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Lada Stevanović

Mladena Prelić

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović

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NAUČNICE U DRUŠTVU

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Urednice:

Lada Stevanović

Mladena Prelić

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović

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Akademik Vladimir S. Kostić, predsednik SANU

Akademik Nada Milošević Đorđević

Prof. dr Tanja Ćirković Veličković, dopisni član SANU

Prof. dr Ljubinka Trgovčević

Prof. dr Mirjana Rašević

Izdavač:

Etnografski institut SANU

Kneza Mihaila 36/IV, Beograd, tel. 011 2636-804

e-mail: eisanu@ei.sanu.ac.rs

<http://www.etno-institut.co.rs>

Za izdavača: Dragana Radojičić

Urednice:

Lada Stevanović

Mladena Prelić

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović

Recenzenti:

prof. dr Ljubinka Trgovčević

prof. dr Jelena Đorđević

dr Srđan Radović

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Jelena Ćeriman

INSTITUTE FOR PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL THEORY, UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE

Irena Fiket

INSTITUTE FOR PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL THEORY, UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE

Intra-family Engagement? A Study of Female Academic Staff at the University of Belgrade

According to the results of various studies, women remain responsible for most household duties. This distribution is also reflected in the position of women in academia, since the family-dominant model tends to be reproduced within the academic community as well. This imbalance is reflected in the distribution of “lower rank” jobs in academia, and the shifting of most responsibilities for such jobs to women, leaving men with more time to pursue academic work. This situation, originating in the issue of family responsibilities, actually raises academic questions. The analysis in the paper is based on empirical insights from a 2017 survey conducted among academic staff at the University of Belgrade, and focuses on the following question: what factors lead to engagements within the family which seek to change patriarchal patterns as expressed in the unequal distribution of domestic and family care work, and which indirectly affect the distribution of responsibilities between men and women in the academic sphere?

Keywords: academics, patriarchal norms, engagement, family, science and higher education

Introduction

Even though the results of different research studies illustrate that women remain responsible for the majority of domestic and family care work (Sullivan, Billari and Altinas 2014; Evertsson and Neremo 2007), this problem, unjustifiably, loses its attractiveness in public discussions, even those involving feminist approaches (Fiket 2018). The relevance of questions related to the division of care work within the family has been replaced, in public debate, by questions regarding the work-family balance and specific suggestions for its achievement through a more fluid organisation of women’s work. This has led to the actual acceptance of the unequal

division of domestic and family care work as a given, unchangeable reality. Institutional measures that could lead to a balance between family and professional life have their goal and point (decreasing professional discrimination, for example), but these cannot be sufficient to change patriarchal structures because such measures do not question the division of labour within the household (Calafà 2001). The institutionalisation of more flexible working hours, as one of the most frequently used measures, can help the professional achievements of women, but it cannot solve the problems that come from an unequal division of domestic and family care work. Ironically, considerable research actually shows that the flexible organisation of working hours can lead to a double burden: rather than freeing women from their traditional role in the household, it supplements it with a new professional role (Saraceno 2004). In addition, such a division of labour is reflected also in the position of women within academia, given that the dominant model within the family has a tendency to reproduce itself in the academic community (Guarino and Borden 2017).

A consideration of the limits of institutional top-down measures in achieving the professional equality of women through the change of patriarchal patterns, both within and outside the family, has led to the conclusion that it is necessary to explore the possibilities of changing the patriarchal model through the bottom-up approach, that is, through engagement that comes from the family (political) community. Research about social engagement, within various social communities, shows that bottom-up initiatives are significant movers of change within such communities (Della Porta and Diani 1999). Bearing this in mind, the main research question that focuses on bottom-up engagement is the following: What factors lead to engagement within the family that is directed toward changing patriarchal patterns seen in the unequal distribution of domestic and family care work?

The definition of engagement that we adopted in our research emerges from understanding the concept of engagement within different social studies (Donati 2013) and it is formulated as follows: *engagement in the family occurs when reflection by women (or men) about the unequal division of domestic and family care work moves her (or him) to act toward changing patriarchal patterns (reflected in the unequal division of domestic and family care work) and is oriented toward including other members of the social community (family), in the specific line of action.*

Data, theoretical framework and main assumptions

The analysis in this article is based on the empirical insights of wider exploratory research based on 20 in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted in 2017 with women academics at the University of Belgrade. The “snowball technique” was used to reach the interlocutors, relying on a wide network of contacts in order to avoid having women with identical work and family experience. Nevertheless, the sample is “distorted” as the invitation was better received by women who were aware of the relevance of gender equality issues. The sample is characterised by high socio-economic status, reflected in the possession of educational, economic, cultural and social capital.

Given the character of our sample,¹ the theory of resources (Evertsson and Neramo 2004) was used to formulate the main assumption. This theory suggests that negotiations over the division of domestic and family care work are under the direct influence of resources which partners or other family members possess. In effect, the partners with the greatest resources (economic, educational or social status) perceive their own professional work as highly relevant, but also value their own free time and therefore will prioritise their right to engage in negotiations for equal (or less) participation in domestic and family care work. It follows that, since the sample of female academics is homogeneous in terms of high economic, educational and social status, the presence of engagement that is directed toward changing patriarchal patterns (seen in unequal distribution of domestic and family care work) may be expected to be constant. In other words, the theory of resources informs the main theoretical assumption in this article: the possibility of engagement directed towards changing patriarchal patterns is in direct relationship to an individual’s resources (economic, educational or social status).

¹ The sample was drawn from the academic staff population at the University of Belgrade. The aim was to reach variation regarding the scientific field of our interlocutors: eight interlocutors are from the field of social sciences and humanities, six from the field of natural and mathematical sciences and six from technological sciences. The number of interlocutors was defined based on the percentage of women in the aforementioned scientific fields, according to the official statistics (RZS 2017). The sample consisted of women at the beginning of their academic career (up to five years of work). Since the purpose of the wider research was to identify gender hierarchies at the University, there was an interest in hearing about the topic from women who have not yet solidified their positions within the academy. For more details about the sample characteristics and the overall methodology of the research see Čeriman, Fiket and Rác (2018).

However, the contextualisation of conditions in which family life takes place in Serbia (Stanojević 2015; Tomanović 2017; Ćeriman 2019) lead to the identification of the patriarchy theory (of Silvia Walby) as equally relevant for the research and to the according (re)formulation of our assumptions. The theory of patriarchy clarifies the survival of asymmetrical gender roles in society even when women have higher resources at their disposal. The different social expectations for men and women form the foundation of such asymmetry, where the woman's primary role is that of mother and housewife, no matter her working status, while the man is seen as primarily engaged in activities related to the public sphere, holding the authority and decision-making power (Tomanović 2017). The acceptance of the patriarchal (normative) gender order is visible in the acceptance of values that maintain such female and male gender roles.

When the patriarchy theory is taken into consideration, the research assumptions change as follows: in partnership negotiations in which women's engagement is directed towards changing an unequal division of domestic and family care work, manifestations of resistance from the male partner can be expected. Furthermore, it could also be expected that not all women from our sample would engage in negotiations directed towards change because some accept the patriarchal gender order and, consequently, the unequal division of domestic and family care work. It is expected that this acceptance might be even stronger in families with children due to the acceptance of the normative idea of the primary role of the woman as mother and her "natural connection" with children (Stanojević 2015; Tomanović 2017; Ćeriman 2019).

By using the above described theoretical framework, the collected data is interpreted in an attempt to answer the main research question: What factors lead to engagement within the family that is directed toward changing patriarchal patterns seen in the unequal distribution of domestic and family care work?

Analysis

Before examining engagement and the factors that influence it, it is important to give a brief overview of the overall results of the wider research from which we extracted the data used in this paper (see Ćeriman, Fiket and Rác 2018). Overall, our previous findings show that there is a clear situation of inequality that is characterised by the infrequent participation of

men (partners, brothers, or fathers) in household labour. Men do not take responsibility for activities, and even if they do participate, they usually only *help* women in doing domestic and family care work and women most often feel “like a household project manager”.

As previously stated, and following the theory of resources, engagement directed towards the equal division of domestic and family care work would be expected to be under the direct influence of resources possessed by partners, and our data partially confirms that engagement does take place in the households examined. The interlocutors testify that men are not equally involved in domestic and family care work and also that their sporadic involvement in it occurs after a series of requests. Upon describing partner relations that involve negotiations around domestic and family care work, the female interlocutors usually use notions pointing to conflict situations (“war”, “fight”, “wrestling”...).

Interviewer: How does such a division of obligations make you feel?

Interlocutor: I don't know, it annoys me. [...] We are constantly wrestling about it [...] and somehow I don't feel that I've won. And it annoys me that it's a war, but I don't feel I've won anything for myself or won the fight...

Even though the female academics from our sample recognise that they do not manage to achieve an equal division of domestic and family care work, most of them clearly show their dissatisfaction and do engage in order to change such division of the household labour. This finding is particularly relevant when compared to the findings of the research on parenthood in Serbia which was carried out on a sample that is not homogeneous in terms of having higher resources at their disposal, and which shows that neither mothers nor fathers voice their dissatisfaction with such a division of domestic and family care work. The lack of engagement, in those studies, is explained by the internalisation of the “good mother” and “good father” norms (Ćeriman 2019, Tomanović-Mihajlović 1997; Tomanović 2010).

The second group of findings are related to the assumptions based on the patriarchy theory, and show that the experience of the unequal division of domestic and family care work within the interlocutor's family of origin, and the accepted social norms which support such unequal division, are exactly the factors that negatively determine engagement directed toward changing patriarchal patterns within the family. Even though the great majority of interlocutors spoke about certain practices they use in order to achieve greater equality in their households, the data show that at the normative level our interlocutors actually support patriarchal patterns of family relations. This

is especially noticeable in family-of-origin narratives: interlocutors find various arguments to justify the practices of their own fathers who often did not participate at all in domestic and family care work.

Interlocutor: You grow up here and you're raised thinking that it is shameful for men to do laundry, and then you do some housework, you take it over, and during that time you could be doing something else.

Interviewer: Who does the laundry in your house?

Interlocutor: Mostly me, because, it's me, I don't like it when men do the laundry.

[...]

Interviewer: You say that your father participated with fewer obligations in their household. Why do you think that was the case?

Interlocutor: If you knew him it would be clear to you. I'm joking, of course, he's spaced out a bit, clumsy, it's not for him, maybe if he did the dishes he would break something, and simply, this is how they arranged it, with him doing something more difficult physically, while mother does other household chores. Maybe they know the difference between male and female work, although I don't think that's the case here. If they told him to do something, he would do it without any problems.

Patriarchal heritage from the family of origin, in conjunction with the influence of the normative gender regime (Walby 1991), as factors relevant to the dynamics of family life in Serbia (Tomanović 2017; Čeriman 2019), make possible the reproduction of patriarchal patterns in the families of the interlocutors. Even when female academics are aware of patriarchal heritage, support for patriarchal norms that negatively influence engagement directed towards changing the unequal division of domestic and family care work can be identified in their attitude.

My husband thinks that he's been given some obligations that are not really his, but I think it's a consequence of exterior pressure because when we say that we share work, it's usually greeted with disapproval: "He washes the dishes!?", so that sometimes it is under this influence. He soon realises that it's only a negative influence from others and that you have to compromise with the person you live with.

A third group of findings prove that, due to the acceptance of the norms about the primary role of woman as mother, the birth of a child represents a factor that negatively influences engagement directed toward changing patriarchal patterns within the family. Narratives of female academic workers

with children show that they face completely different difficulties in doing daily care and domestic work compared to those without children. The data actually show that, with the birth of a child, the “struggle” against patriarchal patterns is interrupted and the greater part of domestic and family care work is automatically transferred to women.

Interviewer: What was the situation before the child was born?

Interlocutor: It seems to me that my husband and I worked together more back then, since we had more time. [...] When the child was a little baby, everything had to be clean, one had to sweep the floor every day, to dust... [...] It was more relaxed before the child was born.

Interviewer: What was the division of obligations then?

Interlocutor: Maybe it was 50 / 50. Now, it's so and so. My husband will do everything; but I have to tell him what and when to do it.

It should be noted that these findings are confirmed also in the interviews with academic workers without children. In other words, when they reflect about potential childbirth in the future, they are worried because they expect a more unequal division of domestic and family care work to take place when that happens. The general impression is that there is some widely accepted norm that with the birth of a child more household chores will be transferred to the woman, and because of this they are holding firmly to their free and professional time now “when they do not have any obligations regarding children”.

Discussion

All the interlocutors reflected on the unequal division of domestic and family care work between women and men during the interviews, and most were aware of the resources they own. Nevertheless, reflexivity does not necessarily lead to the engagement (expressed through various forms of request directed toward their partner) that seeks to achieve the equal division of domestic and family care work.

In that sense the economic, social and educational resources of female academics could be considered as factors that motivate engagement directed toward changing patriarchal patterns within the family, but do not have a direct connection with it. The research instead illustrates the clear negative influence of patriarchal norms on engagement. Experience of the unequal division of domestic and family care work within the family of origin strongly

affects the engagement directed toward changing the unequal division of domestic and family care work. In the same way, the presence of children represents a factor that negatively determines the engagement of the interlocutors toward changing patriarchal patterns. Female academic workers with children rarely engage in actions oriented toward the more equal division of domestic and family care work compared to those without children. Besides, interviews show that more egalitarian relations existed in the families of academic workers before the birth of a child. It should also be mentioned that the rare examples of the equal division of domestic and family care work between men and women which were observed in the research show that the possibility of change starts with reflection by both partners, and with their critical thinking about gender roles and the general positions of men and women in a broader normative social system. However, given that our research did not explore the attitudes and experiences of the interlocutors' partners, the findings are limited and some future research focused on family dynamics (the flexibility and adaptability of partners in new situations) could provide a more encompassing explanation of the issues explored.

If these findings are considered as a part of a broader picture, then it may be said that they are relevant for the academic professional sphere, since the unequal division of domestic and family care work that grants women the place of organisers and main workers is reflected in the very position of women within the academic community (Guarino and Borden 2017). Further research on this topic could provide significant insights for the improvement of the general levels of equality between men and women, but also for the improvement of the physical and mental health of women who remain responsible for organising and doing the majority of domestic and family care work (Moreno et al. 2011; Fiket 2018).

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Jelena Čeriman

INSTITUT ZA FILOZOFIJU I DRUŠTVENU TEORIJU, UNIVERZITET U BEOGRADU

Irena Fiket

INSTITUT ZA FILOZOFIJU I DRUŠTVENU TEORIJU, UNIVERZITET U BEOGRADU

Angažman unutar porodice? Studija o akademskim radnicama Univerziteta u Beogradu

Prema rezultatima različitih istraživanja, žena je i dalje nositeljka najvećeg dela obaveza u domaćinstvu. Ovakva raspodela reflektuje se i na poziciju žena u okviru akademske zajednice, budući da model koji je dominantan u porodici ima tendenciju da se reprodukuje i unutar nje. Neravnoteža u akademskoj zajednici ogleda se u raspodeli poslova „nižeg ranga“ i prebacivanja većine odgovornosti za takve poslove na žene, dok muškarcima ostaje više vremena za bavljenje akademskim radom. Takva situacija od problematike porodičnih obaveza zapravo čini akademsko pitanje. Analiza u ovom radu se zasniva na empirijskim uvidima istraživanja koje je sprovedeno 2017. godine sa akademskim radnicama Univerziteta u Beogradu, a fokusira se na sledeće pitanje: koji faktori dovode do angažmana u porodici koja stremi menjanju patrijarhalnih obrazaca iskazanih u neravnomernoj raspodeli poslova u domaćinstvu, a koji posredno utiču i na raspodelu zaduženja u akademskoj sferi između muškaraca i žena?

Ključne reči: akademske radnice, patrijarhalni obrasci, angažman, porodica, visoko obrazovanje.

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