but in such traditional societies as in Georgia, the man expected to be breadwinners and it is difficult for them to live up to societal expectations (Connell 2005).

Conclusion

1. Gender differences between woman and man.

Woman can be seen only as invisible kitchen workers. Feast represent the challenges of gender roles and describe woman as invisible worker. Supra seen as completely masculinity space and woman cannot enjoy supra. Their invisible work should be perfect in preparation and during supra. Such segregated gender spaces shows that females have right to enter male space, especially this segregation can be seen in villages, where the traditionalism and moderation are important. It tamada topic, Georgian man cannot see female as tamada and leader of feast and not only. Villagers seen woman as ‘‘caretaker’’ of her children and husband. Females are forced to participate in ‘‘caretaker’’ market.

2. Male dominant space.

Masculinity space representing by tamada role. Supra represent traditional male-dominant zone which is forbidden for a females. On men have right to speak. Women and men have separate fields and different liabilities in relation to the feast. Due to the strong patriarchy, the acceptable direction of crossing these areas is one-sided, from women to men. A woman can behave like a man (for example be Tamada), but it is unacceptable for a man to do a woman's duties (for example to replace the plates).It may be a tempting action for a woman, but at the same time it resembles a man (at least in the eyes of men) and loses her femininity.

3. Men as breadwinner.

An analysis of the focus group shows that economic and social changes have affected the transformation of gender roles in the family in the capital of the country -Tbilisi compare to the villagers. The husband consults more with his wife on different issues and is more of an assistant. Still ownership of resources that determine power in the family is mainly attributed to men. The Georgian family, in spite of the changes,

generally preserves the traditional and patriarchal contours defined by the Georgian culture. The traditional distribution of roles in the family is determined by the idea that a man, especially a senior, must be a dominant, he must be the leader of a family that takes strategic decisions and is responsible for the economic state of the family. In focus group there is a tendency to confront this stereotype. The younger generation, including women, seeks independence in decision-making.

4. Neighbourhood support system.

It still popular and still exists in some places of Georgia. Especially it can be seen as woman support in villages in a preparing a big feast. It is assumed that families from neighbouring will meet and help each other, contribute money, food and labour in preparation for the big meal. Women's neighbours, friends and family members come together to cook for a few days ahead.

5. The force of shame.

Rejection of the hospitality can be seen as the sign of big shame. In villages people use the neighbour support system that makes easy to economical point. In the city, as focus group showed people can take credits just to provide good supra.

6. “Living by old rules” and self-identification thought supra.

Supra can be viewed as form of nativism, where community choose its own cultural program and insists on careful reproduction of local authenticity (like tradition and rituals); for focus group members it was conservative choice which they call “living by old rules” and they seen it as leaving tradition mostly because of economic reasons.

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