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Maintenance of shared spaces: courtyards of Tbilisi

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Abstract

Purpose – The courtyard dwellings of Tbilisi form a critical part of the city's architectural identity. However, the multiple occupation of these buildings is blamed for confounding their prospects for repair and consequent valorisation as a World Heritage Site. Models for the shared ownership of residential blocks have been adapted globally. Some have established communal sources for rehabilitation and maintenance applicable to historic buildings. The purpose of this paper is to assess the relevance of such precedents to the complex and urgent context of Tbilisi's threatened architectural heritage.

Design/methodology/approach –

The paper uses existing literature and data to establish a hypothesis in support of adopting a collaborative approach for the maintenance and rehabilitation of shared buildings in a challenging and specific context. Using socio-economic data to characterise the occupants of such buildings and current critical sources, the paper investigates how existing collective communities can be empowered to capitalise from their unique social frameworks.

Findings – It finds evidence to support theoretical claims that there is scope for co-operative networks to flourish there. Research limitations/implications – The paper is limited to a desktop analysis and relies upon available data and literature to draw its conclusions.

Originality/value – This paper addresses a critical problem in the formulation of conservation plans for Old Tbilisi, it tests the relevance of global exemplars for community repair programmes by reference to existing data for the care of the predominantly domestic architecture of Old Tbilisi at a time of rapid change.

Keywords Community participation, Conservation theory and practice, Tbilisi, Monitoring maintenance, Sustainable rehabilitation, Georgia
Paper type Conceptual paper

Introduction

The courtyard houses of Tbilisi, Georgia form a critical part of the city's specific identity, as do the decorative cantilevered balconies of its houses. They collate vernacular architectural influences, techniques, ornaments and details from both east and west. The bulk of the small central area is made up from a patchwork of such domestic buildings.

The intensified occupation of these buildings during the Soviet era has been blamed for challenging their prospects for long-term repair (US-USSR JWG, 1975). Models for the shared ownership of residential blocks, originally developed in France in the middle ages (Leyser, 1958) have been adapted to many different contexts globally (Dredge and Coiacetto, 2011). Some have succeeded in establishing communal sources for rehabilitation and maintenance that are relevant to historic buildings. This paper asks whether such precedents can be relevant to the challenging context of the Tbilisi courtyard houses?

The author's visit to Tbilisi in 2011 was funded by the British Council as a Presenter at their Identity and Spirit of Old Tbilisi roundtable. This paper was presented in formative stage as a poster at the 2014 ICOMOS International Symposium "Heritage and Landscape as Human Values".

The architectural value of the unique three-sided courts of Tbilisi has long been established but still fails to muster support with such complex stakeholder arrangements. Bi-lateral efforts to preserve the capital's unique architectural legacy have failed on numerous occasions (Khimshiashvili, 2001). In the 1970s and 1980s it was reported that state sponsored evacuation was enabling sensitive repair and reconstruction; the restored area of Kibalchich Rise, Baratashvili Street and the Embankment were presented at that date as a triumph. However, both constructional methods and principles of rehabilitation have been criticised (Tsitsishvili, 1985). Finding the means to work within intensive and impoverished domestic occupation is a key concern and the first hurdle to unravel. Van Assche identifies the "labyrinthine character of property rights" as a specific challenge to preservation calls in Old Tbilisi (Van Assche *et al.*, 2009). The argument for community-led heritage management in Waterton and Smith's (2011) terms in this case requires the instigation of, by and for the building's occupants, owners and agents – a change of practice more than policy.

Heritage policy has passed through many hands (Suny, 1994, p. 321) during a period of political flux. Economic prospects and new scope for potential development pose both hope and risk for happier horizons yet the fragility of the city's actual fabric remains at risk. International groups have sought to raise the status of the issue. Ultimately re-conceptualising the economic status of its historic identity is the critical task; however, tackling those issues in practice calls for more than policy change, it requires the mobilisation of trust in complex relationships to support a very fragile tenure.

This paper explores the potential for pre-existing social networks together with an enhanced professional skills base to inform a principle of rehabilitation. It draws comparisons with experiences in other countries and acknowledges challenges and opportunities raised by the specific domestic context of Tbilisi.

Poverty and heritage in a post-cosmopolitan city

Suny (1994) concludes his seminal history of Georgia with the statement: "The key to the future lies in what a people selects from its past, how it imagines itself as a community and continues to make itself as a nation" (p. 335). In theorising heritage, Smith (2006) has emphasised the significance of everyday practices (p. 273). In representing Tbilisi's architectural heritage, as is the case in many historic cities, the domestic building stock, although not of the highest heritage value, is collectively understood to define the regional identity of the city. The "old" centre, although almost entirely rebuilt in the nineteenth-century, has been successively identified as its architectural capital (Frederiksen, 2012, p. 127). The confluence of architectural references that have inspired sympathetic concern, perhaps in part because of their borrowed nature were admired by nineteenth-century tourists (Chanishvili, 2013, p. 12). However, as Van Assche and Manning have noted, although there is a strong will to retain the old city and for new buildings to associate themselves with its rich identity, few want to live there (Van Assche *et al.*, 2009, pp. 243-317) (Manning, 2009, pp. 71-102). Frederiksen (2012) notes that the threat of "renovation taxes" has encouraged multi-generational families to leave their historic home (p. 129).

The challenge is significant and the obstacle of poverty must not be overlooked. The Caucasus Barometer 2013 recorded high levels of unemployment and noted that 61 per cent of Tbilisi respondents did not have a job and of those, 25 per cent had never had a job with 41 per cent being unemployed for more than five years (CRRC, 2013)[1]. There is a gulf between actual and required levels of income in the city; survey results showed 38 per cent of Tbilisi respondents earned less than 250 USD per month although 90 per cent felt that an income of 400 USD or more was a minimum income to lead a normal life (CRRC, 2013)[2].

It has been acknowledged that the very complexity of the ownership context of these multiple occupied homes has served to secure their survival, no one having the authority to radically alter them (Van Assche and Salukvadze, 2011, p. 13). Poverty has been defined rhetorically as "the best conservator" or the "friend of preservation", this is in part because people who are unable to afford to transform their environments become victims of them and their physical environments in turn are protected from change. By contrast the key principle behind environmental design standards is that people should not be victims of their environments. This presents something of a conundrum for a city such as Tbilisi. Whilst its heritage is recognised for its contribution to its identity and these central areas are praised for their architectural qualities, newcomers specifically choose to live in other areas. This is a true crisis because it threatens both buildings and livelihoods. Extracting communities further destroys their historic integrity. The question arises as to whether, in this instance it is possible to avoid such a pathway and to generate a more active stewardship from within the specific society it serves.

The Caucasus Barometer 2013 reveals an economy in transition; whilst only 26 per cent of the Tbilisi household respondents did not own an automatic washing machine and 11 per cent did not possess a fridge, 95 per cent owned a cell phone and 70 per cent had a PC (CRRC, 2013)[3]. The issue of maintenance, of municipality and the adoption of responsibility for the environment is a challenging political issue in a society that is struggling financially and on the cusp of change.

One of the most difficult aspects of leasehold law is the establishment of reasonable conditions for the care of shared areas. To put the well-being of the building ahead of the well-being of its

occupants is a monstrous suggestion. On the other hand to propose the collaborative adoption of responsibility for the environment touches upon social ideals held close across the political spectrum. In this way the relatively mundane notion of municipal maintenance has risen to great political significance historically (Dogliani, 2002). Today, the potential for identity acknowledged through shared heritage is at the core of ambitions for an agenda of social cohesion.

Buildings of Tbilisi

The buildings that are under discussion here are not the architectural trophies of Georgia, the churches nor even the noted Darbazi houses (Tsitsishvili, 1985; Sevan, 1997, p. 44)[4] which have been claimed to be the oldest type of dwelling, cited in both Greek and Roman commentary (Dzanberidze, 1973)[5]. Tbilisi was razed to the ground in 1795 in the Persian wars. The buildings are an agglomeration of intricately decorated and somewhat flimsily constructed houses. Whereas nineteenth-century buildings which are characterised by overhanging balconies and three-sided courtyards, some, such as 3 Ingrokova St (Plate 1) and 2 Lermontov St (Plate 2) were in fact architect designed for wealthy individuals, most are un-designed. They are extremely photogenic in their state of decay and inspire pity. Tatarashvili (1998) emphasises the value of the city's art nouveau buildings with their articulation of a particular and very specific Eurasian identity (pp. 308-312). The buildings at once express French neoclassical details and bring decorative skills from Persian craftsmen, demonstrate construction techniques that have learnt from vernacular traditions of earth-roofing that stretch to Tibet and decorative woodwork from North Africa. In this respect they are architecturally truly cosmopolitan, the term is applied to the city from the nineteenth-century (Chanishvili, 2013, pp. 1-5). In making so many references they draw



Source: Author's image
Plate 1.

3-4 Ingrokova Street: vulnerable shared access through a delicate timber structure

visitors to empathise with them, to join into their collective memory. Three key features of Tbilisi's domestic architecture addressed here demonstrate the social aspects of its historic built fabric, the flat roofs, the overhanging balconies and the courtyards.

Manning (2009) has asserted the social nature of Tbilisi architecture, describing it as "the very image of an open society, a balancing of individual and collective" (p. 98) – indeed their balconies and courts serve to blur conventional public-private boundaries. Before 1,828 houses had flat mud roofs; *Banami*, which instigated a form of shared semi-public use as an entertainment space. These were no longer allowed after a Russian decree of 1,828 (Chanishvili, 2013, p. 15). It is probable that the regular maintenance of such spaces – they would need to be swept for weeds seasonally (Ionas, 1997), also contributed to a sense of social cohesion. These roofs today are largely all lost, replaced by a shallow pitched rusted zinc skyline which resembles Mediterranean terracotta in its shallow pitch in the poorly printed technicolour of Soviet era tourist guides.

The second aspect is the three-sided courtyards. Courtyards are the most common arrangement of houses globally, the Tbilisi three-sided form is particular to the city (Plate 3) (Howard, 1997). Opening rooms into a shared semi private enclosure enables a degree of social discourse across a space that cannot be shared with the street. This is critical today when these buildings are often significantly overcrowded. The courtyard as a three-sided form is not like a fortified Pompeian house or a sex segregated Islamic

house, it is a portal in itself, opening onto the street in an urbane manner unique to Tbilisi. It is to a great extent the most significant contribution to urban design made by the city as Mania (2010) has noted.

The context of such courtyards is pressurised when it becomes overcrowded; 48 per cent of households in Tbilisi now have three or more adults living in them (CRRC, 2013)[6]. The fact that the space is shared, not privately owned, not state



Plate 2.

2 Lermontov St: shared access at the point of collapse **Source:** Author's image

operated, not municipally controlled, not co-owned, lends it a spatially democratic aspect. To remove the specific conditions of cohabitation and joint responsibility that establish that condition is to destroy as much as the built fabric can maintain.

Third, the deep balconies, with impossibly large cantilevers impose individualism over the collective in a unique way. Emerging in the 1830s (Plate 4), the balconies allowed people to share their private lives with the street, sometimes eating and sleeping on them (Chanishvili, 2013, p. 15). They have been used to characterise the city both socially and politically as well as physically (Manning, 2009). They have been characterised in cartoons as offering a means of arguing without entering the arena, a means of tempting lovers without descending to the street. They are a mode of address, a means to present one's private life in the public sphere. The intricacy of the carving and the ostentatious craftsmanship denote an articulation of care in human endeavour. Like handmade lace on the clothes of kings, wealth is denoted by a visible quantity of human work.



Source: Author's image

Plate 3. Three-sided courtyard at 3 Sioni St: multi-storied arches visually connecting separate dwellings in a courtyard

Complex property ownership and responsibility problems

In 1996, a World Bank report highlighted the emerging problem of a lack of legal framework surrounding the emerging potential for co-ownership of residential property in former Soviet states (Renaud, 1996). Van Assche and Salukvadze (2013) point to the legal complexity of ownership as a cause of inaction in Old Tbilisi (p. 96) and argue for the institution of “unambiguous property rights” in conjunction with an overhauled planning system, warning against an over-reliance upon private investment (Van Assche and Salukvadze, 2011). Georgia is a state in transition, its planning and conservation policy has a trajectory that has been noted for its stilted progress. What are the actual conditions of tenure in Tbilisi and how can they be compared with other examples around the world?

Recent dramatic changes in the property market demonstrate the capacity for transformation but also point to an urgency in terms of risk for rapid change. Ironically, as is often the case, the very poverty that has sustained an un-modernised environment becomes the key feature of its value. Property is valued by its comparative relationship to its neighbours, in order that an identity can be commodified and sold to remote markets. Where a historic environment is so specifically defined as the old centre of Tbilisi, this presents specific economic opportunities but also risks destruction and re-building. Manning (2009) has noted that the reconstruction of decorative elements in previous restorations excluded the restoration of basic services. However, at the time it was argued that a focus on the provision of services dominated rehabilitation efforts (p. 97; Stepanov, 1970, p. 3), in any event the current situation is universally recognised as inadequate.



Plate 4. Balcony detail at 17 Dadiani St: overhanging the street

Source: Author's image

The benevolence of mixed cultural identity of Tbilisi has been made much of (modernism modernity) however at a more detailed scale, the domestic cohabitation of shared spaces there is a further iteration of this condition. Neighbourliness and co-operation are core components of such living conditions as is borne out in survey data. Using raw social survey data in Georgia, it is possible to gain some insight and draw at least an economic frame of reference. There is a need for an alternative and less cynical path to be trodden.

Examples

Given the cultural context of Tbilisi and the precipitous state of its potential transition, it is relevant to draw parallels across the world. In France in 2000, 20 per cent of all dwellings were flats in co-ownership schemes and a legal framework of co-ownership, *copropriété* is established there, in the USA and Canada, condominiums and in Scotland, legal frameworks for flat ownership are derived from the common-law notion of tenement (Cole and Robinson, 2000, pp. 595-596). The tenement system, literally derived from the Latin "to hold", is derived from feudal systems of land ownership. New provisions of the Scottish Government (2004) Tenements (Scotland) Act demanded the inclusion of schemes for management and maintenance within the deeds, the act sets out the means to determine the boundaries of flats and the allocation of common parts and defines these divisions horizontally. Later provisions have been made to set out provisions for the setting of notices to demand repair. *Strata Title*, developed in Australia, forms the basis for models in Indonesia, South Africa, Singapore, Malaysia and New Zealand (Dredge and Coiacetto, 2011). The system was developed to relate to the rights and title definitions

of properties divided vertically onto different levels, it also makes provision for management and is the model upon which the increasingly popular “Common Interest Development” model is based. In contrast to the Scottish Tenement system, in the USA when a condominium is established there is a requirement for the owners to incorporate as a legal entity, forming a “homeowner association” the legislative requirement for this vary from state to state. These systems of tenure have been adapted and used all over the world, providing a significant body of experience to draw upon. Nevertheless, they are not necessarily applicable to all economic and urban contexts. For example, if the system was established at the time of construction, the opportunity to delineate areas of responsibility and to demarcate physical boundaries is much simpler. In addition, the adaptation of pre-existing legal agreements under differing political and legal frameworks may not offer a straightforward transition. In the absence of uniform guidance, organisations such as the Urban Land Institute, formed in 1936, have developed to promote best practice internationally. Webster and Le Goix emphasise the likelihood of privatised commonhold systems of tenure becoming more prevalent globally (Webster *et al.*, 2005), however, whether such systems are applicable in the complex post-Soviet context of Tbilisi remains to be established.

Forms of legal ownership are very varied and the impact of numerous stakeholders including lenders, insurers and agents present often conflicting concerns (Lemberg, 1979, pp. 704-705). Van der Merwe’s (2002) comparative discussion of the development of legal provisions for shared ownership internationally noted a distinction between systems that envisaged maintenance as a right or a duty and the complexity of shared or individual provisions for structural or servicing elements of the building. Yip points out that whereas co-operatives enable inhabitants to lease from a jointly owned stake, condominiums enable residents to purchase individual units but makes the ownership of and responsibility for shared areas less direct (Yip and Forrest, 2002, p. 706). In the vastly different but challenging developmental economic context of Hong Kong the Revitalising Historic Buildings through Partnership Scheme has succeeded in engaging the support of existing tenants and the government landlord in co-ordinating a preservation plan that retained the existing trades in situ. Such arrangements are obviously closely related to the economic conditions of the context and the extent of work required.

A number of projects have already enabled old buildings in Tbilisi to be re-furbished and “slum-dwellers” to be re-housed successfully (Van Assche and Salukvadze, 2011, p. 13), however it seems desirable to aim higher in terms of being able to maintain people in their familiar districts (should they wish it). Fan (2013) has also observed a tendency for top-down processes in China and a predilection for using heritage as an economic resource over resident’s interests, citing an instance where residents were relocated in the old town of Yangzhou. A current example in Hong Kong, “the blue house cluster (Commissioner for Heritage’s Office, 2014)”, has recently succeeded in maintaining its trade tenants in lieu of re-furbishing the domestic parts of the block. The potential for self-management to be a positive step in a renewal process has been established (Wekerle *et al.*, 1980). A study in 1987 observing maintenance in low-income condominiums noted a strong correlation between social cohesion and maintenance, concluding that self-management was less expensive and more effective. The paper found that renewal policies that encouraged residents involvement through building committees of unpaid elected residents in their management had a significant impact on the quality of subsequent maintenance (Werczberger and Ginsberg, 1987). Is it possible that the pre-existing social environment and ownership in Tbilisi presents an opportunity for such developments in the context of historic buildings?

It is notable in reviewing literature on the subject that whilst the complexity of the architect’s work in the refurbishment of historic shared residential buildings was acknowledged in the 1970s (Lemberg, 1979), the trend of heritage management rhetoric towards the community to some extent eclipses mention of the need for qualified input. Indeed Van Assche emphasises the mediating role of a new “guild of developers” in search of a more participatory planning system, placing architects negatively as destructive visionaries: “Developers are, more than in other transnational countries, influenced by the values and appreciations of the architecture profession, and the special attention of the president” (Van Assche and Salukvadze, 2013, pp. 99-100). Yet a study in Malaysia (Muhamad Ariff and Davies, 2011) has highlighted the need for professional advice to be made available to maintenance committees. Here the example of the Parisian *Compagnie des Architectes de copropriété* (Compagnie des Architectes de Copropriété, 2014) is particularly relevant. A list of architects offering specifically accredited conservation skills is offered to historic co-owned buildings in the city. Clearly the extended history and economic stability of the city provides an enviable context for such practices, however, it seems feasible that local professional groups in Tbilisi, such as *Tiflis Hamkari* (Elisashvili, 2011) may ultimately establish such a facility.

If a professional support network were in place, such as in the French *Archicopro*,

there appears to be capacity for high levels of organised participation. A survey on volunteering in Tbilisi revealed that 61 per cent of respondents identified that there was commonly residents an elected neighbour who would organise people or solve a problem him or herself (CRRC, 2011)[7].

Neighbourliness, cosmopolitanism and community co-ops in Tbilisi

In arguing for greater rigour to be taken in measures used to evaluate the improvement of social cohesion in historic urban environments, Landorf (2011) has defined three dimensions of social sustainability as social equity, social coherence and needs satisfaction and sets out the means for these to be evaluated at a local level. He asserts the notion that community action contributes to social sustainability. This is promising in the case of Tbilisi where evidence suggests capacity for such activity is relatively strong, a 2013 survey noted that 61 per cent of Tbilisi respondents felt it was important for a good citizen to do volunteer work and that 36 per cent of respondents had helped to clean a public space in the last six months (CRRC, 2013)[8]. A significant finding in the Malaysian context is the importance of reinforcing social connections between co-residents and between generations (Muhamad Ariff and Davies, 2011). In Tbilisi there is an established pattern of prolonged co-residence with parents (Roberts *et al.*, 2009). High levels of unemployment pose a significant impact on the place of home and the interaction with the public in everyday terms. The community in such a context may become increasingly familial. A survey noted that 48 per cent of households in Tbilisi have three adults or more living in them (CRRC, 2013)[9], 49 per cent of respondents stated that they were never alone during the day (CRRC, 2011)[10]. Salukvadze (1999) noted that maintenance was a key issue that remained unresolved in the privatisation of land ownership and cadastral reforms of the 1990s. Yet of 90 per cent of survey respondents in Tbilisi who perceived that common space in their area got regularly cleaned, only 26 per cent said it was cleaned by the government, 42 per cent said it was cleaned by neighbours rotating with just 8 per cent saying it was cleaned by a person or company hired by a neighbour (CRRC, 2011)[11]. These figures indicate existing forms of co-reliance.

Van Assche and Salukvadze (2011) draw focus to the somewhat random experience of “elite control” in protecting the heritage of Tbilisi (p. 16). The Caucasus Research Resource Center’s Survey on Volunteerism and Civic Participation 2011 revealed that 75 per cent of respondents in Tbilisi stated had a positive attitude to their neighbour[12]. In total, 61 per cent of respondents in Tbilisi identified that there was commonly an elected neighbour who would organise people or solve a problem him or herself. The largest group of respondents (31 per cent) suggested that if a tree blocked their neighbourhood entrance, all the neighbours together would solve the problem (CRRC, 2011)[13]. The Caucasus Barometer 2013 noted that 37 per cent of Tbilisi respondents had helped a neighbour or friend with household chores in the last six months (compared with 59 per cent of rural respondents)[14] and that 36 per cent of Tbilisi Respondents had helped to clean a public space in the last six months (compared with 37 per cent of rural respondents)[15]. Only 16 per cent of Tbilisi respondents believed close people would not be at all likely to help repair their apartment or house (CRRC, 2013)[16].

Suny (1994) notes that “Georgianness can never be surgically separated from the complex exchange that went on with her neighbours” (p. 333). At an urban scale, the “ownership” of Tbilisi and its cultural identity was uniquely mixed (Chanishvili, 2013, p. 7) and this is perhaps an idea that can be translated to help understand the smaller scale. Frederiksen (2012) has characterised the Tbilisi consumer as “caught between the unattainable and the inferior” (p. 131). During the Soviet era, the focus on the provision of services dominated rehabilitation efforts (Stepanov, 1970, p. 3). The benevolence of NGOs in Georgia since the 1990s in general appears to have been received with mixed feelings (Frederiksen, 2012, p. 132) – only 2 per cent of respondents in Tbilisi perceived that NGOs addressed issues concerning regional development, municipal services or local issues and none believed that they addressed arts and culture most (CRRC, 2011)[17]. Detailed survey data have been produced to establish the Georgian attitude to the roles of NGOs. This demonstrates that collaborative networks exist already whereby there are elections for person to look after issues concerning their immediate community. The Caucasus Barometer 2013 noted that 61 per cent of Tbilisi Respondents felt it was important for a good citizen to do volunteer work (CRRC, 2013)[18]. In contrast to the condominium examples of other nations, it might be assumed that in the case of Tbilisi, whereas there is insufficient economic stability to employ managers there might be better capacity to develop such networks from within.

Conclusion

The concept of identity has been cited here as a core component of social sustainability. It is critical that any attempt at legislative reform takes hold of these lessons and is

sensitive to the correlation between land tenure and identity. The notion might be expanded and applied to the whole issue of urban renewal in the city of Tbilisi. At a more detailed scale, in the domestic cohabitation of shared spaces, there is a further iteration of the risks and opportunities of this condition. Neighbourliness and co-operation are core components of sustaining such living conditions. Survey data suggest significant potential to foster trust in this area where adequate support networks to be put in place. It is critical that new professional networks are adapted to be most productive in collaboration with existing conditions. Whilst the tenure is as fragile as the buildings, it appears from this reading that the specific social, economic and physical environment could provide potential for a demonstration project engendering the cherished values of sustainability and social cohesion to flourish in this specific historic context. As legal arrangements in Scotland and the USA are refined to address legal issues of tenure and management agreements for co-habited buildings and no doubt lend finesse to future arrangements, the more specific and “bottom up” practices demonstrated in the French example of the Parisian *Compagnie des Architectes de copropriété* (Compagnie des Architectes de Copropriété, 2014) provides demonstrably valuable pathways for the treatment of historic buildings under such conditions. The ambition to establish frameworks for the more effective protection of the historic centre of Tbilisi is shared by many yet the complexities of governance have successively restricted their effectiveness in practice. The challenge in Tbilisi is related closely to significant challenges for building conservation and economic constraint, here it is suggested that an incremental opportunity lies in the apparent willingness and need for collaboration at a small scale.

Notes

1. Caucasus Barometer Survey 2013: HAVEJOB: SETTYPE: UNEMYRS: SETTYPE.
2. Caucasus Barometer Survey 2013: SETTYPE × PERSINC: INCSOUGO.
3. Caucasus Barometer Survey 2013: SETTYPE × OWNWASH: OWNFRDG: OWNCELL: OWNCOMP.
4. it appears only the Darbazi in Tbilisi that survives is that of Porakishvili at 11 Chekhov Street.
5. p. 28 – cites Xenophon, Strabo, Vitruvius.
6. Caucasus Barometer Survey 2013: HHASIZE: SETTYPE.
7. Volunteering and civic participation in Georgia survey 2011: SETTYPE × NEIORGEL: REEBLPR.
8. Caucasus Barometer Survey 2013: SETTYPE × IMPGCVW, SETTYPE × COMCLNER.
9. Caucasus Barometer Survey 2013: HHASIZE: SETTYPE.
10. Volunteering and Civic Participation in Georgia Survey 2011: TIMEALON: SETTYPE.
11. Volunteering and Civic Participation in Georgia Survey 2011: SETTYPE × REGCLEAN: COMCLLOG: COMCLNEC: COMCLCOM.
12. Volunteering and Civic Participation in Georgia Survey 2011. TIMEALON: NEIORGAT: SETTYPE.
13. Volunteering and Civic Participation in Georgia Survey 2011: NEIORGPR: SETTYPE: NEIORGEL: SETTYPE: REEBLPR: SETTYPE.
14. Caucasus Barometer Survey 2013: ACTCHORE.
15. Caucasus Barometer Survey 2013: SETTYPE: ACTCLEAN.
16. Caucasus Barometer Survey 2013: EXPREPN: SETTYPE.
17. Volunteering and Civic Participation in Georgia 2011 Survey: NGOAREGD: SETTYPE: NGOACULT: SETTYPE.
18. Caucasus Barometer Survey 2013: IMPGCVW: SETTYPE: ICITHELP: SETTYPE.

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