

Abstract

This paper is based on the findings of Generations and Gender Survey conducted in Georgia in 2006 in frame of international programme coordinating by United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. The motivation for this international comparative study was a desire to improve the understanding of well-being of and solidarity between generations, all in a context which facilitates monitoring and understanding changes in region and provides sufficient knowledge base for social policy. Presented research gains to provide a clearer understanding of these dynamics in Georgia and ways how different generations in modern Georgian society build solidarity and understanding in the new social and economic realities.

Introduction

In the last decades, the most of European societies have experienced profound changes in their social structure as well as culture. With regard to patterns of intergenerational relations two trends are striking: the steady increase in single-person households and decrease of households shared by adults and their parents. Both phenomena show fairly dramatic cross-national variability and variations within countries.

At the same time an increased life expectancy at birth has created the new patterns of “co-longevity” in family lineages: parents and children commonly share half a century of life. In this context the knowledge about intergenerational networks, quality of family ties and solidarity between generations became the one of the important topic of social science.

Scholarly debates on intergenerational relations and solidarity are closely linked with the discussion on residential patterns of generational couples. Much of this debate was triggered by sociologist Talcott Parsons’ thesis that the “isolated nuclear family” is inevitable outcome of industrialization and urbanization (Parsons T., Bales R.F., 1995)

Discussions of living arrangements tend to have an ideological flavour. Some show a longing for what one scholar called “the family of western nostalgia”, - and an assumption that co-residence indicates cohesion, while living alone means isolation. Others have an underpinning view that autonomy, “having one’s own life” means having a “room of one’s own” (Beck, 1995). It has been suggested that when financial resources permit, old and young will buy privacy and independence (e.g., Shoeni, 1998).

Recent researches have clearly illustrated cross-cultural contrasts in the subjective experience of living arrangements. While Finnish and Dutch old people are quite content living alone and may

regard co-residence with children as a defeat, Italian and Greek elders who live alone experience loneliness. (de Jong Gierveld et al., 1999; Julhä & Jokela, 1990).

Numerous studies since then have shown that shared household is not the sine qua non indicator of intergenerational cohesion, but that proximity to kin makes a significant difference for contact and practical help. In this context transfers in both private and public spheres make crucial impact for individual and family well-being as well as individual life course decisions and transitions. Kohli, Künemund, Motel & Szydlik (2000) state that “intergenerational transfers through the family transfers between adult members of family lineages not living in the same household represent one of the most interesting and neglected fields of modern welfare societies” (p.88).

The overview calls that in the study of intergenerational solidarity in society it is not sufficient only to describe the existing model of living arrangements of parents and their adult children that obviously depends not only on cultural norms and values, but as well on availability of financial resources to change it. It is also crucial to consider the impact of intergenerational transfers on the life of individuals, financial, practical and emotional help between adult members of family lineages living apart. All these issues should be studied in frames of normative orientations and expectations of distinctive generations with regard to intergenerational solidarity.

There are no researchers in Georgia on abovementioned issues. Our insight of intergenerational relations in Georgia and on-going trends comes from the available statistical information. The problem is that this information in Georgia is insufficient, being both too rough and synthetic to measure the features of social dynamics. Finally, none of the statistical indicators is able to provide the measurement of attitudes, value orientations, intentions and other behavioural features that, therefore, can be only measured on the basis of population surveys.

Presented article is based on the finding of Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) conducted in Georgia in 2006 in frame of international programme coordinating by United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (www.unecce.org/pau/ggp). The motivation for this international comparative study was a desire to improve the understanding of well-being of and solidarity between generations, all in a context which facilitates monitoring and understanding changes in region and provides sufficient knowledge base for social policy. Central topic for the GGS is relationships within families and between generations and how these relationships influence the

well-being of individuals. A survey of this type is the only means of gaining a clearer understanding of dynamics of intergenerational relationships in society.

It is not sufficient to assume that these relationships are simply existent. One has to consider their characteristics and their structure to understand their impact on individual decision-making and behaviour. Family members and kin are not only central authorities in individuals' primary socialization. Together with the individuals' own families and his or her partner's relatives they make up a central part of their daily interpersonal interactions. Therefore, family members and kin are important factors in individuals' social environments that are influential throughout their whole life.

In this paper we will try to analyse the different aspects of generational relations in modern Georgian society. Georgia is a country with traditional social values and attitudes between different generations. These cultural norms were formed during the long historical time and always were supported by the Georgian family and society. At the same time, the transformation of political, economic and social systems in Georgia has followed by the remarkable modification of social norms, attitudes and behaviours. In new economic realities with completely depredated old social system and unformed yet a new one the younger generational partners have found themselves in the position of main breadwinners in the household. As a result they may form the different expectations and orientation in their social and private life and changed attitude to parents.

In this context role and position of senior generation in Georgian society might be suffered and intergenerational continuity and consensus between generational partners having sharply contrasting historical experiences could be more difficult. Our research paper gains to provide a clearer understanding of these dynamics and ways how different generations in modern Georgian society build solidarity and understanding in new social and economic realities.

Living together

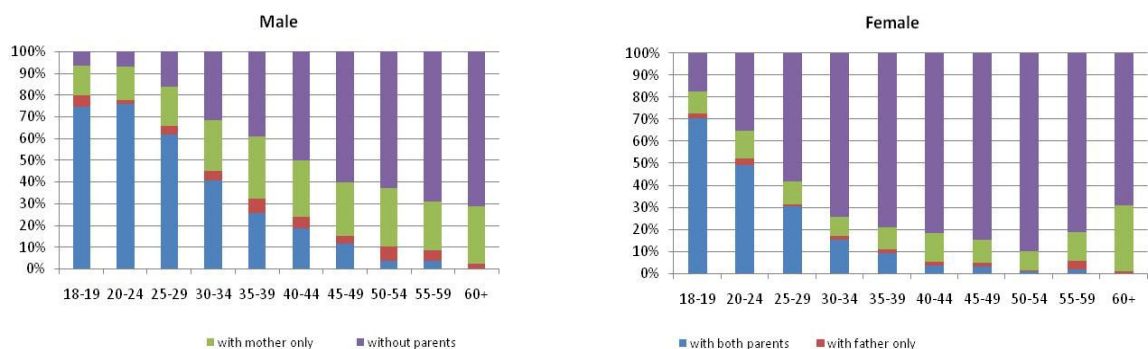
Intergenerational solidarity and quality of relationships between parents and their adult children may be measured by different indicators. Before analyzing of these indicators we will consider the residential patterns of parents and their adult children in Georgia and will try to see whether any changes in residential patterns of parents and children exist between different generations and genders.

The Generations and Gender Survey based on stratified nationally representative sample of 10.000 respondents, provides us with information about residential patterns of non-institutional population of Georgia in age of 18-79 years. Without consider of detailed family composition of respondents we will classify all respondents who had at least one parent alive for the moment of interview by four categories:

- Those who live without parents
- Those who live with mother only
- Those who live with father only
- Those who live with both parents

The figure 1 shows the distribution of Georgian males and females in different age by abovementioned categories of living arrangements.

Figure 1. Distribution of respondents having at least one parent alive by living arrangements



We can see that cohabitation of distinctive generational couples in the same household is the usual manner of living arrangements in Georgia. But the situation is quite different for males and females in distinctive ages that may be explained by the gender-specific cultural traditions toward children in the Georgian family. According to the Georgian traditions at least the youngest son should live with parents and take care of them. But woman when marry should move to the husband's family.

In age between 20 and 24 years 76% of males in Georgia live with both parents, 16% – live with mother only and 1% – with father only. Concerning Georgian women, less than half of them in this age still live with both parents, 13%- live with mother only and 3% – with father only. Gender differences in residential patterns of Georgians became more significant with the increasing of the age of respondents. In the age of 40-44 around 18% of males contrary to only 4% of females still live with both parents, 26% of males and 1% of females live with mother only, 5% and 13% correspondingly live with father only. Correspondingly only half of males in this age contrary to 81% of females do not live anymore with their parents. In total, almost 65 % of males in Georgia having at least one parent alive live in the same household with parents.

At the time, presented data shows that residential pattern of males in Georgia related to cohabitation with parents is distinctive for two categories of respondents: before age of 45 and later, age, when the number of respondents, who share the same household with parents and those who not, became equal. After age of 45 males in Georgia having adult children and still alive parents, so called “sandwich generation”, try to find the way to separate from parental home with partner and children. And if male respondent in his middle age still stays in parental home, his siblings leave it. According to GGS among male respondents older than 45 years still living with parents (suppose in parental home) only 10% have siblings sharing the same household with them.

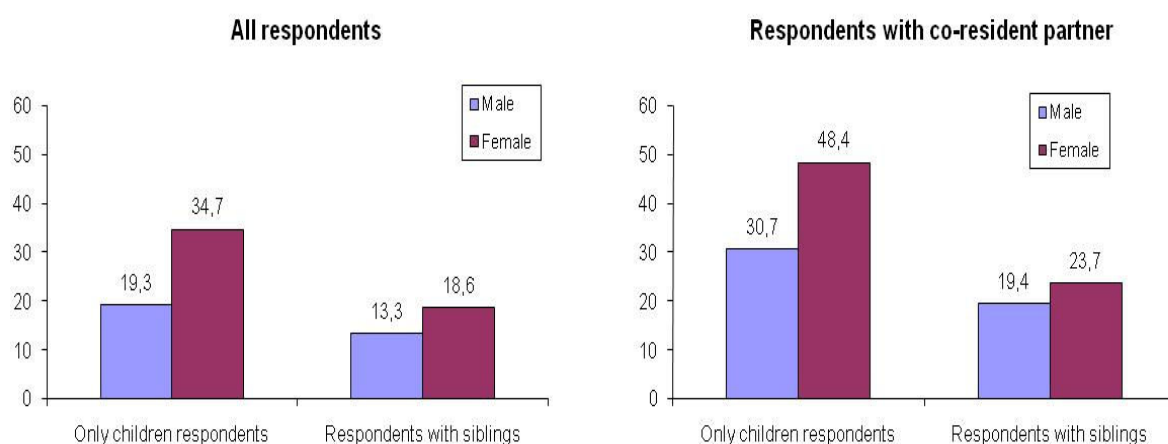
Presented data also shows that both males and females in all ages more frequently live with a mother than with a father. The reasons of this situation are different for distinctive age groups of interviewed. In the young ages it may be explained by the fact that in case of separation of parents children in Georgia usually stay with mother. Older respondents live more frequently with mothers because their fathers die earlier than mothers, as well as women in Georgia in general live 7 years longer than men (Tsuladze et al., 2006).

Finally, presented data shows that proportion of Georgian women living in the same household with parents, permanently decreases with the increase of the age of respondent, but then after age of 55 it starts to increase and 30% of Georgian women aged 60 years old again live in the same household with parent(s). By our opinion this trend may be explained by the fact that Georgian women, even those having the husband and children have to take their parents to live with them when parents are not anymore able to care about themselves. These women may be the only one child of their aged parents or those who do not have anymore siblings alive. According to our survey, 82% of women older than 60 years, who live in the same household with parent(s), do

not have (anymore) any sister or brother contrary to only 41% of those with siblings who share one household with parent(s).

Hence, Georgia is a country with traditional social values where sharing of household by parents and their adult children is a usual pattern of family's residential arrangement. Analyzing the GGS data we have looked on living arrangements of those parents in Georgia who live apart of interviewed respondents. We have found that 59% of those parents live with their other children and only 38% of them live alone (without children).

Figure 2. Proportion of respondents having at least one parent alive who lives alone



Data presented in figure 2 shows that the only children' parents are more likely to live alone than those having other children. This data also shows that parents of women are more likely to live alone than parents of men that may be explained by the different patterns of residential behavior of males and females in Georgia after formation of union. According to the Georgian tradition woman when marry moves to the husband's family, but married son with his wife and children stays at home with his parents. The Georgian custom of family behavior is that at least the youngest son should live with parents and take care of them. In total our analysis has shown that only 35% of males in Georgia having at least one parent alive live apart of parents.

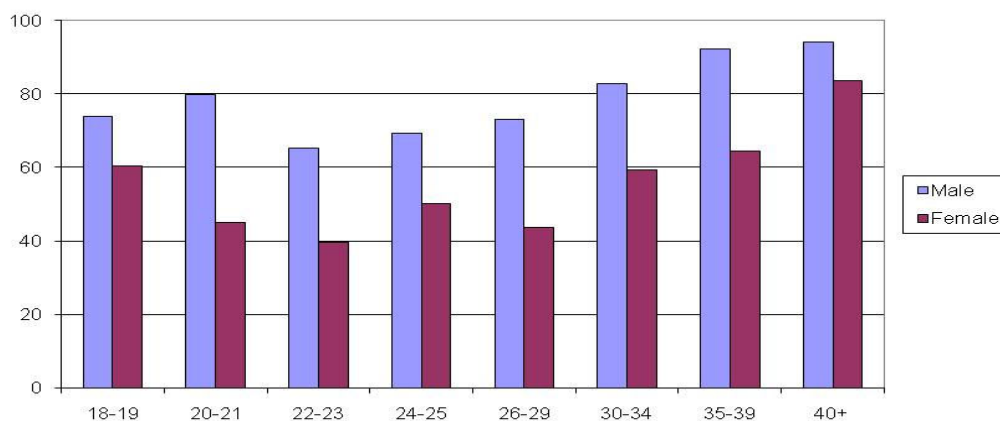
It is known that in Soviet time in Georgia did not exist any legal market of real estate and flats were mainly provided to family in need by state after long period of waiting. Hence, aside of cultural norms, co-habitation of several generations in the same household might be caused by the inaccessibility of own accommodation for the young generations. Introduction of market economy's principles after independence of Georgia, with possibility for everyone to buy property, has been accompanied by the sharp decline of living standards of population and more recently by the huge increase of the prices on real estate.

At the same time, the transformation of political, economic and social systems in Georgia has followed by the remarkable modification of social norms, attitudes and behaviors toward parents. In the new economic realities with completely depredated old social system and unformed yet a new one the younger generational partners have found themselves in the position of main breadwinners in the household. As a result it ought to form different expectations and orientation in their social and private life.

Hence, it is not quite clear whether co-habitation of distinctive generational couples in modern Georgian society is matter of choice of people or a compulsory situation for many Georgian families.

In this context it is interesting to analyze the intentions of respondents sharing the same household with parents to live separately, different factors and circumstances influencing on the decision to start living separately from parents and respondent's opinion concerning reaction of other people in their close surrounding (friends, relatives, partner, children, etc.) on the decision of respondent to start living apart from parents. Such subjective dimensions may be important for an understanding of relationships between family or community members from different generations. Changing attitudes, norms and values play a prominent role in explanations pattern of intergenerational relations. So information on values and orientations on familiar obligation for financial support and care of parents and use of community based social services for old provided by Generations and Gender Survey also is the matter of discussion in our article. In the figures below are presented the survey data related to abovementioned issues.

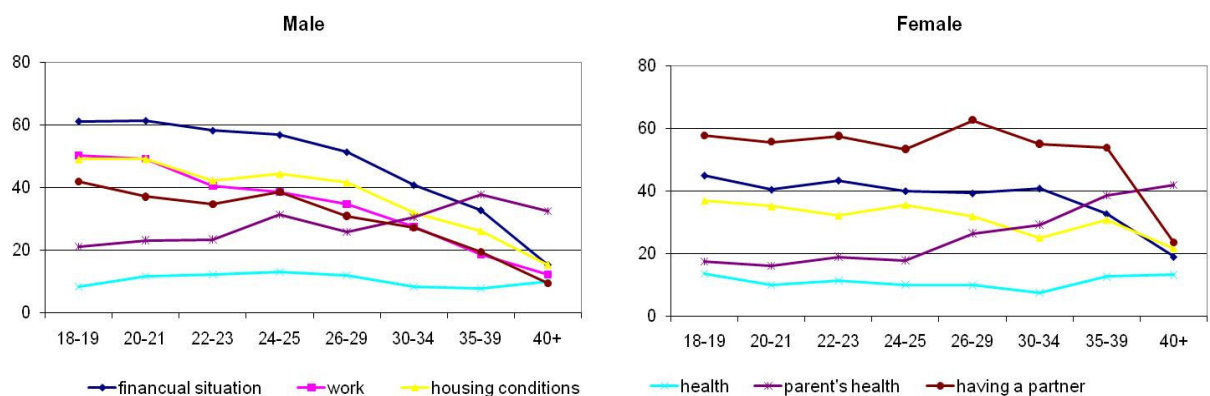
Figure 3. Percentage of respondents living with at least one parent not intending to start living separately



Presented data shows, that in case of women the intention to live apart of parents in Georgia mainly pronounced in young age groups when woman hope to marry, while majority of male respondents do not intend to live separately from parents. Looking at the figure 3 we can see that 60% of Georgian females in age of 22-23 years and half of those in age of 24-25 years intend to start living separately from parents; this is an age when majority of Georgian women marry. In age 26-29 almost 40% of females still intend to start living separately from parents. But then intention to start living separately from parents among women declines and less than 20% of females in Georgia aged 40 years and living in the same household with parents think that they will start to live apart in the nearest three years.

Our survey allows us to see whether the intention of respondents to live separately from parents depend on the different life circumstances.

Figure 4. Proportion of respondents told that their decision to start living separately from parents depends with a great deal on:



Data presented in figure 4 shows that the intention of respondents to start living separately from parents for females depends mainly on entering in union that in Georgian reality means moving to husband’s family and for males – on economic conditions. These factors become less and less significant with the increasing of the age of respondents. Respondents in age of their 30s in the decision to start or not living separately from parents take into consideration mainly the parents’ health.

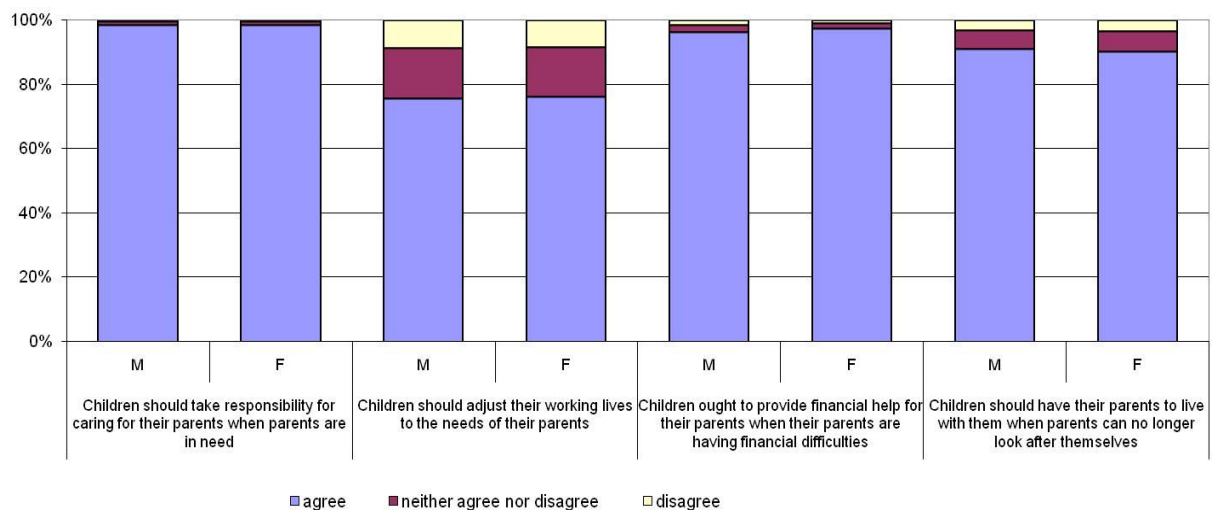
How individuals orient themselves to define obligations toward parents and ensure necessary support depends on the wider social context. As it well known Asian cultures still have a strong emphasis on “filial piety”, while Nordic countries tend to focus on ties “down” to children.

Recent researches (European Values Study) have shown that some Mediterranean countries have strong emphases in both directions. Analysing the Generations and Gender Survey data in

Georgia we have found similarity with Mediterranean countries: obligations of children toward parents in care and financial support appeared to be as much unquestioned for Georgian respondents as responsibilities of parents to help their adult children. From the point of view of generational relations Italy and Spain have been labelled as “familistic” cultures (Espring-Andersen, 1997). Hence, Georgia also may be determined by this category. But while Mediterranean countries have extensive legally stipulated maintenance and care for a range of relatives, familiar obligations for financial support and care in Georgia are not reinforced through social policy; there are social norms reproducing through family culture. Families are also normative units with their own norms and systems of reciprocity. From the previous researchers we have seen that old people who cared for their own parents are more likely to receive care from children (Attias-Donfut & Wolff, 2000a, Stark, 1995), and the long relationship histories appear to be more influential than general cultural norms in shaping a sense of obligations toward old parents (Finsh and Mason, 1993). As a result, both Georgia and Mediterranean countries have a little use of public services to the old.

Below are presented the findings of Generations and Gender Survey in Georgia characterizing the attitude of Georgian society to the different aspects of intergenerational solidarity.

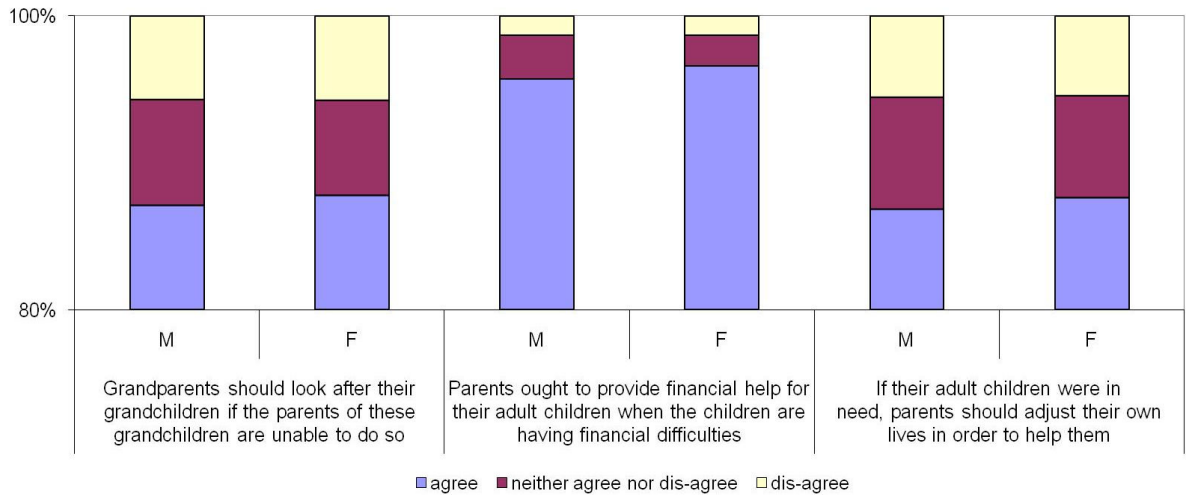
Figure 5. Attitudes of Georgians to responsibilities of children toward their parents



Presented data shows that 97% respondents in Georgia are agree that children ought to provide financial help to their parents when their parents are having financial difficulties. Moreover, almost 90% of interviewed are agree that children should have their parents to live with them when parents can no longer look after themselves.

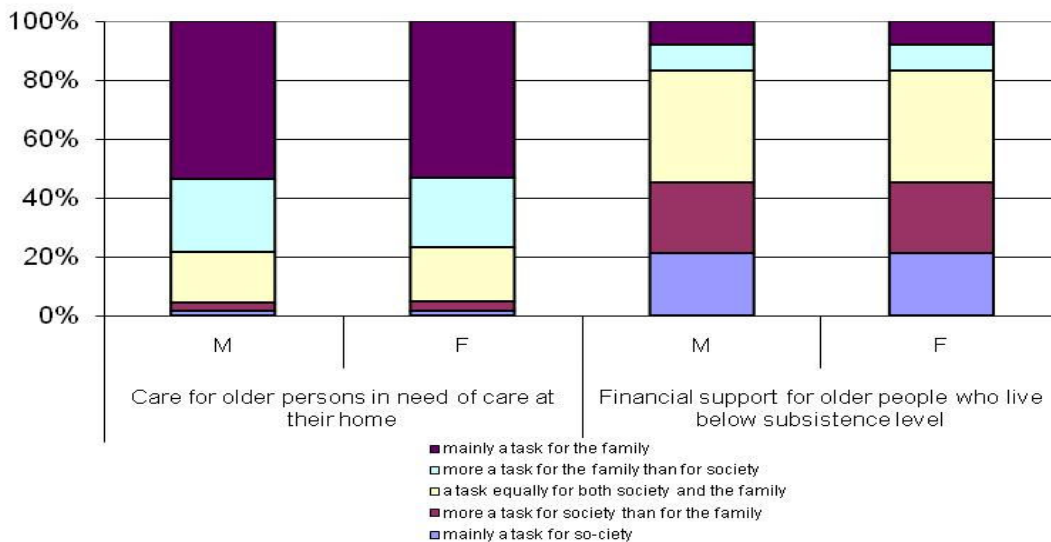
On the other hand, survey data has shown a higher agreement of Georgian society with the obligation of parents to do their utmost for their children. Data presented on figure 6 confirms a good accordance with the previous figure. So using the categories mentioned above the modern Georgian society may be classified as having strong emphasis in both directions: “child-centered” and “familistic”.

Figure 6. Attitudes of Georgians to responsibilities of parents toward their children



The “familistic” approach of Georgians is clear also when we are looking on the data showing who by the opinion of respondents is responsible for the care about vulnerable members of society presented in figure 7. Eight respondents among each ten interviewed think that care for older persons in need of care at their home is more task of family than society.

Figure 7. Opinion of respondents on responsibilities of family and society toward old person



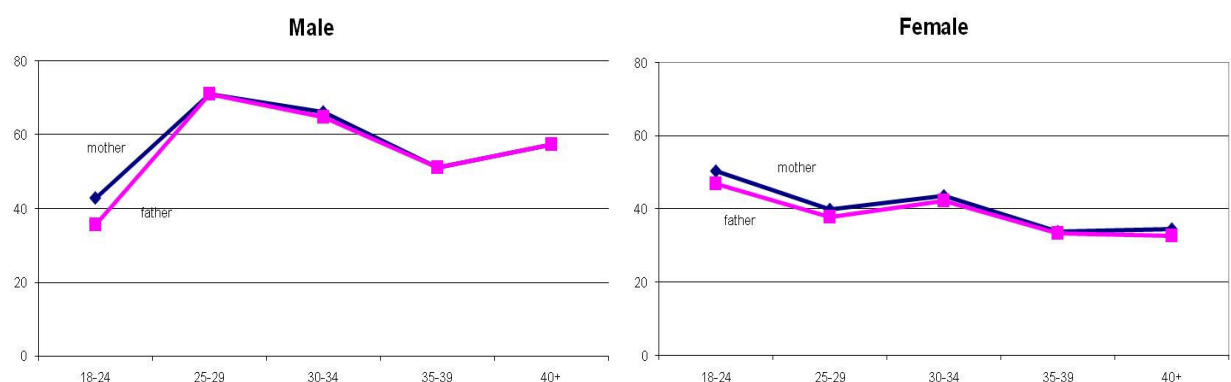
Living apart

As it was already mentioned a shared household is an important factor for generational solidarity, but it is not the only one indicator of intergenerational cohesion. Contact and practical help between parents and their adult children living separately have no less importance in the analysis of generational relations.

Generations and Gender Survey characterises relationship between parents and their non-resident children through proximity, contact frequency and satisfaction with relationships.

Using the survey data we have calculated the frequency of contacts between parents and children and its variation between men and women of different age. How often do adult children in Georgia see their parents after leaving home? How does this frequency vary as parents and children grow older? The Generations and Gender Survey provides data to measure and examine the influence of different factors on the frequency of contacts between children and parents, such as age, sex, family situation and etc. It provides a means to check whether certain events, such as entering in partnership, marriage, the birth of children, parental separation or the death of a father or mother, bring families closer together or, on the contrary, weaken the parent-child relationship. The fact of seeing or not seeing one's parents at least once a week is used as the indicator of frequency of contact. In figure 8 is presented the proportion of respondents who meet their parents living separately at least once a week.

Figure 8. Frequency of contacts between parents and their adult children by sex and age of respondents.



Presented data shows that adult children in Georgia meet both parents living separately with almost the same frequency. But frequency of contacts is distinctive for male and female respondents: females in Georgia see their parents less frequently than males; only 35% of daughters see parents every week contrary to 54% of sons. This may be explained by the

Georgian tradition according to which sons are more responsible for the care on old parents and support of them; women that move to the husband's house after marriage are busy with responsibilities in own family and have to care about parents of husband.

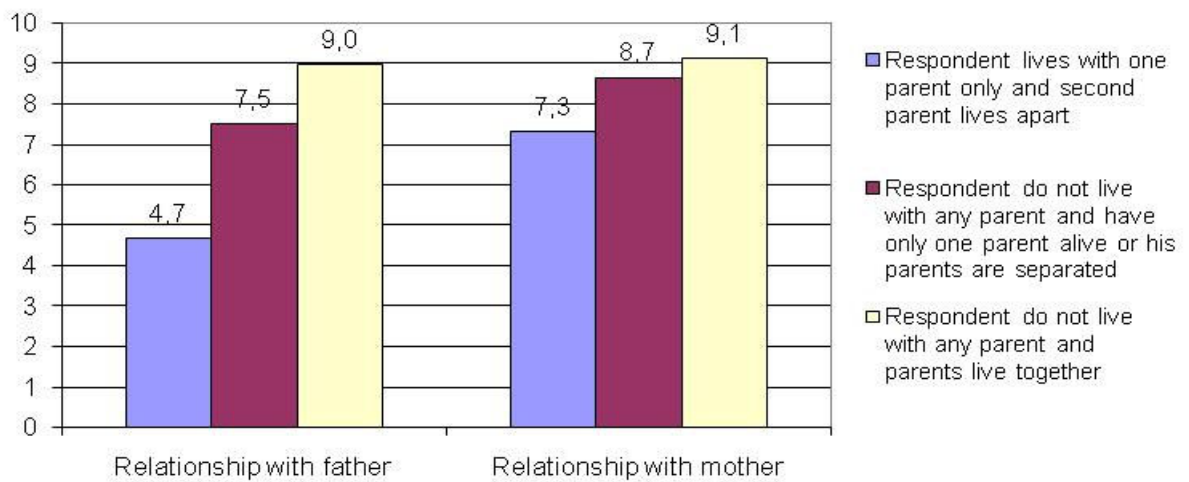
At the same time the figure 8 shows the remarkable fluctuations of trend in the different age groups of male respondents. Only one third of males in age 18 - 24 years see their mother and 40% - their father every week, then frequency of meetings increase and 62% and 69% of male-respondents in age 25-29 see mother and father correspondingly each week. After this the frequency of meetings between men and their parents is reducing while respondents reach the age of 40 and again start to meet parents more frequently. This trend clearly illustrates the pattern of relationships between males and their parents on the different stage of life course. Young men leave parental home for study or military service and are not able to visit parents every week. Then when they start to work and settle well in the own accommodation, but still are not married, parent visit sons and provide care and help to them in the household duties, while young man marry (in Georgia it happens in age around his 30s) and do not need anymore practical help and care. In that time meetings between parents and adult male respondents became less frequent till age of 45, when already aged parents need the support from their children; in this age sons visit their parents more frequently in order to provide help to them. Concerning Georgian women, fluctuation of trend is very insignificant aside of specific periods of women's life (in age 30-34), when young women have in Georgia the children of primary school age who need after school care.

Analysing the survey data we made more detailed statistical analysis of frequency of contacts between parents and children in order to find out what factors influence on the frequency of meetings between parents and children. Due to the small numbers of observations we do not present results of calculations in this article, but some of our findings presented below would be by our opinion interesting for reader:

- In case when parents live separately male respondents see mother as often as father, though less frequently than when parents live together
- Daughters see mother living separately from father with the same frequency as when parents live together, but daughters less frequently meet with father living separately from mother
- Male respondents meet with both separated parents living apart more frequently than females

The second indicator characterizing the quality of relationships between parents and children is respondent's satisfaction with his/her relationship with parents. According to the programme of Generations and Gender Survey all respondents having at least one parent living apart were asked to mention using the scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means “not at all satisfied” and 10 means “completely satisfied” the number best represents the value of satisfaction with the relationship with him. The results of our analysis of abovementioned information are presented below.

Figure 9. Mean value of relationships between respondent and his mother/father living separately by living arrangements of parents



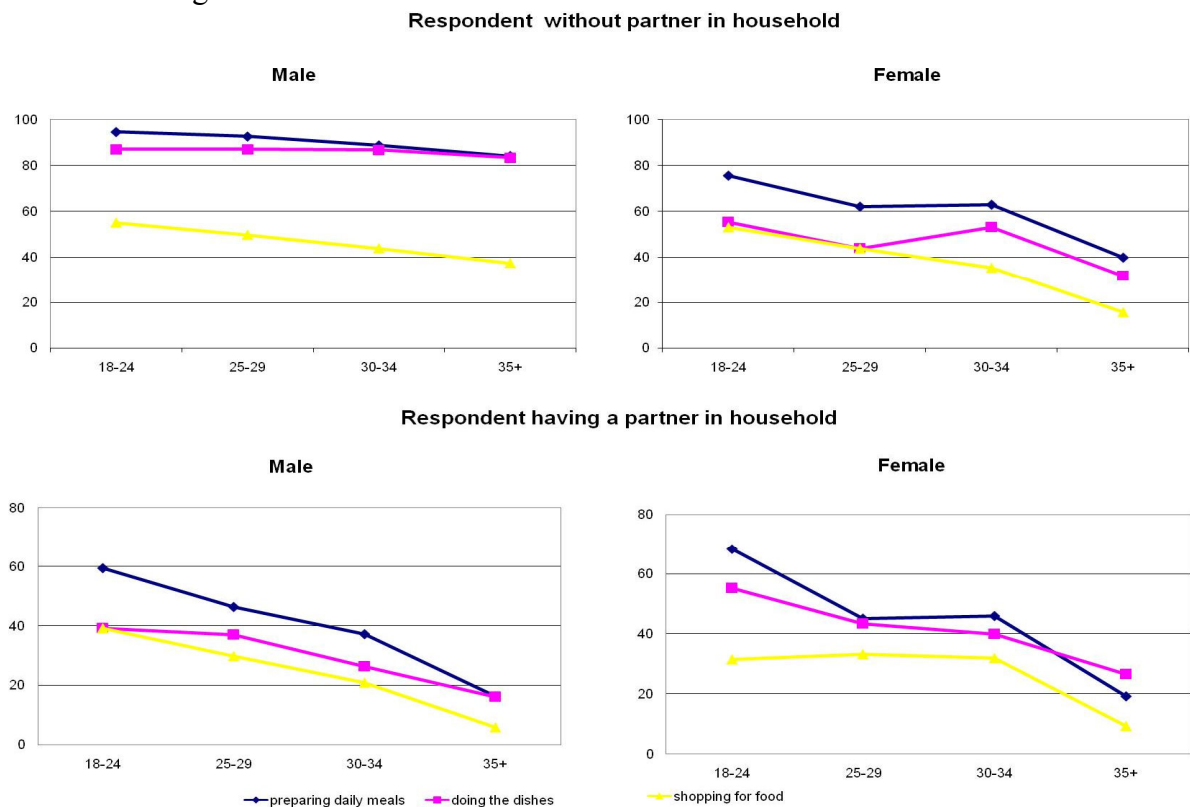
Analysis of presented data for males and females has shown that sex of respondent does not make influence on quality of his relationships with parents. Presented data shows that relationships of respondents with mother are usually better then with father, even when the parents live together. When respondent has the only one parent alive his relationships with mother are much better than with father. When respondent has both parents alive but shares the same household with the one of the parents, his relationships with the second parent living apart are worsening. It should be also mentioned here that respondents living with mother only and having father alive, but living apart, have expressed in general lower satisfaction values with relationships with father than those who do not live in the same household with mother. Hence, mothers sharing the same household with children, make more negative influence on the relationships of children with father living separately than fathers do.

Intergenerational transfers

The GGS questionnaire collects information about individual network partners from whom respondents received monetary transfers or who provided emotional support or personal care during the last twelve months. Receiving emotional support is an important factor in overcoming stressful situations and positively influences individuals' physical health. Receiving personal care is a significant determinant of increasing health and longevity of older people.

The second aspect is covered by interpersonal transfers of particular goods and services. Questions on providing and receiving help with childcare, with household work, emotionally, financially or in kind, allow to analyse further dimensions on the relationships between parents and children.

Figure 10. Percentage of R living in the same household with mother who is always or usually doing household duties



Presented data shows that parents in Georgia provide a lot of practical help to their adult children during whole life. When respondent is single his/her mother is a person who mainly prepares the meals in the household, despite of age of respondent for males and with the lesser extent but also significantly for single females.

When male have a partner in the household the responsibility to prepare meals gradually shifts to his partner, but when female in union lives in the same household with her mother this mother in much more extent participates in household duties. Women respondents in households consisting distinctive generations either single or in union are mainly cleaning the house.

Our analysis has shown that fathers in Georgian family mainly are doing small repairs and paying bills. It is interesting to mention that married males living in the same household with parents share these duties with fathers contrary to single male respondents who do not participate in doing of any household tasks.

It is interesting to compare the help of mother and mother-in-law to their children. In this regard one may be mentioned that mother living in the same household with married daughter helps more to her daughter, than mother-in-law helps to wife of son. But it should be mentioned that in Georgia mother-in-law also provide a significant practical help to daughters-in-law and regularly participate in household duties. During the Generations and Gender Survey in Georgia one third of female respondents mentioned that meals in their household are preparing mainly by mother. At the same time each fifth of interviewed women told that meals in their family are prepared mainly by mother-in-law.

In this regard it is interesting to analyze whether parents in Georgia sharing the same household with their adult children and participating so much in the household duties have a power in the decision making process in the family, which traditionally in Georgia was parent-oriented.

Generations and Gender Survey provides us with the data on the household members making the main decision about the various tasks that have to be done in the household. Analysis of this data clearly shows that the leading role of senior generation in Georgian family has suffered. In the Georgian family with distinctive generational partners (parents and children in union) parents make decisions only when their children are above 30 years of age. Then as adult children became older the leading role in the decision making process concerning all household tasks is shifting to generation of children, respondent and his/her partner. Even decision on the routine purchases in the household sharing by parents and their adult children are making by the younger couple, in spite of fact that the daily meals are preparing by its mother.

Survey's questions about intergenerational transfers in both directions provide insights into whether these transfers are primarily characterized by the practical help from the older to the

younger generation or whether the older generation also benefits from their children by receiving emotional care and support from them. The intergenerational transfers based on the survey data on the network of persons with who and whom respondent have talked about his/her personal experiences and feelings over the last 12 months also provide information about the patterns of intergenerational relations. Analyses of survey data has shown that emotional support between parents and their adult children in Georgia exists in both directions, but children are more likely to talk with their parents about personal experience and feelings than vice versa.

Looking on gender differences in emotional transfers between parents and their adult children we have found that both, daughters and sons in Georgia prefer to share personal experience with mother than with father, but this preference more concerns women: 30.6% of female respondents mentioned during the survey that they told to their mothers about personal experience and feeling during last 12 months contrary to only 5.2% of those who shared these problems with father. Concerning males, the difference is not significant: 18.5% and 14.1% correspondingly. Survey has also shown that in Georgia daughters almost neither receive nor provide an emotional support to their fathers: only 5% of female respondents mentioned that have shared their personal feelings with father or their fathers told with them about the personal problems.

From the other side while mothers in Georgia just a little bit prefer to talk about their feelings with daughters than with sons (21.6% and 16.1%), fathers do prefer to talk with sons (11.4% contrary to 5%).

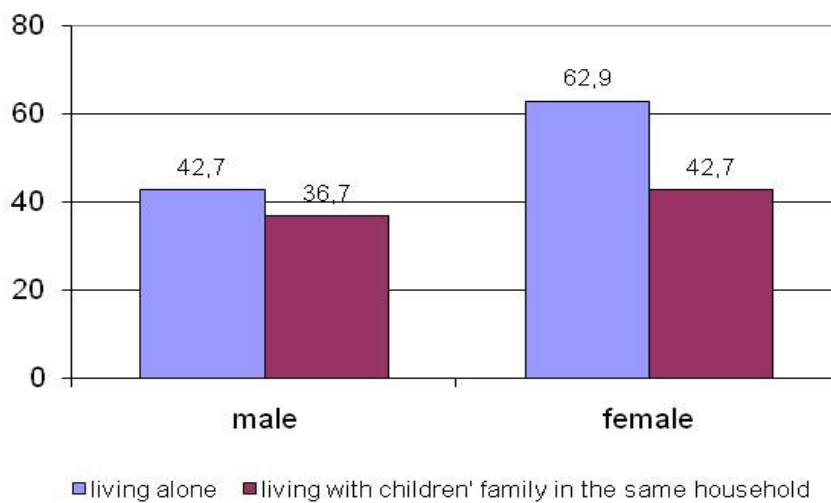
Emotional transfers between parents and children in Georgia are in close correlation with the fact whether they live or not in the same household: those who live together with parents are much more likely both to receive and provide an emotional support for their parents.

Indicators measuring the intergenerational relationships' quality aspects incorporate not only what people have and how they are living and but also how they feel. Generations and Gender Survey in Georgia has shown that majority of parents living separately from their children experience loneliness and depression: more than 90% of respondents living separately from their children mentioned during the interview that feel sad, 80%- experience loneliness, and almost 60% - think that life had been a failure contrary to 70%, 30% and 35% of those who live together with children.

Number of respondents mentioned during the interview that miss having people around or experience a general sense of emptiness are twice more among parents living apart of children than those sharing the same household with them. Hence, our survey has shown that parents sharing the same household with adult children in Georgia are less likely to feel depression or to experience sad feelings.

In the figure 11 are presented the survey data showing the health status of males and females in Georgia based on the subjective assessment of own health by interviewed respondents.

Figure 11. Respondents having adult children and estimated their health as bad or very bad by their living arrangements



Presented data shows that women in Georgia are more likely to be pessimistic in the estimation of own health than men. We have analyzed this data by corresponding age groups of male and female respondents and were confirmed that this conclusion is correct.

At the same time figure 11 shows that parents living alone in general are more pessimistic in the estimation of their health than those living with adult children in the same household.

Conclusions

Georgia is a country with traditional social values and attitudes between different generations. These cultural norms were formed during the long historical time and always were supported by the Georgian family and society. The transformation of political, economic and social systems after independence of country has followed by the remarkable modification of social norms,

attitudes and behaviours. In new economic realities with completely depredated old social system and unformed yet a new one the younger generational partners have found themselves in the position of main breadwinners in the household. As a result they may form the different expectations and orientation in their social and private life and changed attitude to parents.

Our research has shown that cohabitation of distinctive generational couples in the same household is the usual manner of living arrangements in Georgia. But the situation is quite different for males and females that may be explained by the gender-specific cultural traditions toward children in the Georgian family according to which the adult males when marry stay at the parental home with wife and women - move to the husband's family. Only 35% of males in Georgia having at least one parent alive live apart of parents.

Analysis of data has shown that majority of adult males sharing the same household with parents do not intend to live separately from parents. At the same time, intention of Georgian women to start living apart of parents is closely connected with intention to marry and it became less significant with the increase of the age of women.

When parents and their adult children live separately, Georgian males meet their parents more frequently than females. More than half of men see their parents at least once a week, while only one third of women manage to meet with parents each week.

Analysing the Generations and Gender Survey data in Georgia we have found similarity with Mediterranean countries: obligations of children toward parents in care and financial support appeared to be as much unquestioned for Georgian respondents as responsibilities of parents to help their adult children. But while Mediterranean countries have extensive legally stipulated maintenance and care for a range of relatives, familiar obligations for financial support and care in Georgia are not reinforced through social policy; there are social norms reproducing through family culture. So the modern Georgian society may be classified as having strong emphasis in both directions: "child-centered" and "familistic".

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