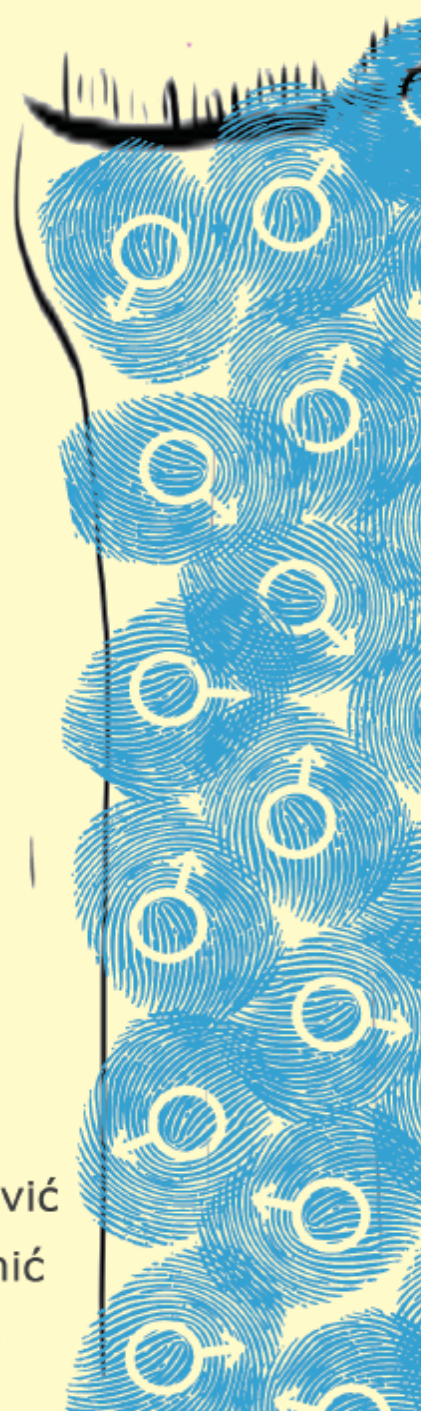


MIND THE GAP(S)

Family, Socialization and Gender



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Title: MIND THE GAP(S): Family, Socialization and Gender

Editors: Tamara Petrović-Trifunović, Sanja Milutinović Bojanić, Gazela Pudar Draško

Publishers: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade

Center for Ethics, Law and Applied Philosophy

For publisher: Petar Bojanić

Reviewers: Smiljka Tomanović, Manfred Zentner

Print: Colorgrapx, Belgrade

Date and place: Belgrade, 2015.

Copies: 100 copies

ISBN: 978-86-82417-81-1

Prepared within the framework of the Regional Research Promotion Programme in the Western Balkans (RRPP), which is run by the University of Fribourg upon a mandate of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, SDC, Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. The views expressed in the paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent opinions of the SDC and the University of Fribourg.



Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
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UNIVERSITÉ DE FRIBOURG SUISSE
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MIND THE GAP(S) – FROM SOCIALIZATION TO GENDER IN FAMILY AND BEYOND

*Tamara Petrović-Trifunović, Sanja Milutinović Bojanić, Gazela Pudar
Draško*

From the beginning of XXI century and especially starting with the European integration path of Serbia, the issue of gender equality has become one of the focal points of planning the further development of the Serbian society. The gender equality concept assumes that all members of the human community have the right to develop their potential without the limitations that come from imposing certain gender roles. Since gender is a socially conditioned category, changes will be hard to achieve unless all sides understand and distinguish the repressiveness of socially constructed male gender roles. The issue of women's in/equality cannot be understood without examining the all gender roles. The significance of pursuing gender socialization can be seen in its epistemological function at the causal level, with the possibility of studying the issue of the distribution of power in society among the sexes. Also, examining the process of gender socialization in families in South-East European region sheds light on the process of social control since gender roles are socially constructed and imposed, and behaviour, thinking and attitudes of members of a certain sex are regulated using social pressure and collective moral oversight. This book was conceived as attempt to enable the

tracking of changes of dominant values orientations (from traditional to modern to postmodern) in the region.

Many theorists advocate that the traditional values orientation is still present in Serbia (Pestic, 2006). When it comes to the features of the socialist period that still exist in the post-socialist era, we note the presence of authoritarianism and collectivism which represent substantial obstacles on the road to modernization of the Serbian society. Unresolved national issues leftover from the socialist era, as well as impoverishment and isolation have delayed modernization processes in Serbia and have conditioned a turn to traditional values patterns in the period of post-socialist transformation. The values transformation during this period is marked with national homogenization and de-secularization where collective and authoritarian values dominate over the individual ones. The source of collectivism in the period of post-socialist transformation can be found in nationalist ideology and unresolved ethnic issues.

The end of the 20th century brought a period of political upheaval (the crash of the socialist system, war), socio-economic problems (increase in poverty, unemployment, social destitution, collapse of institutions) and the strengthening of religious communities which stops the modernization taking place in families. In this period women withdrew from the public into the private sphere where they take up the key role in creating and implementing strategies for the household's survival. Marina Blagojevic states that a "sacrificial micro-matriarchy" can be observed in this period as a match for the public patriarchy (Blagojevic, 2002). The turbulent process of social transformation in the post socialistic era brought about a mixture of traditional, modern and postmodern values orientations in parents viewpoints and behaviour, as well as in intergenerational relations within the family. Research of families preformed in the second half of the 20th century show a tendency of departure from the traditional model of regulating family relations, but a resistance to these tendencies as well reflected in the inadequate sharing of household work, lack of engagement of fathers in the raising of children and rejection of new egalitarian values by women (Buric, Mihovilovic et al., 1975; Milic, 2010). When it

comes to structural changes in the family, there are notions that in families in Serbia there is a process of re-patriarchalization and re-traditionalization (Milic 2004; Bobic, 2008; Tomanovic, 2002). This process has led to reproducing gender inequalities and traditional values and norms in the family domain.

When it comes to attitudes and practices of individuals and families, a mixture of traditional and modern tendencies can be observed (Bobic, 2010). The situation with respect to dominant values orientation, when it comes to gender regimes, is similar in all countries in the region, not only Serbia. The similarity stems from the fact that both countries went through a transitional period whose common denominators are: state budget restrictions, drastic decline of the standard of living, erosion of the position of the middle classes and the formation of a new elite, re-traditionalization and re-patriarchalization of values, and with that recuperation of ethnic identities and instrumentalization of women, as well as the affirmation of masculine values and masculinity as a value itself. Also, the process of globalization in the cultural sphere leads to the convergence of values systems of different cultural contexts, and reducing the gap between gender regimes.

And again, on the other side, there are tendencies to observe a change that has occurred in family domain and gender relations in the last century, which has, then, put into motion numerous possibilities, acceptable choice of behaviours, parental styles, deconstructed gender roles etc. Blagojevic Hjuson claims that majority of her respondents in Serbia accept double career path (of both man and woman in family) as normal, due to the long-term work engagement of women in the past (Blagojevic Hjuson, 2013).

It is easy to understand why such a representation appeals to academics and researchers, as well as to social actors in everyday life. But do the data support the claim that there has been a revolutionary change in approaches towards family behaviours and sexual values?

It was our aim in this volume to question the rootedness of this exciting narrative in the theoretical reconceptualization and in data acquired through

research of family and gender, and also to further explore the relationship between new equality regimes and continued gender inequalities in familial domains of society. Would it be possible to highlight certain pronounced value shifts about some aspects of family life, while other values show greater continuity? Is there a clear demarcating point between traditional, modern and postmodern concepts of the family and gender roles? And how does it differ in various societal contexts?

We are also interested in the following question: how do we define family/families today? What are core values that fathers and mothers transmit to their children; which educational patterns and upbringing practices prevail in their attitudes? How do they reflect socio-cultural and historical contexts? And how are then those practices and gender specific family roles perceived in society? What is the role of perceptions and representations in the support and re-enactment of gender and family constructs through the reproduction of the patriarchal matrix? By using gender as an analytical tool with the aid of which parental relations are examined and understood, we want to bring to light supposedly gender neutral representations and living conditions of family and gender structures that shape and construct lives of women and of men. Once the observed practices and representations are revealed, what methodological suggestions need to be developed so that the specialist work or a policy field may be meaningfully analysed, advised and put into action?

The papers in this collection are presented in four blocks, consisting of three to four contributions each, and they go as follows: Research in Gender and Family; Gender in Family Perspective, Representation and Acceptance of Gender Roles and Family Issues in Society; and Gender, Identity and (Political) Confrontations. We must immediately state that this was certainly not the only possible classification of the selected texts. Instead of thematic criterion, to list only the few possible alternatives, we could have opted for the criteria of authors' discipline of origin, approach, or methodology employed. This perceived arbitrariness, however, does not necessarily present an issue; we would argue that, in fact, it is a proof in itself of the perplexity and interconnectedness of the phenomena examined. To study family

is to study socialization and educational practices, but it is at the same time to gender, identity and social roles and representations. Last but not the least: it is to study the fields of (political and/or identity) conflicts and contestations, both as a context and as integral part of family life gendered.

Now to go back to the content of this volume, we start with the Research in Gender in Family and with Ewa Cukrowska's paper in which different ways of dealing, measuring and tracking gender in/equality in its broad meaning are discussed. Several gender related equality measures developed by international institutions engaged in the monitoring and evaluating the degree of gender unequal relations are considered by the author, with the special attention given to three measures introduced by the UNDP – Gender related Development Index, Gender Empowerment Measure and Gender Inequality Index. The analysis uncovers data limitations, drawbacks and difficulties with the interpretation, based on the recent data from CEE and CIS economies. The paper calls attention to the need of improving the quality and quantity of gender disaggregated data. It also stresses the importance of considering both men and women in gender sensitive analysis as well as mainstreaming gender into the governmental planning, programming and budgeting.

Sailing the policy waters further we continue with Verica Pavić-Zentner paper on the perception of gender in the social environment of a family of the experts working in teaching, counselling and researching, with the accent on their work in policy forming and implementing in client-oriented professions. Applying the action research approach in form of a workshop, the main research question was how the experts involved in solving family crisis and facilitating the transition phases from one family form to another perceive and react to the multiple sources of vulnerability caused by the gender inequality and gender imbalance in every aspect of family life, and all the accompanying issues steaming from the social surroundings. Based on the reactions and responses of the expert participants, the research shows that the support system defines a family in hard nuclear lines, where the gender roles stayed firm in their everyday tasks and responsibilities.

In the third text in this block, Rada Drezgić offers the answer on the question we posed in the beginning of this introduction, based on her research on the gender (in)equalities within the family in the case of Serbia. According to empirical evidence presented in this paper, in Serbian society there exists the general support of gender equality, and also a slow but steady transition towards a more egalitarian organization of family life. At the level of practice, the gender gap in the family has narrowed significantly as men are getting more involved in housework and childcare without their masculinity being threatened. However, the ultimate responsibility for household duties and care work belongs to women while men mostly help out, more or less regularly; when it is necessary; or when other priorities have been met. Full gender equality cannot be reached without sharing care within the family. In Serbia, much like in most developed industrial countries, women are still left with the major responsibility for housework and child care, which negatively affects their participation within the public realm and the overall position in society.

Here we encounter the ever-revolving issues of motherhood and fatherhood. These are the topics present in most of the texts selected for this volume, yet we have chosen for this block, six papers which have as its core idea the deconstruction or critique of the attributes attached to the social roles of mother and of father and societal pressures connected with parental styles in the upbringing of children. Firstly, there is Viktorija Borovska's paper on demystification of maternal instinct and maternal ideologies. The author questions the existence of a maternal instinct, having in mind anthropological and psychological theses, as well as the data obtained in the interviews with mothers in the Republic of Macedonia. Research was conducted with regard to maternal experiences which included the expectations from motherhood and views on maternal instinct. Exactly in parental roles, or more specifically, in perceiving maternal practices as biologically conditioned, Borovska sees the root of gender inequality. She states that by employing the language of biology to woman's role in the family, women are reduced to the role of mothers; as

if they are predetermined to act practically without other legitimate choice and solely in the “institution” of motherhood.

Still focusing on mothers, in the second text of this chapter Nada Sekulić sees mothering as an agency of love based on responsibility for life and its nourishment and claims that this is exactly the lacking principle in the prevailing neoliberal politics of social sustenance, survival and development. In her view, motherhood and mothering should be starting points for entering the battlefields for negotiating and recognition of the principle of nourishment as complex and highly developed social practice, form of political activism, and intellectually valuable topics of everyday experience which makes life purposeful and truly growing. By “socializing” motherhood and mothering in social theory and political practice, we should then promote the idea of responsible development in which life, health, education, social care, peace, nature and humanity are considered indispensable common goods and common responsibility, and not only private or experts’ issues.

Contextualizing the experience of motherhood in contemporary transnational families, in her research Alissa Tolstokorova seeks to answer the question of strategies employed to reconcile work abroad and family life in transnational families. The paper focuses on gender implications of migration for motherhood and more broadly, for the institution of transnational parenthood in Ukraine. The main argument of the paper is that changes in gender roles, encouraged by migration, primarily affect mothers, who assume the roles of bread-winners and providers. This expands their family obligations and perpetuates roles of “pseudo-moms” exposed to multiple exploitations in *transnational motherhood*, but does not entail their empowerment. At the same time, author states, changes in the gender roles of fathers are only temporary, and do not entail tangible transformations in the institution of fatherhood in Ukraine.

Next we have research on assessments of family roles and relationships, conducted by Marina Matejević, Jelisaveta Todorović and Dragana Jovanović. Results showed that among students at the University of Niš, Serbia, the quality of family relationships was estimated better when the actor of the story presented was

the father rather than the mother. It was the case with all almost all educational styles of parents. Expectations of mothers were higher in terms of tenderness, support, care and control, so the assessments were more rigorous. It is the authors' interpretation that the findings may be associated with stereotypes that exist in Serbian culture and thereby with the double criteria in assessing the adequacy behaviour of men and women - mothers and fathers. They state that there is a tendency to a more critical assess of maternal behaviour because of the presence of stereotypes that she is the one responsible i.e. that she is to "blame" for the education of the children.

Following we have another research on upbringing practices. The main objective of Jelena Čeriman's research was the detection of attitudes and models of upbringing practices of parents in the process of gender socialization of children in 8 cities in Montenegro. The results point to the correlation between the value orientations of parents towards gender roles in a given society and their selection of certain parental style. The results also show that the selection of specific parental style also depends on family dynamics, quality of the partners' relationship and openness of communication, flexibility of family members and their mutual support, as well as on the "emotional capacity" of parents and their achieved self-awareness.

This last remark corresponds in a way with the last text in this chapter, Jelena Đurić's text on family values and modern identities. In this paper, parental identities and their upbringing practices and the paradox of women's rights are seen in the context of the cultural recognition of family values, originating in the traditional society, which still seem resilient to modernization policy in Serbia. The author proposes that reconciliation is possible by shifting the paradigm from the obsolete age of domination towards the appealing age of partnership.

In the next chapter we turn to the question of representation and acceptance of gender identities, gender roles and family issues in a society. Drawing upon the ambivalent sexism theory and analysing benevolent sexism in family and romantic relationships, Marija Todorović Tatar states that hostile and benevolent sexism are

based on the same patriarchal ideology and both reinforce traditional gender roles and preserve patriarchal social structures. While the traditional, hostile and overt gender discrimination has become openly recognized, condemned and criticized, benevolent sexism is rarely identified as a form of gender-based prejudice because of its positive tone, but it is very harmful to gender equality. Dichotomies “breadwinner/caregiver”, “strong/weak” and “active/passive” are thus easily reconfirmed through benevolent sexism and “positive” gender stereotypes widely present in what has traditionally been understood as “public sphere”.

Speaking of the public sphere and its commercial outlet, we next turn to Ioanna Fokou’s paper on the representation of women in advertisements. The author emphasizes the dominant role the advertisements play in people’s lives, not only regarding the configuration of consumer habits but also their role in the formation of gendered social segregation and stratification. This paper presents how women are portrayed as either sex objects or jolly housewives technologically illiterate, and in both ways subordinate to men. Finally, it is seen as the process through which women and men receive veiled social messages about their role in a society.

This is followed by Snežana Grujić’s and Jelena Petrović-Desnica’s paper on the question regarding the gender identity influence on the idea of art. The aim of the empirical study presented in this text was to determine the social status of female artists in Šumadija region in Serbia, as well as the awareness of the gendered status and reputation in this field. The preliminary hypothesis that female artists in Šumadija exhibit a greater agreement with traditional than with feminist attitudes upon defining art has been confirmed, although one group of artists showed high scores on gender sensitivity in certain aspects.

Returning to the family sphere, we have Staša Lučić’s paper on the representation of divorce in popular culture and its correlation to the rise of divorce culture. The research presented focuses on the cultural factors and attempts to determine the level of the acceptance of the phenomenon of divorce in society through the subversive reading of its representation in popular series and movies during the 1980s in Serbia, as well as the way they were perceived by audience.

Different aspects of divorce, as framed by TV shows, were analysed: the main reasons and grounds for divorce, the issue of life after divorce, the consistency of the decision and the long process of divorce itself.

Finally, in the last chapter, two fields of gender and identity contestations in society are explored by two papers each. First, we have the question of gendered impact of living in (post)conflict societies. Ivana Artonović analyses the daily life of women in Northern Kosovo and presents in her paper the results of empirical research on everyday life of one hundred women living in northern Kosovo, in divided city of Kosovska Mitrovica. It is shown how women emphasize commitment to nation and religion, but at the same time express the need for life in peace and multicultural environment. Based on conversations with the interviewees, impression arose that family after the war has strengthened its central position as a resource from which all members draw much needed energy from. Results also point to the necessity of raising awareness among women on their importance in family, local community and society in general. The author concludes that this is needed for women in order to encourage organised resistance against subordination in patriarchal ideology.

Özhan Hancılar examines women's role in the armed struggle for Kurdish rights and the causes of the relatively strong presence of women in the PKK, the Kurdistan Workers' Party, which is classified as a terrorist organization by Turkey, US and EU. The author shows how, in order to escape from the pressure of male dominated traditional Kurdish culture, many young Kurdish women have joined the PKK, in which they have enjoyed equal rights and status with men. Author states that Kurdish women in Turkey have two struggles: the external one, to defend their ethnic rights, and an internal one, to defend gender equality. In this way, he concludes, The PKK partly owes its success to politicizing and mobilizing women to its clear understanding of this correlation.

From societies with ethnical conflicts to conflicts between LGBT people and society they live in, as well as internal identity conflicts, we conclude the volume with the papers of Zorica Mršević and Džanan Berberović. Mršević analyses the

condemnation and rejection which LGBT youth in Serbia face at their parental homes. She points to dismissal of LGBT youth in Serbia being of double origin, at it 1) partly stems from ignorance of the parents themselves, and 2) partly comes from the strong presence of homophobia in the public discourse, which affects both the atmosphere in schools, sports, politics, the media and naturally, supports homophobia of LGBT children's families. Violence, hate speech and intolerance are the forms of homophobia perpetrated in public, to which the state hasn't had an efficient and adequate institutional response.

In the last text in this section, Džanan Berberović presents a case analysis of a 30 year-old homosexual male from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who sought psychological counselling because of depressive symptoms. A semi-structured interview, intelligence test, personality inventory and projective techniques were performed for the personality profile analysis which shows how living in an anti-homosexual environment can lead to internalisation of negative attitudes towards homosexuality, which results in not accepting one's own homosexual identity, followed with depression, masochistic desires and feeling of guilt.

Last section is dedicated to policy issues, with Zorana Antonijević exploring how gender mainstreaming is adopted and implemented in public policies in Serbia using family policies as an example.

We do hope that this publication will enrich the corpus of scientific knowledge and research in this field with new insights on gender regimes and gender relations in the region and beyond. Also, we expect that researching values and practices of gendering in family will foster understanding the cause of the gender inequality problem in these societies. Finally, we hope that this book can be a basis for provoking public discussion on the issue, in terms of defining the course in which changes should take place.

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I Research in Gender and Family

MEASURING GENDER INEQUALITY. GENDER SENSITIVE INDICATORS AND AGGREGATE INDEXES: WHAT STORY DO THEY TELL?¹

Ewa Cukrowska

INTRODUCTION

Achieving gender equality is critical towards the greater human development and sustainable growth. Since both men's and women's welfare constitute human welfare, ensuring their equal access to opportunities, freedoms and assets is essential for enhancing the development. Globally, women experience lower employment rates and wages than men as well as lower political participation and thus the reduced power to speak up their rights. Due to the reproduction, women face higher difficulties associated with the conditions of their health. Prevailing social norms and institutional obstacles prevent women to effectively combine paid work and child care. The gender equality approach of program and policy development however recommends the policy makers to focus both on women and

¹This research has been conducted during the author's stay with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Bratislava Regional Centre for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States. The views expressed in the paper are solely those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of, and should not be attributed to, UNDP Bratislava Regional Centre. This paper benefited substantially from discussions with Andrey Ivanov and Elena Danilova-Cross.

men and their possible disadvantages in the social and economic spheres.² Indeed, men also suffer from disadvantages in comparison with women. Firstly, men face institutional disadvantage of the army service obligation or limited right to claim paternity leave. Men are subject to higher incidence of alcoholism and drug abuse than women that further leads to their relative shorter life expectancy. In many societies, men are socially recognized as main breadwinners of the family, which is associated with men's responsibility of providing the financial security. Finally, in many countries men are requested to work in paid employment relatively longer than women before leaving for the pension.

Measuring the degree of gender equality that would enable cross-national or cross-regional comparisons as well as tracking the changes and trends over the time is thus highly needed. The need of discussing, monitoring and evaluating gender equality in the framework of human development was raised up already in the 1991 issue of HDR and since then various competing gender-related measures have been developed. The complexity of the concept and the dimensions the measures are accounting for are perhaps the main purposes of the development of so many, yet not perfect, gender-related measures.

The aim of this paper is to analyse and uncover drawbacks of existing approaches of measuring the complex issue of gender equality. This paper seeks to explore different ways of dealing with, measuring and tracking gender in/equality in

² Over the years the World Bank has proposed three approaches to incorporate existing gender inequalities in the development programs and projects. In early 1970s the dominant approach – called Women in Development (WID) - was to focus solely on women and include actions devoted to them in the development strategies. The policy design and actions were thus to focus on women as a separate group. In consequence, the issues related to women have been functioning separately on the margins of the mainstream development interventions. Such approach did however not bring up the change in the inequality in social and economic sphere of men and women. Consequently, a new proposal introduced in the late 1980s, has concentrated not on women per se, but on the existing gender relations. The focus has shifted from women to the underlying social origins and mechanisms determining the differences between men and women. It therefore emphasized the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations. Today, the promoted gender equality approach, assumes that gender quality is both about women and men. This approach calls for gender analysis to determine both women's and men's disadvantages that should be addressed by the policy (World Bank, internet).

its broad meaning. Three steps of developing gender equality indexes are defined. The first step is to select the set of dimensions, in which gender unequal relations prevail. For each dimension appropriate statistical indicators should then be chosen. Finally, based on the chosen statistical measures, it is possible to define a composite index that seeks to measure the degree of gender equality. In accordance with the procedure described above the paper uncovers and discusses several dimensions of gender inequality. The discussion is followed by the choice of appropriate statistical indicators for each dimension. Moreover, the paper provides empirical data from Central Eastern and Commonwealth of Independent States economies to illustrate chosen statistical indicators. Next, the focus is moved to aggregate indexes. The paper mainly analyses the aggregate indexes developed by the UNDP, i.e. Gender related Development Index, Gender Empowerment Measure and Gender Inequality Index. Other existing indexes provided by international organizations are however confronted with the discussed measures.

In general, the paper concludes that there is a tremendous need of improving the quality and quantity of gender disaggregated data, especially for less developed economies and the economies, for which gender equality issues are not high on the development agenda. The attention is also called to the need of considering both women and men when analysing gender equality. The discussion of the available composite indexes results in a lack of a general agreement regarding the most suitable and relevant index for tracking gender equality. All the measures are found to suffer from serious drawbacks that are predominately caused by the limited data availability.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section one describes dimensions in which gender based inequality is pronounced along with the statistical indicators used for their measurement. This section additionally offers recent data on selected indicators from CEE and CIS economies. Section two focuses on the composite measures. Firstly, UNDP's indexes are carefully examined. Then the focus is moved to other indexes that are currently being used

for tracking gender equality. Finally, section three offers concluding remarks and recommendations.

1. MEASURING GENDER INEQUALITY – WHAT STORY DO INDICATORS TELL US?

The concept of gender equality relates to various dimensions, beginning with the economic participation, decision-making and politics to equality in time-use and empowerment. Gender equality may be applied to any thematic area that is important for the human development. It therefore includes a broad scope of dimensions, as well as problems of which women are in the centre (e.g. violence, abortion right). At the same time, in shaping the gender relations and gender equality understood as freedom and equal access to opportunities, culture, tradition and what is incorporated in them – social norms, play a great role.

In this paper following dimensions of sustainable development, in which gender unequal relations are present are analysed: 1) Labour market; 2) Education; 3) Health; 4) Economic/political empowerment; 5) Work and family reconciliation; 6) Access to resources; 7) Other (e.g. violence). For each dimension a set of statistical indicators that allows its measurement is proposed.

1.1. LABOUR MARKET

The standard labour market indicators disaggregated by sex are useful basic indicators to track the gender labour market inequalities. These standard measures include distribution of working age population by main activity and sex (i.e. inactive, employed, unemployed) to capture gender differences in the labour market structure, labour force participation ratio (LFPR) by sex that tells what share of population is active or willing to work, unemployment rate by sex that measures the labour market mismatch between labour demand (job offers) and labour supply (people willing to work) and employment to population ratio by sex, which provides

information on the efficiency of an economy to provide jobs, as well as how much of the population of a country is contributing to the production of goods and services.

The distribution of a working age population by main activity and sex in the region in comparison to world is presented in **Error! Reference source not found.** Women in the region face similar distribution of labour force to that, which is observed globally: 45.6% is employed, 5% unemployed and 49.4% remain inactive.³ For men we observe lower employment rate and higher percentage of unemployed. More men is also remaining out of the labour market suggesting that relatively more of men's working potential remains unused.

Table 1 Distribution of a working age population by main activity and sex

Globally			
	Employed	Unemployed	Inactive
Female	48	3.6	48.8
Male	72.8	4.9	22.3
Central and South-Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS			
	Employed	Unemployed	Inactive
Female	45.6	5	49.4
Male	61.7	7.3	31.4

Source: *ILO 2010:11-12*

The patterns differ however within the specific countries. As shown in Table 2 significant differences with regards to worker's – both male and female – activity at the labour market are present. In Bosnia and Herzegovina only 35% of women and 59% of men are active at the labour market. On contrary, in Kazakhstan both men

³ According to ILO definition an individual is classified as employed when “during a specified brief period, either one week or one day, was performing some work for wage or salary (paid employment) or for profit or family gain (self-employment), in cash or in kind.” (ILO, internet a). It also includes workers who were temporarily absent from work. Therefore, in ILO statistics women who help in family entrepreneurship as well as farm production are still included as economically active population. On the one hand, the indicator accounts for family work, but on the other hand it does not account for women's empowerment as being a worker not under the authority of her husband, which may be a case. To account for this, the indicator could be based on paid non-agricultural labor force that excludes individuals performing family work and therefore in case of women to a higher extent recognizes personal and financial independence (ILO and UN Statistical Division definition).

and women remain working or willing to work – 66% for females and 77% for males. In Tajikistan the LFPR for males is comparable to Kazakhstan. The comparison of the respective employment to population ratios (employment rates) however reveals that while relatively high LFPRs for males in Kazakhstan are associated with high employment rates, for Tajikistan the employment rates are lower, suggesting that high LFPRs remain due to the relatively high share of people who are not employed and willing to work. This is also particularly true for TFYR Macedonia, as the differences in male and female LFPRs and employment to population ratios are high, which results in drastically high unemployment rates of 32%.

Table 2 Labor force participation rates and employment to population ratios by sex for selected countries of the region in 2008

Country	LFP R female	LFP R male	Employment to population ratio female	Employment to population ratio male
Bosnia and Herzegovina	35	59	26	46
Macedonia, TFYR	43	69	29	47
Turkmenistan	46	76	41	67
Poland	48	64	43	58
Uzbekistan	48	74	42	66
Kyrgyz Republic	55	78	50	72
Latvia	55	66	46	52
Russian Federation	56	71	52	65
Tajikistan	57	75	51	66
Kazakhstan	66	77	62	73

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators

With accordance to ILO guidelines, the measures of basic labour market characteristics should be further disaggregated to uncover relevant gender based dissimilarities that should be addressed.⁴ In particular the employment patterns

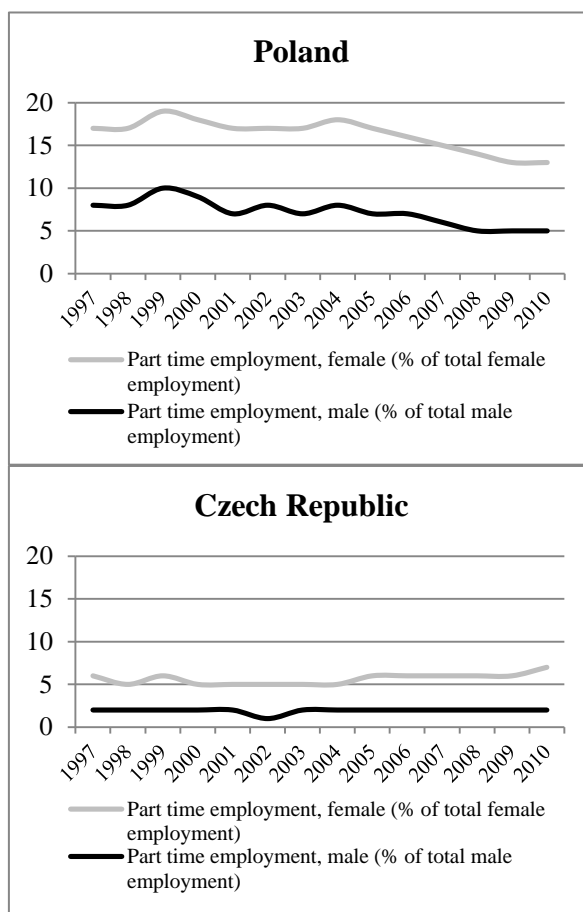
⁴ Current guidelines were adopted by the Seventeenth International Conference of Labor Statisticians in 2003. Based on the resolutions established during the conference a checklist of good practices for mainstreaming gender in labor statistics was provided. According to ILO gender statistics are more than usual statistics disaggregated by sex. In particular, they should additionally satisfy: 1) that they relate to the issues that are relevant to gender inequalities in the labor market; 2) they should adequately describe all workers (particularly informal, unpaid, short time); 3) should be sufficiently disaggregated to show gender differences (e.g. the analysis of the managerial groups could not reveal women's segregation in smaller enterprises, the analysis of employment patterns will not reveal that

should be recognized in a broader context of the quality of work, that would include part time employment as a percentage of total employment by sex, average hours worked per week, employment by occupational status and informality of the employment (workers in informal employment as % of total number of employed by sex).

Error! Reference source not found. shows the trends in part time employment or Poland and the Czech Republic. Since 1997 the part-time employment in Poland has been declining for both men and women; it still however remains on a relatively moderate level. The drop is observed particularly in recent years that may be caused by the economic slowdown and the need of higher income generation. On contrary in the Czech Republic over the whole period of 1997-2010 part-time working schedule has not been common neither among women nor men; only around 2-3 per cent of working men and 5-6 per cent of working women was observed to work shorter working hours.

women more than men tend to work part-time); 4) the statistics should be accompanied with the relevant factors that may cause gender based differences; this means that labor market statistics should be analyzed in a broader context of demographic, social and economic situation (e.g. employment patterns may be different for younger women who have small children). More on that see (ILO, internet b).

Figure 1 Trends in part time employment by sex in Poland and Czech Republic



Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators

Data collection disaggregated by sex regarding informal employment only recently started being provided by ILO. In 2011 ILO released statistics on the informal economy for medium and low-income countries. Statistics for Moldova for 2009 show that on average 135.5 out of 1,000 are employed informally (Table 3). Based on the absolute numbers it is not apparent that higher informal employment prevails among men and one can conclude that among informal workers the share of men is higher than the share of women. When looking on a share of informal workers by the kind of non-agricultural activity, we see that on average 16 per cent of the workers work informally. Among women, 11.4 per cent of workers work informally and among men 20.8%. The share of informal workers is particularly

high among construction workers, where more than 60 per cent of men work informally.

Table 3 Informal employment in Moldova 2009

	Total	Women	Men
Persons in informal employment in 1,000	135.5	50.105	85.312
Share of informal employment in total employment in:	Total	Women	Men
All non-agricultural activities	15.9	11.4	20.8
Manufacturing	9.8	7.3	11.8
Construction	58.1	41.1	60.4
Trade	24.9	27.1	22.2
Transportation	16.1	0.9	21.3
Services other than trade or transportation	5.4	5.5	5.3

Source: ILO, LABORSTA data

Finally, gender based difference prevails in the wage rates. Several analyses have shown that many factors such as educational, labour market experience, employment gaps associated with child bearing, occupational differences between men and women as well as direct and indirect forms of discrimination contribute to its formation. The differences in average earnings (especially disaggregated by education, age and occupation) show to what extent women are disadvantaged in terms of wage rates and thus bargaining power. OECD notes that for many countries where most people are self-employed in agriculture, data on aggregate income are often not relevant or non-existing (OECD 2012a:64). This makes gender wage inequalities difficult to assess. Because of the limitation, data on the gender wage gaps that would be comparable across the countries of the region are rarely provided.⁵

1.2. EDUCATION

⁵ In fact for most of the countries of the region data on women's and men's non-agricultural wage ratio that is used in the computation e.g. Gender-related Development Index is not available. In consequence, for the computation of GDI fixed approximation of 0.75 is chosen. For more of criticisms of GDI see section 2.1.

Depending on what patterns of education (e.g. current education access, attainment, quality or overall levels in the society) one wants to track, one should consider different indicators as well as age groups for which the indicator is being calculated. For assessing the gender based inequalities in the current access to education net and gross enrolment in education by sex and education level are mostly used. Often the Gender Parity Index defined as the ratio of girls to boy in a given level of education is also adopted to assess men's and women's equality in participation in education.

Table 4 presents Gender Parity Index for the countries of the region. For most of the countries the value of the Index in primary and secondary education is approximately equal to 1, which means that the gender parity persists. For tertiary education for most of the countries – except Tajikistan – women outnumber men in studying. Research done by UNESCO reveals that women are more likely to pursue tertiary education in wealthy countries (UNESCO 2010:69). The confrontation of the data on women's education with their labour market participation and professional position however suggests that besides gaining greater access to education women still face barriers in the work opportunities.

A field of study is found to be a key factor contributing to occupational sex segregation at the labor market (Borghans and Groot 1999) that in turn further contributes to the prevalence of gender wage inequalities (e.g. evidence for Hungary provided by Bayard et al. 2003).

Table 4 Gender Parity Index for chosen countries by education level; data for 2010

	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education
Albania	0.99	0.98	-
Armenia	1.02	1.02	1.28
Azerbaijan	0.99	0.98	0.98
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1.02	1.03	1.31
Bulgaria	1	0.95	1.31
Georgia	1.03	-	1.25
Kazakhstan	1	0.97	1.44
Kyrgyzstan	0.99	0.99	-
Latvia	0.99	0.98	1.75
Lithuania	0.99	0.98	1.52

Montenegro	0.98	1.01	1.24
Romania	0.99	0.99	1.35
Serbia	0.99	1.02	1.3
Slovakia	0.99	1.01	1.55
Tajikistan	0.96	0.87	0.41
Ukraine	1.01	0.98	1.25
Uzbekistan	0.97	0.99	-

Source: *United Nations Statistics Division, Millennium Development Goals Indicators*

Data on the structure of tertiary students' population disaggregated by the field of the study and sex allow therefore assessing the degree of labour market segregation that may prevail in the future. Table 5 shows that there is significant country variation in the gender segregation in the field of the studies. For Uzbekistan, where Gender Parity Index for tertiary education is low (0.65 in 2011), the highest number of women in comparison to men studies humanities and arts; on contrary among men much more popular is to study agriculture and engineering.

Table 5 Female tertiary graduates as a percentage of all graduates by the field of the studies

Female tertiary graduates as percentage of all graduates (2010)								
Country	Agriculture	Education	Engineering, manufacturing and construction	Health and welfare	Humanities and arts	Social sciences, business and law	Science	Services
Bulgaria	48.03	74.16	34.13	71.20	69.73	66.76	54.05	51.49
Czech Republic	59.89	79.58	24.26	81.89	70.51	67.90	38.30	45.28
Estonia	55.91	94.14	32.38	92.55	80.25	75.29	46.22	60.60
Hungary	49.39	80.05	22.34	80.42	72.20	69.32	38.02	63.69
Latvia	56.77	88.49	26.94	92.96	83.57	75.00	40.04	62.20
Lithuania	57.72	81.49	26.31	84.59	75.32	74.50	36.51	52.00
Poland	56.22	80.32	33.33	75.02	76.13	68.57	45.38	55.56
Romania	39.59	90.39	33.43	72.59	70.49	68.28	55.82	45.92
Serbia	46.58	90.71	39.61	75.06	74.85	61.53	44.58	47.83
Slovakia	47.06	78.17	31.42	83.76	68.72	68.81	42.83	44.96
Macedonia (FYR)	28.23	74.50	39.88	74.50	66.18	56.96	39.15	32.35
Armenia	39.47	83.06	29.18	76.65	66.21	57.00	48.54	17.14
Azerbaijan	26.81	91.17	24.19	78.07	76.16	25.65	55.55	14.93
Georgia	24.05	72.70	30.06	76.02	84.41	54.67	49.40	32.34
Uzbekistan	15.09	59.36	12.39	51.65	67.33	22.67	55.05	30.50

Source: *UNESCO 2012: 138-145*

Finally, gender disaggregated data on the quality of education that would provide a meaningful picture is rather difficult to obtain. The literacy rate is often considered to track the quality of education. For the more developed economies this indicator will however not reflect the gender disparities in the quality of the acquired education, as the overall literacy rates are reaching nearly 100%. The spread of the “Information Age”, particularly in more developed countries, is requiring that young individuals possess not only the basic skills of ability to read and write but also to use the computer. Gender gap in so-called computer literacy has been documented to persist in most of the countries (e.g. Shashaani 1993; Kay 2005; Asuquo and Onasanya 2006). However, internationally comparable data on computer literacy disaggregated by sex are rarely provided and usually are based on national surveys or surveys done for a selected part of the population (e.g. college graduates).

1.3. HEALTH

Gender equality in health is mainly recognized by addressing women’s higher risk of health-related problems caused by the reproduction and giving birth to a child. In many developing countries complications of pregnancy and childbirth have been found to be a leading cause of death (WHO 2009 19-23). Strongly related to reproduction is the prevalence of HIV/AIDS, which globally is the leading cause of death among women of reproductive age (WHO 2009:19-23).

Regarding the reproductive health of women the most commonly used indicator is the maternal mortality ratio, which represents the number of deaths caused by child bearing per 100,000 live births (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). The data show that maternal mortality rate in Kyrgyzstan remains one of the highest in the CIS and there is no significant progress made over the last 10-15 years. According to experts this situation may be caused by the so-called “preventable” factors, which include the gestational toxicosis (23%) and obstetric hemorrhages (20%), (NHDR 2010:38). These further reflect an inadequate access to medical

services for pregnant women and poor prenatal health services. Moreover, a poor health of future mothers that prevails mainly in the rural areas, where more than 80% of the maternal mortality cases was registered in 2008, is also an important factor.

Adolescent fertility rate defined as a number of births per 1,000 women aged 15-19 is also used to analyse the incidence of early pregnancy. This indicator is strongly associated not only with the health status of women but also with their current as well as future opportunities, regarding education, labour market, and consequently independence and empowerment.

Table 6 Maternal mortality rate over 1990-2010 in the chosen CIS economies

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Kyrgyzstan	73	98	82	77	71
Tajikistan	94	160	120	79	65
Turkmenistan	82	94	91	76	67
Uzbekistan	59	36	33	32	28

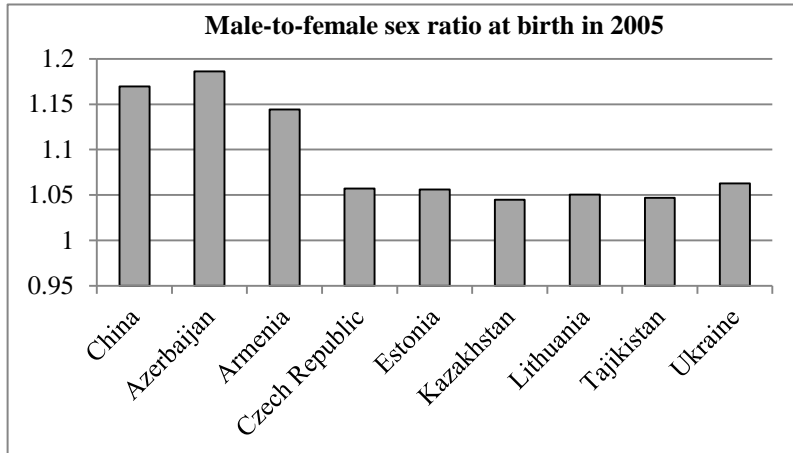
Source: *United Nations Statistics Division*

WHO states that adolescent pregnancy has negative effects on three main areas: health of the adolescents and their infants; individual social and economic effects; and societal level impacts (WHO 2008:2).

Moreover, while analyzing gender equality in health the problem of “missing women” should be addressed. This term coined by Amartya Sen (1990, 1992) refers to the observation of low ratio of women to men as a result of excess early female mortality or of sex selective abortion. Sex selective abortion, female infanticide and unequal access to health care and food are believed to cause women’s lower number at birth and early infant life. One of the most affected natural male-female ratio at birth prevails in China. However, as shown in **Error! Reference source not found.** comparably highly affected male-to-female ratio at birth is present also in two countries of the region analyzed: Azerbaijan and Armenia.⁶

⁶ The natural male-to-female ratio at birth is between 105 and 107 males per women.

Figure 2 Male to female sex ratio at birth in chosen countries (2005)



Source: *United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2007:39-43)*

Azerbaijan 2007 NHDR reports the opinions on selective abortion (NHDR 2007:44-51). Nearly 30% of female and 23% of male interviewed respondents answered that woman should be considered selective abortion if she has already many female children. The data show that women more than men favor giving birth to a boy, as the male child raises the status of a mother in the family and the community. Moreover, middle education and middle income families tend to have a more traditional – favorable - perception of the male child. The results from the interviews show that women are sometimes forced by their husband to abort (“Men force their wives to undergo ultrasound and if it is a girl, they will have an abortion”).

Regardless the health problems related to sexuality and women’s higher vulnerability with that regard, there are gender differences in the average length of life of men and women measured by the life expectancy. In general, women’s biological and behavioral advantages make them live longer than men. This is mainly due to the relative gender differences in the severe diseases causing the mortality (e.g. heart diseases and cancer) as well as behavioral patterns related to health (e.g. smoking and alcohol consumption); (e.g. Nathanson 1984; Moller-Leimkuhler 2003:1). The gap in male-female life expectancy is particularly high in

Eastern European and Central Asian economies (Clark and Peck 2012). High rates of alcohol consumption, cigarettes smoking and drug use among men in this region as well as their lower relative use of health care services (Cashin et al. 2002) cause men to live relatively shorter than women.

Life expectancy and the gender disparities with that regard for Belarus over 1990-2004 are shown in Table 7. The life expectancy - both for men and women – has largely declined over 1990-1995. From the mid 1990 the distance between the life expectancy of men and women was rather stable with an average of 9 years.

Table 7 Life expectancy at birth in Belarus

Year	1990	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Men/boys											
Life expectancy at birth (years)	66.3	62.9	63	62.9	62.7	62.2	63.4	62.8	62.3	62.7	63.2
Women/girls											
Life expectancy at birth (years)	75.6	74.3	74.3	74.3	74.4	73.9	74.7	74.5	74.1	74.7	75
Ratio men/women	0.88	0.85	0.85	0.85	0.84	0.84	0.85	0.84	0.84	0.84	0.84

Source: *NHDR 2005:45,55*

1.4. ECONOMIC/POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

The term empowerment refers to women’s greater control over their lives and resources. Page and Czuba (1999:25) define the process of empowerment as a “multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power (that is, the capacity to implement) in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on issues that they define as important”. The multidimensionality of this process determines several areas to which it may refer, most importantly economics and finance, politics as well as sociology and psychology. The focus of the paper is placed particularly on women’s political empowerment and a role in a public life, as this dimension has not been yet uncovered.

The main indicators used to capture women’s political participation are the measures of the percent of female ministers/members of the parliaments or local

levels. As an illustration, women's representation in decision making in Kosovo is discussed.

According to Kosovo NHDR nearly a third of seats in Kosovo's central and municipal Assemblies are now reserved for women: out of the 144 members of various assembly committees around 31 percent are women (NHDR 2010:82-85).⁷ The representation of women at the local level is lower as women accounts for 22 to 28 percent of seats in the municipal assemblies. Still, even at local level no municipal assembly is led by a woman. Moreover, only a fifth of the public administration jobs are held by women. Since 1999 little change with that regard is observed.

Table 8 Women in decision making in Kosovo

Decision-making position holders in Kosovo			
	Total	Women	Men
Ministers	18	2	16
Permanent Secretaries	18	2	16
Members of Parliament	120	35	85
Chairs of Parliamentary Committees	16	2	14
Mayors	36	0	36
Members of Municipal Assemblies	1836	459	1377

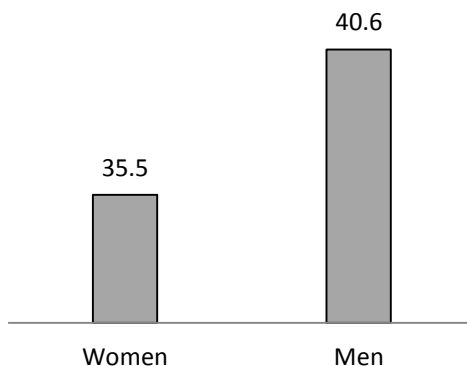
Source: *NHDR Kosovo 2010:83*

Based on the research done women do not perceive themselves to have sufficient skills to get engaged in political participation. High illiteracy rates, especially among rural population, that is three times higher among women than among men and existing cultural norms of women being at home and taking care of children as well as domestic violence that is widespread – all of these factors contribute to women's level political participation. Women are also less engaged in

⁷ Before the municipal elections 2000 Kosovo has introduced a quota for women of 30%.

the participation in elections and local political events (35.5 percent of women as opposed to 40.6 percent of men, Figure 3).⁸

Figure 3 Participation in voting and public and municipal meetings



Source: *NHDR Kosovo 2010:83*

1.5. WORK AND FAMILY RECONCILIATION

Worldwide, it is primarily women's responsibility to take on an unpaid work of child care. The aging society – observed currently especially in developed countries – is imposing an additional burden on women in a form of taking care of elderly as well. Consequently, fewer women are working in a paid employment in general as well as fewer women are employed as full-time workers.

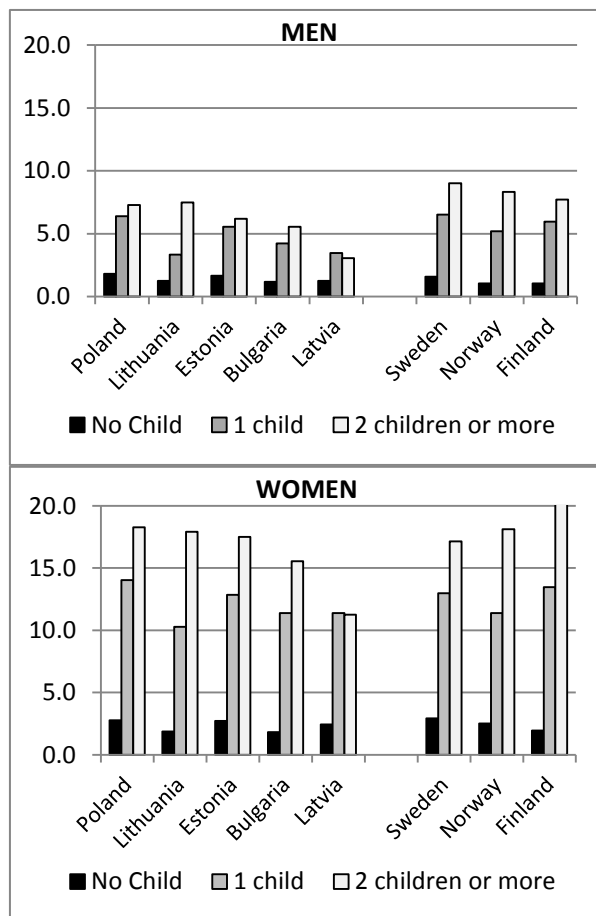
Within the framework of child and work related responsibilities it is interesting to see how people, especially women, allocate their time. Time-use survey data record such information. The disaggregation of time-use data by sex is however still relatively rare, particularly for less developed countries. OECD collects data on the time dedicated to care work by number of children and sex; OECD data for selected countries are shown in

⁸ In 2008 UNDP has started the project in Kosovo aiming at increasing women's political and the candidates in the election awareness of advocacy of gender sensitive issue. Moreover OSCE mission in Kosovo supports women empowerment on local level which is negligible.

Figure 4. All the countries of Central – Eastern Europe are characterized by a relatively low engagement of men in the care work. It is apparent especially when compared to Nordic countries (Sweden, Norway and Finland) that are known from forcing men's and women's equality. On the other hand, women in CEE similarly to women from Nordic countries spend comparable share of their time on care related activities. This means that men's care is rather an additional care to women's but not its substitute. Other indicators related to time use may include: number of hours spent in paid and unpaid work per week (by sex), time spent in domestic activities by activities and sex, free time spent by activity and sex.

Moreover, various forms of state support for families, e.g. family-related benefits, including maternity, paternity and parental leave as well as child-care allowances, aim to ease and compensate women's responsibilities related to child-rearing. On the other hand, the lack of paternity leave and access to parental leave for men on equal conditions as for women, limits men's engagement and opportunities of higher involvement in childcare. In most of the countries of Eastern Europe and CIS parental leave is available for both the parents. The paternity leave is however much more limited. While the Central-Eastern EU New Member States in general grant the right for a father to claim the paternity leave, in most of the CIS countries no paternity leave is available, with the exception of Azerbaijan, which grants an unpaid leave of up to 14 calendar days for fathers whose wife is on maternity leave (Kuddo 2009:52-55, 127-132).

Figure 4 Percentage of time dedicated to care work, by number of children under school age



Source: OECD Family Database, OECD

Note: Data are for the following periods: 2000: Estonia, Finland; 2001: Norway, Sweden; 2003: Lithuania, Latvia; 2004: Poland; 2008: Bulgaria

The availability of daily child-care facilities is also an important indicator of the support of working women. Currently, in most of the countries of the region the number of such facilities is insufficient. This is because of a significant closure of these facilities caused by a dramatic drop in social spending during the transition.

Table 9 shows data on the child care of children who are below 3 years old for selected transition countries. Based on the data it can be inferred that situation with respect to child care access in Central European transition economies – Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Czech Republic - is dramatic. In Latvia approximately 16% of children of this age attend the formal care, with the average hours per week of 37. On contrary, in Lithuania fewer children attend the formal care, but the average time they spend in the facility per week is higher than that observed for Latvia. The role of child-care facilities is concerned not only with the parent’s greater degree of involvement in paid employment but also with the developmental role they have for children.

Table 9 Child care services indicators (for children below 3 years old) for selected transition countries

	% of children in formal care or pre-school (2008)	Average hours of tendance per week (005)
Estonia	17.51	37.17
Latvia	16.08	37.19
Bulgaria	14.63	33.30
Romania	14.28	30.90
Lithuania	13.72	41.05
Hungary	8.77	30.20
Poland	7.87	35.40
Slovak Republic	2.97	28.92
Czech Republic	2.15	15.92

Source: *OECD Family Database*

1.6. ACCESS TO RESOURCES

One of the most prominent aspects of prevailing gender inequality in a given society is an unequal access to economic and knowledge resources (education). Unequal (i.e. in favor of men) access to economic and financial resources not only limits the opportunities of women but also affects the well-being of a household, as it has been proved that women spend more on family's and children's needs. The ownership of economic resources is also a sign of a status in a local community and the society. Access to land, ownership of the livestock and dwelling and access to financial services are the key indicators describing the degree of economic independence of women.

Based on the LSMS 2007 data for Tajikistan – an economy where majority of agricultural workers are women – it is reported that 66.7 percent of male heads own land versus only 46.6 percent of female heads. The land size owned by women is also smaller than that of men (

).

Table 10 Ownership of land by the sex of the head of the household in Tajikistan

	Land owned by HH	Land rented by HH	Land rented out by HH
Male-head	23.3	9.52	0.21
Female-head	16.9	3.15	0.05

Source: *Shahriari et al. 2009:32, based on LSMS-Tajikistan 2007*

Similarly, women have significantly lower livestock ownership in all of the regions of Tajikistan (Table 11).

Table 11 Ownership of livestock by the sex of the head on the household in Tajikistan

Percent having any livestock					
Region	Dushanbe	Sogd	Khatlon	RRP	GBAO
Male-headed	1.9	55.7	73.6	64.3	79.8
Female-headed	1.1	37.6	60.8	48.8	59.9

Source: *Shahriari et al. 2009:37, based on LSMS-Tajikistan 2007*

The qualitative research for Tajikistan reveals that there are customary norms that limit the degree of women's ownership and access to resources. Firstly, there is a high incidence of marriages conducted by Islamic rite that are not subject to protection of the formal law. Secondly, by customs married women have a right

only to her dowry of property that is not fixed. Moreover, in rural areas it is socially acceptable that women own the land as a head of the household only when they are abandoned, divorced or widowed (Giovarelli and Undeland 2008:6).

1.7. OTHER

There are other dimensions in which gender inequality and women's disadvantage position are pronounced and which may influence the relative degree of women's access to opportunities, freedoms and assets.

Worldwide the incidence of domestic violence against women – although difficult to measure due to the insufficient data and unreliability of statistics – is being recognized as an important violation of women's rights. The problem has been recently raised up by the policy-makers and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities in Albania, which introduced the National Strategy on Gender Equality and Domestic Violence 2007-2010. Based on the national survey conducted by The National Institute of Statistics of Albania with the support of UN Development Programme and the Children's Fund in 2009, at least 56 percent of the surveyed women experienced one form of a domestic violence; 50.6 percent of women reported emotional abuse, 39.1 percent psychological abuse and 31.2 and 12.7 percent physical and sexual violence (see Table 12). OECD additionally distinguishes women's decreased opportunities resulting from the discriminatory family code.

Table 12 Percentage of women age 15 to 49 years who experience domestic violence based on National Survey for Albania

Type of violence	N=2,590	
	n	%
Emotional abuse	1,311	50.6
Psychological abuse	1,013	39.1
Physical violence	808	31.2
Sexual violence	330	12.7

Source: *Haarr and Dharmo 2009:18*

They argue that women's low status in the family is associated with the reduced educational opportunities and outcomes, and consequently labor market prospects (Branisa et al. 2009:2; OECD 2012b:7-8). To measure the family discriminatory code they suggest considering following measures: legal age of marriage, early marriage incidence, parental authority and inheritance.⁹

2. EVOLVING MEASURES OF GENDER EQUALITY

Once the dimensions and specific indicators are discussed, the focus is moved to composite indexes that are based on the analysed measures. The UNDP was the first international organization that recognized the need of providing a composite measure of gender in/equality. Already in 1991 HDR the attention of the policymakers has been called to the unequal gender relations and women's limited prospects. In consequence, in 1995 two measures aiming at measuring the degree of gender equality were proposed:

1. Gender-related development Index (1995-2010)
2. Gender Empowerment Measure (1995-2010)

Later on, in 2010 a new index - Gender Inequality Index (2010 till present) that was designed in order to address the key critics of the above indexes was launched. Below each of these measures is discussed in details in order to reveal their actual goal and purpose of introduction. The discussion is followed by the presentation of other subsequently introduced gender related indexes.

2.1. GENDER-RELATED DEVELOPMENT INDEX (GDI)

⁹ Early marriage incidence is measured as a percent of girls between 15 and 19 years old who are/were married, parental authority is measured in terms of women's right to be a legal guardian of a child and to have custody rights over a child over a marriage or divorce, inheritance refers to formal inheritance rights of spouses.

The main aim of GDI is to measure gender differences in human development reflected by the Human Development Index.¹⁰ The GDI is therefore based on the same three dimensions as the HDI (i.e. health, education and standards of living) and is interpreted as a HDI adjusted for gender inequalities. While interpreting the indicator it is important to remember that it does not measure a degree of gender inequality itself but the human development measured by HDI adjusted for the gender inequality. The statistical indicators along with the sources of the data that are used for the construction of the index are presented in Table 13.

Table 13 GDI: dimensions, indicators and data source

Dimension	Indicator	Data Source
1. Income	Income	ILO LABORSTA data on wages, World Bank data on population and GDP
2. Health	Life expectancy	UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs
3. Education	Adult literacy and gross school enrollment	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's Institute for Statistics.

Source: Author's work based on UNDP 2009:184

Table 14 presents the value of GDI along with the respective values of HDI for the countries of the region. The comparison of the HDI and GDI results in a little difference. This means that the adjustments regarding the gender inequality in life expectancy, income, literacy and gross school enrolment is rather minor.

Table 14 GDI and HDI values for the countries of the region in 2007

Country	2007			
	HDI rank	HDI	GDI rank	GDI
Slovenia	29	0.929	24	0.927
Czech Republic	36	0.903	31	0.9
Estonia	40	0.883	36	0.882

¹⁰ Human Development Index (HDI) is a composite index that was designed by the UNDP in 1990 in order to measure the degree of a human development. It combines indicators of life expectancy, educational attainment and income. It aims to provide a statistical measure for both social and economic development. For more technical information see UNDP (1990:9-16) and UNDP (2010:11-24, 215-219).

Poland	41	0.88	39	0.877
Slovakia	42	0.88	40	0.877
Hungary	43	0.879	37	0.879
Croatia	45	0.871	43	0.869
Lithuania	46	0.87	42	0.869
Latvia	48	0.866	44	0.865
Bulgaria	61	0.84	50	0.839
Romania	63	0.837	52	0.836
Montenegro	65	0.834	..	..
Serbia	67	0.826	..	..
Belarus	68	0.826	57	0.824
Albania	70	0.818	61	0.814
Russian Federation	71	0.817	59	0.816
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	72	0.817	62	0.812
Bosnia and Herzegovina	76	0.812	..	..
Kazakhstan	82	0.804	66	0.803
Armenia	84	0.798	68	0.794
Ukraine	85	0.796	69	0.793
Azerbaijan	86	0.787	73	0.779
Georgia	89	0.778	..	..
Turkmenistan	109	0.739	..	..
Moldova	117	0.72	97	0.719
Uzbekistan	119	0.71	99	0.708
Kyrgyzstan	120	0.71	100	0.705
Tajikistan	127	0.688	107	0.686

Source: *UNDP 2009:181-184*

Gender-related Development Index has been widely criticized for its narrow understanding of gender equality concept and lack of recognition of its important dimension. The critics argue that the fact that income, education and health were included in the HDI does not mean that they are the best dimension to measure gender inequality in human development (Stanton 2007:9). Furthermore, it is argued that the index is biased towards higher recognition of gender inequality in developing countries and limited consideration of gender inequality that are facing women in more advanced economies. This is because gender inequality in these economies is not likely to be recognized by chosen indicators, as the inequality here is ‘a more subtle’ issue (Bardhan and Klasen 2000:193). It was suggested that for these economies a more appropriate measure would include gender bias in educational choices, quality of education, access to employment, training or promotion, pay, leisure time, and certain consumption goods. The measurement of health dimension that is based on the life expectancy has been also criticized to be

an inadequate measure of gender inequality in health. Klasen (2004:15) argues that women biological advantage of longer life expectancy should not be considered as a gender gap and suggests measuring the ‘potentially alive’ – in order to take into account ‘missing women’. Moreover, the income dimension suffers from the problem of data limitations. As already mentioned, for most of the countries of the region data on women’s and men’s non-agricultural wage ratio is not available. In consequence, for the computation of GDI fixed approximation of 0.75 is chosen.

The critic of GDI as a measure that does not reflect gender inequality in general, as well as within the specific dimension it focuses on, should be however confronted with a reality of insufficient data on the indicators that to a higher extent would describe the inequalities. Lack of appropriate data is a major problem for properly addressing the needs of gender-related measures.

2.2. GENDER EMPOWERMENT MEASURE (GEM)

The aim of this measure - as opposed to GDI - is to evaluate gender equality in one particular dimension - women’s empowerment. It is important to understand why GDI and GEM have been proposed at the same time. While GDI concentrates on expansion of the opportunities and capabilities of men and women, GEM focuses on the use of these capabilities. The GEM is thus aimed at measuring the power of women and their role in creating and forming the society. It is therefore a measure of agency. It focuses both on economic as well as political and decision-making empowerment of women. It considers three dimensions: control over economic resources (income), economic participation and political representation. The specific indicators used for each dimension together with the sources of the data are presented in Table 15.

Table 15 GEM: dimensions, indicators and data source

Dimension	Indicator	Data Source
1. Control over economic resources	Men and women's earned income	ILO LABORSTA data on wages, World Bank data on population and GDP
2. Economic participation and	Men and women's share of administrative, professional,	Occupational data from ILO

decision making	managerial and technical positions	
3. Political participation and decision making	Male and women's share of parliamentary seats	Data on parliamentary seats from IPU (Inter-Parliamentary Union)

Source: *Author's work based on UNDP (2009:189)*

Similarly to GDI, GEM also suffers from several deficiencies. In particular, it is criticized for combining relative and absolute achievements and a strong urban elite bias, which makes the measure more relevant for developed countries (Gaye et al. 2010:5). As shown in Table 16 the values of GEM may differ significantly both from GDI and HDI. There are countries that score highly in terms of HDI and GDI and relatively highly in GEM (Czech Republic, Estonia and Slovakia). TFYR Macedonia scores similarly in terms on GEM, but has much lower values of GDI and HDI. On contrary, there are countries that score highly in terms of HDI and GDI, but relatively poorly in GEM (Romania and Hungary). Finally, Armenia, Ukraine and Azerbaijan score moderately in terms of HDI, GDI and very poorly in terms of GEM. Indeed, for these economies, the political participation of women as well as their share in managerial positions is low.

Table 16 HDI, GDI and GEM for selected countries in 2007

	HDI rank	HDI	GDI rank	GDI	GEM rank	GEM	Seats in parliament held by women	Female legislators, senior officials and managers	Female professional and technical workers
Czech Republic	36	0.903	31	0.9	31	0.664	16	29	53
Estonia	40	0.883	36	0.882	30	0.665	21	34	69
Slovakia	42	0.88	40	0.877	32	0.663	19	31	58
TFYR Macedonia	72	0.817	62	0.812	35	0.641	28	29	53
Hungary	43	0.88	37	0.88	52	0.59	11	35	60
Romania	63	0.84	52	0.84	77	0.512	10	28	56
Armenia	84	0.80	68	0.79	93	0.412	8	24	65
Ukraine	85	0.80	69	0.79	86	0.461	8	39	64
Azerbaijan	86	0.79	73	0.78	100	0.385	11	5	53

Source: *UNDP 2009:186-189*

Despite the fact that GEM was introduced together with GDI it has gained much less attention of policy makers and researchers. Firstly, the limited scope – if compared with the broad definition of women’s empowerment - of the dimensions considered by the index questions whether GEM indeed is a measure of women’s empowerment. Secondly, the focus of the dimensions is solely on women’s political engagement and economic participation. Lack of accounting for the possible sources of this engagement, e.g. education, social norms, etc., certainly undervalues the relevance and limits the use of GEM as a measure of empowerment. Moreover, data limitation once again makes a measure available only for some economies.

2.3. GENDER INEQUALITY INDEX (GII)

According to Gaye et al. (2010:4): “Overall, the GDI and GEM have not had nearly as much success as the HDI in academic or policy circles (...) Both had conceptual problems in the underlying components as well as empirical problems relating to data availability”. In consequence, in response to critics in 20`10 the UNDP has introduced a new measure of gender based inequalities - Gender Inequality Index. The main aim of this new measure was to address the key critic of GDI and GEM that is the estimation of income component and high level of imputation to fill in the missing data. GII does not rely on income at all and thus eliminates the need of data imputation. It combines some aspects of two previous indexes but uses a new methodology of HDI computation.

The GII combines the dimensions of previous indexes – GDI and GEM – and similarly is based on reproductive health, empowerment and labor market (Table 17).

Table 17 GII: dimensions, indicators and data source

Dimension	Indicator	Data source
1. Reproductive health	Maternal mortality ratio	UNICEF The state of the World's Children
	Adolescent fertility ratio	UN Department of Economic and

		Social Affairs World Population Prospects
2. Empowerment	Share of parliamentary seats held by each sex	International Parliamentary Union
	Attainment at secondary and higher education	Barro and Lee datasets (2010)
3. Labor market participation	Labor market participation rate	ILO LABORSTA database

Source: Author's work based on UNDP 2010:160

The ranking of the countries with respect of GII differs from that observed for GDI. We see that as opposed to previous measures the lower the value of GII the lower the inequality based on gender in a given country. The inclusion of both the measures of empowerment as well as labor market and health results in high scoring of such countries as TFYR Macedonia, for which the GDI was relatively low, but GEM high, and low scoring of Romania, for which the opposite was the case.

Table 18 GII values and its components for the countries of the region

HDI rank	Country	Gender Inequality Index		Maternal mortality ratio	Adolescent fertility rate	Seats in national parliament (% Female)	Population with at least secondary education		Labour force participation rate	
		rank	value				female	male	female	male
27	Czech Republic	17	0.136	8	11.1	21	85.5	87.6	48.8	67.6
78	TFYR Macedonia	23	0.151	9	22	32.5	55.6	40.2	42.9	65.2
39	Poland	25	0.164	6	14.8	17.9	79.7	83.9	46.2	61.9
46	Croatia	27	0.17	14	13.5	23.5	57.4	72.3	46.3	60.3
21	Slovenia	28	0.175	18	5	10.8	60.6	81.9	52.8	65.4
40	Lithuania	29	0.192	13	19.7	19.1	91.9	95.7	50.2	62.1
34	Estonia	30	0.194	12	22.7	19.8	94.4	94.6	54.8	69
35	Slovakia	31	0.194	6	20.2	16	80.8	87.1	51.2	68.5
43	Latvia	36	0.216	20	18	20	94.8	96.2	54.3	70.2
38	Hungary	39	0.237	13	16.5	9.1	93.2	96.7	42.5	58.8
55	Bulgaria	40	0.245	13	42.8	20.8	69.1	70.6	48.2	61.2
70	Albania	41	0.271	31	17.9	16.4	83.2	89.2	49.3	70.4
111	Moldova	46	0.298	32	33.8	18.8	85.8	92.3	46.5	53.1
91	Azerbaijan	50	0.314	38	33.8	16	65.4	61.9	59.5	66.8
50	Romania	55	0.333	27	32	9.8	83.8	90.5	45.4	60
68	Kazakhstan	56	0.334	45	30	13.6	92.2	95	65.7	76.3

76	Ukraine	57	0.335	26	30.8	8	91.5	96.1	52	65.4
66	Russian Federation	59	0.338	39	30	11.5	90.6	95.6	57.5	69.2
86	Armenia	60	0.343	29	35.7	9.2	94.1	94.8	59.6	74.6
127	Tajikistan	61	0.347	64	28.4	17.5	93.2	85.8	57	77.7
126	Kyrgyzstan	66	0.37	81	34.1	23.3	81	81.2	54.8	79.1
75	Georgia	73	0.418	48	44.7	6.5	63.8	58.9	55.1	73.8
54	Montenegro	..	..	15	18.2	11.1	79.7	69.5	..	..
59	Serbia	..	..	8	22.1	21.6	61.7	70.7	..	..
65	Belarus	..	..	15	22.1	32.1	..	..	54.8	66.5
74	Bosnia and Herzegovina	..	..	9	16.4	15.8	..	..	54.9	68.3
102	Turkmenistan	..	..	77	19.5	16.8	..	..	62.4	74
115	Uzbekistan	..	..	30	13.8	19.2	..	..	58.4	71

Source: *UNDP 2010:156-160*

Despite the fact that GII was developed in order to address the key critics of GDI and GEM, the indicators chosen to be included in the measure still suffer from problems. In particular, the inclusion of LFPR instead of income as an indicator of economic participation may still cause problems. This is because it does not account for unpaid care and home work. Health indicators, which are only representative for women and not available for men, also cause difficulties. This results in serious methodological concerns, as the measure mixes absolute and relative categories. In consequence, the replacement of the measures that are observed for men and women (i.e. treating values observed for women as they are observed for men and opposite) does not result in the same value of the index (Permanyer 2013:11-13). GII is further criticized for its over complicated methodology and unnecessary confusion. In particular, the adoption of the same methodology as the new HDI/IHDI indexes employ, results in excessive complication of the index. The methodology adopted, in particular association sensitive index formulation, makes it not possible to decompose the values of the index into the respective contribution of its components (Permanyer 2013:16).

2.4. OTHER MEASURES

Over the years several other indices, such as Global Gender Gap Index (2006 till present), Gender Equity Index (2007 till present), Social Institutions and Gender Index (2009 till present) and Women's Economic Opportunity Index (2011 till present), have been proposed.

The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index (GGI) consists of as many as fourteen indicators reflecting four dimensions: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, political empowerment, and health. The index is based on the calculation of female-male ratios of each indicator and its truncation around the equality point (if women are doing better then there is no equality). In consequence, the measure rather represents women's relative disadvantage to men. It ranges from 0 (high disadvantage) to 1 (low disadvantage).

The Gender Equity Index (GEI) developed by Social Watch considers three dimension of men-women inequality: education, economic activity and empowerment. It is based on ten indicators representing these three dimensions. Similarly to Global Gender Gap Index it looks on the ratio of men-women performance in each dimension. It ranges from 0 (perfect inequality) to 100 (perfect equality).

On contrary, OECD's Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) concentrates on the societal norms and institutions. It therefore rather focuses on the causes of the inequality, not the inequality itself. It includes twelve indicators representing the family code, physical integrity, son preference (missing women), civil liberties and ownership rights. Contrary to other indices, the value of 0 represents low inequality and 1 high inequality.

Finally, Women's Economic Opportunity Index (WEOI) developed by the Economist Intelligence Unit focuses on laws regarding women's labor market participation as well as institutional determinants that may affect it. It takes into account five dimensions: labor policy and practice, women's economic opportunities, access to finance, education, women's legal and social status, and general business conditions. It is a measure of women's opportunity, rather than

gender equality. It ranges from 0 to 100, where the highest value indicates the most favorable conditions. For further discussion on these indices, see Gaye et al. (2010:6-8).

The comparison of the measures is provided in Table 19. It shows that differences in the definitions of the measures, and most importantly differences in the dimensions that they account for, results in high spread of the final values of the indicators. For Kazakhstan for which all indexes are provided, the GII indicates relatively moderate degree of inequality. The value of GDI alone is rather little informative as it should be interpreted along with HDI. However, as previously shown the adjustment in HDI due to the inequality is rather small. The GEM value is moderate, as it reaches half of the possible scale. The SIGI index shows that institutions and societal norms cause little inequality in the society, as the value of the index is low (0.12). The WEOI value is also relatively low, which indicates rather limited opportunities for women. Finally, GEI and GI provide similar results of moderate women disadvantage over men.

Table 19 Selected gender-related indicators for the countries of the region

Country	2011	2011	2011	2012	2012	2012	2011
	GII	GDI	GEM	SIGI	WEOI	GEI	GGI
Azerbaijan	0.31	0.80	..	0.36	46.83	64	0.66
Belarus	..	0.84	..	0.13	53.84	64	..
Bosnia and Herzegovina	..	0.81	..	0.14	58.05	58	..
Bulgaria	0.25	0.84	0.61	..	73.45	76	0.70
Croatia	0.17	0.88	0.65	..	61.91	74	0.70
Hungary	0.24	0.88	0.55	..	74.88	73	0.66
Kazakhstan	0.33	0.84	0.50	0.12	54.46	75	0.70
Lithuania	0.19	0.87	0.64	..	77.02	77	0.71
Poland	0.16	0.89	0.64	..	58.18	76	0.70
Russian Federation	0.34	0.87	0.57	..	62.18	75	0.70
Serbia	..	0.83	0.68	0.12	52.94	75	..
Slovenia	0.18	0.93	0.67	..	73.75	75	0.70
TFYR Macedonia	0.15	0.82	..	0.10	41.54	..	0.70
Uzbekistan	..	0.73	..	0.30	44.03	57	..

Source: GII based on UNDP (2011), WEF (2011), Social Watch (internet), Economist Intelligence Unit (2012), OECD (2012b) and author's computations

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper sought to analyse the ways of dealing with and measuring gender equality in a given society. It provided a comprehensive background analysis of the dimensions of sustainable human development, in which gender unequal relations are present. Moreover, it also offered an analysis of relevant statistical indicators based on the recent data from CEE and CIS economies. Finally, it provided a critical and comparative analysis of gender equality aggregate measures that are often used by the gender and feminists researchers and policy makers.

The paper shows that prior the analysis of aggregate gender-related measures, such as GDI, GEM, GII, it is essential to carefully analyse its components and specific statistics used for the computation. An exploration of simple summary statistics shows that there are some specific issues that are often neglected once looking at aggregate measures. Gender analysis of other dimensions that the aggregate indices do not account for may thus shed additional light on the prevailing gender relations and a degree of gender in/equality. While analyzing gender-based differences it is worth remembering that gender equality is both about women and men and therefore men disadvantage over women should also be considered.

Reliable statistics disaggregated by sex that reflect underlying degree of men's and women's relative disadvantage, inequality in the access to opportunities and in their use, are essential for tracking and measuring gender equality. Despite the progress in the collection of sex disaggregated data, for some of the countries there is still a problem of missing values and lack of reliability of the data. This causes methodological problems in the computation of gender sensitive indexes. Collection of data disaggregated by sex for the countries and regions where the gender equality is not high on the political and development agenda is therefore highly needed.

Finally, the process of addressing gender-based inequalities should be accompanied with mainstreaming gender into the governmental planning, programming and budgeting. No policy formulation will be effective without the budget allocation that aims to address the purposes and goals of a given project. The sector and local government policies, plans and strategies should therefore not only

identify the key gender disparities but also address them by the relevant budget allocation.

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EXPERTS ON GENDER ROLES IN FAMILIES: ACTION RESEARCH APPROACH

Verica Pavić-Zentner

Gender inequality in Serbian families is evident in all aspects of everyday life. The sources and forms of the inequalities vary, in terms of age, origin, gender, and belonging to another sensitive group, or having multiple sensitivity issues due to having more of these or similar characteristics.

The approach we used, for tackling this topic from the expert perspective, is based on the moderated studio-discussion model. This model is not a research procedure that is aiming at achieving objectivity, and people, research partners gathered to discuss a topic in this way are both the influential and the influenced party. Hence, the form of presenting results needs to be reporting in an action research applicable form, and not analysing and presenting in scientifically valid manner. The benefit from this approach is in its ability to bring up sensitive topic in a more open environment, providing for an equal discussion ground to representatives of different social groups, and expert groups.

The chosen approach is, additionally, using the dynamic of natural groups to allow for more quality insights on the matter of multiple sources, forms, and consequences of the gender inequality from the joint perspective of people working in the fields of people-oriented professions. The target groups we gathered together

for the moderated discussion include teachers, school counsellors, media workers, NGO personnel working either directly with sensitive groups and individuals, or working on forming and/or implementing policies regarding human rights, aid to people in immediate danger due to the family crisis, or school-related issues, journalists, local government administrators, school psychologists, and similar. In addition to the two discussing parties formed from the above listed, that were divided based on the logic of working in more practical and direct form with the sensitive groups, meaning directly with the clients, students, victims of violence, whilst the second group was more involved in social policy work, and in government policy development in the fields of social work, the third party consisted of the open audience. The audience was in part young people, gymnasias, and university students, and the interested parties – people who have some contact points with the topic, but were not themselves invited to participate in the experts' input part of the research process.

Chosen form of action research had a goal of both learning about the perceptions of the experts actively involved in this problematic in Serbia, as well as to allow them to learn of the “other side's” opinions, and problems. The other side, respectfully, are the experts working in the practical or normative aspects of the problems of the gender inequality in the families in Serbia.

To introduce the discussion, a person was invited to present a real family crisis situation. The elements of the story she told were prepared in advance to incorporate certain group of topics, or to put it more clearly, they represent forms and manifestations of gender unequal praxis surrounding any family in crisis. The elements are coming from the family unit itself, from the immediate social surrounding of the family, from the legal consequences of the family separating, from economic and financial outcomes of the splitting, from any special conditions surrounding one or more family members, and also the resulting family unions, and the possible dynamic of the patchwork-family, as the end result. The first task of the discussion participants was to note and comment on the issues involving their work, expertise, and even everyday events they have experienced. They were kindly asked

not to ask questions directly to the guest introducing her story, but instead to analyse and contemplate on the elements they are familiar with and to interpret them from their expert perspectives.

The action research was introduced in form of a workshop on the perception of gender and sex in the social environment of a family. The main research question was how the experts involved in solving family crisis and facilitating the transition phases from one family form to another perceive and react to the multiple sources of vulnerability caused by the gender inequality and gender imbalance in every aspect of family life, and all the accompanying issues steaming from the social surroundings. Here it is significant to note that both the introductory story and the introductory questions were dealing with a binary gender perception, and only later in the course of the discussion the binary perception was influenced by the wider, although also incomplete description of the gender issues. The reason for this research choice was in the initial research project, of observing children of different sexes in a modern nuclear bi-parental heterosexual unit of middle class, or how it is still called – a modern family of middle class.

Taking the modern middle class family as the basis for preparing the action research introductory story was not a simple choice: it was necessary to choose a common component to the previous research work on the project, but also to set a clear critical object for analysing from the view points of the expert-participants. The desired outcomes would step away from the nuclear heterosexual family model, but this did come initially from the audience reaction. For practitioners in the field of family issues, the nuclear family, based on the heterosexual union of two people is still the dominant interest point.

They were expanding this topic by noting ethnic minorities, and people with disabilities as highly vulnerable groups, and that especially in a situation of a decomposition of a family, and in emphasized situation of family violence.

Their perceptions sets the following life drama: The family splits due to the separation of the parents, the woman, playing the mother and ex-wife roles, has the

primary responsibility towards the child/children; the man, playing the roles of the father and the ex-husband, has the financial and emotional responsibility, and the task of not being violent; the children, having the roles of the victims, are playing the adapting to the new situation in terms of their outside environments – school, friends, teachers. This model invokes several ideal types: The self-sacrificing mother, the violent, or the absent father, and the victimized children. It is worth taking a step back here, to discuss the support system based on these prerequisites, and taking some time to ask several practical questions. If the man is marked violent or absent by his own choice, as this is the case in our introductory story, is the system-prepared response for handling this form of situation actually reproducing the vindictive and self-absorbed social culture surrounding this family? Here I have to ask, is the family we talked about in fact a family in decomposition, or is it a family model in transition, one of many, and by no means an only possibility? Based on the reactions and responses of the expert participants, it is clear that the support system defines a family in hard nuclear lines, not recognizing in any way that it is not a guilt trip and legal responsibility for a destruction of the building cell of the society that people in this situations have to suffer, but it is a transition to another family form. Standing firm in the diagnosis of two-parental family destruction, where the gender roles stayed firm in their everyday tasks and responsibilities, where the pay-check bringing father loses his masculinity in a situation in which his wife would work and earn as well, but instead chooses to leave the family physically, emotionally, and drastically economically; and a creation of another mono-parental family unit, living in poverty and joblessness, and still maintaining the full load of unpaid household work of a woman. It is she, with the burden of economic dependence that carries also the burden of expectation to sacrifice her own personality and wants for the sake of her children. This model is emphasizing the objectification of the children, making them into passive, damaged, helpless in this parental strife, and also helpless in the social surrounding. It is luck that should help the children, since the institutions have only the advisory and consulting function in this case. That is the picture of the problem the experts working within the social system, on state and on NGO level are tackling. The

problem is deep within the social structures, deep in the perception of the society, and a lot in practical and legal dealing with the very understanding of the gender in the family structure.

Is there a way of redefining the perception of the family in the crude terms of the public policy? When looking into the process of family, how it is relieved by the experts in this, only two hours long, discussion, several points were surfacing. Initial motif, coming from different sides of the imaginary praxis: normative division was the overwhelming problem of violence, and it was only in the direction of the man being violent towards the woman, and possibly to the children. Other than pointing out that being exposed to the scenes of violence is also a form of violence, it was not further discussed in terms of other modes of violence. Especially interesting is that, not even until the very end when the audience got involved, violence of women towards man and children was not voiced into a possibility. On the other hand, the violent acts were relativized to give a partial blame to the victim, for not reacting like “a mother” and asking for a divorce when the violence first occurred, but instead trying to overcome, or how she said “to fix” the situation until the point when her ex-husband left the family completely. Here the children were again seen as the victimized, unwilling, and powerless objects of their parents’ dispute.

The second strong emphasis was on the economic dependence of the family on the incomes of the father. Since the model they lived in prior to his living was a male breadwinner, female house worker union, his leaving also meant leaving the ex-wife and the children without the means of survival, other than the income of the grandmother who is continuing to help her daughter and grandchildren. Here it is important to note a record high unemployment rates in Serbia – so staying without an only income of the household is accompanied in practical terms also with very slim chances of finding a job for the woman. Perception that the current family’s decomposition is the final event, a new permanent situation, and not just a transitory period between two or more family forms does not come as a surprise. Since the experts participating in the discussion are in large part of their professional lives

strictly bound to application of institutional solutions, it is expected that their relation to this problem situation is as such: bound to the current moment, and immediate solutions. The institutional model simply mirrors the authoritarian morality of the patriarchal family it is based on. This model is disregarding the emotional potential of the father-children bond, but it is also disregarding the breadwinning potential of the mother.

Some of the reactions of the participants to the story are summing up the institutional views and showing the institutional regard, or disregarding of the gender gap.

“...the main problem is within the functioning of the institutions. I found that the dominant aspect of the story. To start with the reaction of the police, which was inadequate, and, I am sorry to say, it is not surprising, that the verdict, than the social work centre, but I do not feel that this is an adequate response of the institutions to this problem, taking the real situation in the consideration. The second aspect I would refer to is the social context. How the social surroundings react to the problem? And, that the divorce was initiated only when the message of the husband of getting a child with another woman came, and not in fact as a reaction to the previous violence.”

Psychologist and teacher in Gymnasium, Belgrade

The discussion partners all expressed great sensitivity to the situation of family violence, although definition of the victim or in this case victims is not so firm. Only some of the experts expressed the concern for all the family members, including the father/husband who was violent towards mother/wife, and described them as victims. The strongest point was on the responsibility of the parents for their children, and, especially the financial responsibility of the father, and emotional responsibility of the mother, indicating the traditional model and traditional approach as dominant in the institutional work. This model is by no means the only one, but it is the legally supported one, which makes it more

difficult to raise awareness on gender issues among the experts working with people in family crisis.

“P: There is always that classical story of his and hers divorce, and how the situation woman is in after the divorce is different, her everyday experiences, the material insecurity she faces. She is directed and bound to the primary family, and there is the unsettled contact with the children [of the father]. As I understood, the recommendation of the centre for social work was not respected, as it is often the case in practical work. M: What is not functioning? P: The decisions of the centre for social work and of the court are very often not respected. The coordination of the service institutions is not functioning, it is very weak, and they are not well connected.”

Social worker, Belgrade

Noted is the dissonance in the institutional functions. While several institutions are dealing with the crisis situation and the continuation of some of the family unit functions after the parents' divorce, these institutions are not cooperating; they have a loose or advisory contact, with no effect or legal tool to support their recommendations. In practical situations, the decisions of the court about paying alimony, the times and structure of the contact of children with the parent who did not get the custody over them, can be disregarded by one or both parties with no further practical consequences.

“What I see as a central problem is violence, in the sense of having control of the men over the women. The conflict here forms when she starts empowering herself, when she starts working and going back to get high education. And, in general, I felt that the institutions did not react adequately to this. ... There has been a lot of work done on the education of people working in the institutions, and on the institutional reforms, but I can't see even the school support in the institutional role, for the children, I see that they got some support on the personal plan [not institutional], and that is, of course, positive. But I am thinking of the wider context of hers empowerment

story. I am thinking about the unpaid work she is doing as a woman, namely, she takes care of the house, of the children, does house work, and especially after the divorce, it is all hers to do. She is supported by her mother, who is also a woman. I have to ask, what is she doing? Why did she decide to go back to school? ...we know that women choose less profitable professions.”

Psychologist, working in an NGO, Belgrade

Other than the central problem of violence, it is evident to the experts that the asymmetry of gender roles is a common source of dispute. Institutional response is not adequate in these terms, and the empowerment of woman is not met by institutional support, but by ignoring in the best case scenarios. The multiple burden of women work in the household is additionally ballasted by the lack of the institutional support for single parent households. Although the personal networks of support are noted, the question of more organized support model remains.

“School as an institution has no mechanisms to react. And even if [we know of a problem in a family], I have a similar story now happening in my school, and you are there more like a counsellor, you have no other mechanisms to react.”

Pedagogic counsellor and teacher in a high school, Belgrade

On the other hand, there is the lack of support for the institutions which are dealing with children and family on everyday basis. Even when teachers, psychologists, and development counsellors know of a problem, the only model of dealing with it is counselling to the child. Here another issue comes into the focus – the teachers, and the school related professionals in primary and secondary education in Serbia are more often female than male and it is valid discussions point – their own supporting or challenging attitude towards gender stereotypes.

“The talent is seen in positive light in children, namely, it’s splendid, but usually children have not enough capacity to show, and every child has a talent for something, but has insufficient support or not enough personal capacity...I already saw it as positive, we praised it, but the mother here is

the hero for pushing that story forward. I think it really deserves praise, and it shows her positive capacities.”

Pedagogic counsellor and teacher in a high school, Belgrade

Another level of recognized lack of institutional support is for children who are showing a special talent for something. Although the talent itself is positively assessed, the responsibility or the additional social responsibility in this special circumstances is not seen by the discussion participants.

“Institutions are limited by laws, in their ability to react. Second, the institutions have no return information on what happens with their clients. They can’t follow up on every client to see who is acting as instructed.”

Member of the parliament, Serbia

The problem of communication is evident in more ways. The lack of information is the initial problem, the lack of institutional cooperation the next level, and also recognized is the lack of follow-up and feedback. This level of the problem is highly relevant in cases of institutional reforms. The lack of feedback can make the reform efforts futile by the taking an inadequate model as the basis for change. The fact that a certain strategy works in one society does not make it automatically transferable to another and changing and adapting to address a problem can fail if the problem is not fully understood.

“The point is, that people do not rely on institutions any more, women nor men, but instead, they are making their own support networks, and live their own lives, and pray to god that they do not have a situation they have to enter into any institution, if it is health institution, social services, and so on... They [hope] not to have a problem to solve, because the institutions are reacting very little to real life needs of people. They are somehow petrified, over bureaucratized; there is no response any more. And on the other hand, in this time period they became also deinstitutionalized.”

Independent consultant on the gender perspectives, Belgrade

The evident distrust in institutional support models results in returning to traditional support groups, and maybe building new outside-of-institutions support networks. Their advantages are in greater flexibility in response, higher personalization and closer understanding of the problems, but they can be instable due to the lack of funding, or resources in case of friend and family support groups, and smaller span of action in comparison to the one that is possible available to the institution. Personal and small social networks that are forming around a common problem or a common goal are a positive development in terms of the civil society development. Problem in this case is that the forming of such networks is a direct response to an overall perceived institutional failure to deal with personal issues of a society that is sensitive as a whole, and in such terms causes chains of victimization that are too great to be amortized by small personal networks in their current power.

“She is the positive model, since she asks for more gender equality. Here you have a man who can’t really understand, or adapt, and it is a very large problem in Serbia. We don’t know how to think in the categories of the gender equality. We are thinking of gender equality, we are thinking of the position of women, and the emancipation of women that already took place, happened and came to a point at which it is impossible to continue without changing the men.”

Independent consultant on the gender perspectives, Belgrade

Perception of gender and the understanding of gender issues related to families are in general perceived from the standpoint of heterosexual bipolar relationship, leading to the modern family – so a marital model including male and female gender couple – and in children rearing context. This is in part a consequence of the introductory story, which was aimed to narrow down the opening part of the discussion only to heterosexual two-parental family, and in a specific situation for that family – the transition between nuclear family, and single-parent family. On further prompting, the participants still did not introduce other possible family or coupling forms, and no other gender manifestations than male and female. What is indicative of perception change, is underlining, by some of the participants, the

importance of gender aware treatment and action addressed to male gender individuals and to men as a social group. The upper statement carries the logic of a historical point, where one-sided-emancipation is showing its own incompleteness, and it does not suffice any more. The need to emancipate both men and women is clear, but the societal emphasis is, even now, still on the emancipation of women, and in large disregarding the emancipation of men.

“There are no policies in Serbia that are directed towards men. There are positive trends, not in this story, but generally there are positive trends. There are researches showing that we have a modern concept of men, which are having other values, and believe in equality, fatherhood. There are associations of fathers fighting for their rights, and so on, but that is not nearly enough in comparison to what we need.”

Independent consultant on the gender perspectives, Belgrade

The field evidence participants discussed is revealing the changes men are going through in the Serbian society of today. Men are “allowed” to express emotion; they are “permitted” to form emotional bonds with their children, and to adopt a part of the role of care givers – traditionally women role. Whilst talking about the permission, the possibility, experts are still somewhat hazy in the plane of the actual manifestations of this post-modern fatherhood. It is staying unclear how the roles of caring father should be played in a situation of a personal crisis, in situations of the separation of parents, and a limited time for the actual parenting. The further question is, if the belief in equality is coming anywhere close to the actual presentation of equal house labour and emotional work in the family division? How are the everyday images presented to children and young people by the world and society around them showing equality, or it is in fact just another cover of reproducing a stereotype? The normative ideal of the gender equal society is clear to the experts, even if the means of presenting, promoting, rehearsing, and building gender equity is not yet fully defined for the case of Serbian society.

“It is interesting and important, that important canals other than education, that are even more to the point of gender inequalities, are the economic and the social capital of families. Research conducted by the Institute for social research, show that these resources of the family are more often given to the male children, and education is chosen as a strategy for female children, in their perception. They feel it gives a female child more chances, but in reality, they are throwing the responsibility over to the public sphere. And in this moment the public sphere is even more discriminatory towards female children. Only, the more secure resources, family, economical, personal connections, social capital, that are in our society more relevant, or as relevant, or very relevant is directed towards the male child.”

Sociologist, University teacher and researcher, Belgrade

By the opinion of the expert participating in the discussion, and based on the research of the Institute for Sociological Research, the distribution of the social and economic capital is inherently asymmetric by gender, when it comes to sharing those forms of capital to children different gender in the same family. Observing this structure in a society as a whole, the social and economic capital are more likely and more often given to the male child of a family, while the education endeavours are focused on the female child? It is so, that the consequence is that the initial investment that is more translatable to economic prosperity (in the case of Serbian market), namely, social and economic capital, goes to the child who has less obstacles in the labour market, and higher profit occupations in the first place; while the investment which is less likely to produce a lucrative outcome in the Serbian market, namely education, is allocated to the female child – and thus reproducing the feminized culture of lower paid occupations. Ironic is that the levels of actual schooling do not have the impact that the family expects.

“She [the guest] mentioned that that other woman her ex-husband is now in relationship with, refused and put pressure on him to cease contact with his children [from the first marriage]. To note how important and present in consciousness is the traditional model of self-continuation.”

Sociologist, University teacher and researcher, Belgrade

Linking the upper described story of the capital distribution inequity, to the reproduction of the traditional models, another comment of the same participants sheds light to the logic behind this story. What are the consequences of the traditional partnership models? Some of the aspects of the couple's relationship, that come from the traditional relationship behavioural patterns also affect the possibility of practical, manifest, fatherhood or motherhood. In the situation where the woman chooses to restrict interaction of the man with his children from the previous relationship, for the emotional or practical reasons of having extra work involving his children, it is difficult to speak of rights of the father to the emotional bond with his children, rights of the children to have such bond with their father, when the effective time is limited by socially accepted intrusion of the traditional norms in family relationships.

“They are not dealing with children. Children are one completely impersonal group. That is how media deals with children.”

Media expert and journalist, Faculty of Political Sciences, Belgrade

Can a child be an acting individual, or is protection of children objectivizing children and disempowering a child? The next question raised by the discussion participant points to the actual empowerment of the child. The dominant stand is that what a child can receive in a case of his/her rights being compromised, or in a case of an evident victimization is described as “just advice”. Later on in the discussion, a young person from the audience described her case of parental neglect and of financial and legal neglect she experienced when she was still not of legal age. The present experts stated that she had to have gotten legal help from the social services, but how the actual situation happened; she was advised not to pursue the case, since the long duration of cases prevents the judgment to be valid – her case would expire by the sheer fact of herself getting older. Such situation open a number of questions – what is the actual advice a child should receive when her/his rights are broken by his/her parents? Who is to be trained to give such advice? And,

maybe the most important – which individuals, or organizations, should support a cause of recognizing time as a critical factor when it comes to the legal rights of underage people?

“You can be judged just for putting problems in the spotlight. It is seen as an attempt of negatively influencing the population. It is a negative commercial of the marginal group, and the general population is judgmental towards a marginal group if you are putting it too much in the spotlight.”

Marketing manager, Belgrade

The disregarded force of marketing is the underlying factor in any discussion about gender equality and gender equity. The models offered through various media channels, supporting the consumer culture are often stereotypical, traditional, and especially, highly supportive of traditional gender role division. It is also interesting that the participants of the discussion are strongly aware of the “traditional media” like television, print media, and the conservative applications of the “new media” like the above-the-line communication on the Internet, and social networking; and yet they did not mention the less branded forms, like the communication of political parties, especially the communication of the dominant Church and the religious community of Serbia, communication of the sport fan clubs and associations, and the public space young people frequently occupy. The reaction to the marketing industry stays dim even when prompted by a person working in marketing. The general impression is that the expert groups dealing in family issues are less aware of this particular aspect of the society.

“In this kind of situation we are very easily transferring responsibility to the victim. In case of any story of violence it is very important that we always remind ourselves that in such situation the responsibility is always on the violence. ... It is the choice of the one who conducted the violence to be violent or not. The woman in this case has no real choice in a situation of violence. She is suffering it.”

Psychology and civil education teacher in the Gymnasium, Belgrade

Relativisation of gender roles, how it is seen by the discussion participants is still very inclined to support the concept of guilt in place of responsibility, and to assign the guilt to the victim, thus relativizing the responsibility of the aggressor. In terms of having and manifesting power over another, the humanistic moral is losing ground to the traditional gender division, and stereotypical ideal roles: woman as a victim, powerless, victim as a provocateur of his/her own victimization, man as an aggressor, by his right as a father and a breadwinner, by the traditional right to be obeyed, and by the permission to punish for disobedience. In this structure, a child has to be an object, to be owned and moulded by parents, and to be unsupported if the parents fail to play their parental roles. That model is not giving the child a permission to fight back legally, to understand and demand her/his rights, but it does the same for the parents – the woman is allowed to sacrifice for the purpose of her motherhood, but she is dissuaded by social obstacles from pursuing other forms of self-fulfilment, she is not aggressive, simply because that characteristic cannot co-exist with the formative norms within her selfless role; the man is allowed to be a father in breadwinning role, to be an economic source, and his aggression is tolerated, as long as he does not “betray” the role of a breadwinner, but the permission to form emotional bond with his children is relativized by the traditional social norms.

Everybody is a victim, and everybody can be an aggressor, and – all have their own possibilities and sources of power they can actualize in a case of need. It is just a situation that is less recognized, and hence, less practically applicable.

Unfortunately, only two hours of the discussion cannot be taken as a representative of a social problem in a whole, and the power of this discussion is just in the opening of some questions for the future work.

These questions can be summarized in following groups: about reproducing or challenging stereotype behaviour by all relevant actors: media, social work experts, teachers, students, parents, and other relevant actors; the questions about the forms of counselling given to the individuals, and the gender-sensitivity of that counselling regarding gender diversity; gender awareness on legislative level of the

society, and the resulting ripple throughout the social services, police, medical institutions, and the school system; comparative technological and media literacy of the advice givers and the clients of these services and institutions; challenging traditional family norms, and family members and relatives relations regarding identity aspects, notably gender and age identities; understanding root and consequences of family violence in the terms of the changing family forms; understanding social offline and online networks, in their legalized and formal, or informal forms, and their power of practical action towards achieving the goals of gender equal society, in terms of single parent families, and sensitive groups employment; the empowering of organizations and institutions personnel in performing their roles in terms of legal support, timely help to the clients to achieve their legal rights, forming more efficient communication and feedback models, and a more flexible communication and cooperation to the informal networks.

The previous list notes just the strongest points made in the course of the moderated discussion. The discussion participants show common effort in recognizing an exclusive, discriminative, culture of violence that is persisting as a traditional norm of the society; and they are working to transform it into openly diverse culture of mutuality¹¹.

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¹¹ This text is based on the opinions of the participants of the moderated discussion that took place on the 19th April 2013, as a part of “Mind the Gap” conference in organisation of The Center for Ethics, Law and Applied Philosophy (CELAP), Belgrade.

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GENDER (IN)EQUALITIES WITHIN THE FAMILY: THE CASE OF SERBIA¹²

Rada Drezgić

Introduction

Almost half a century ago while I was in a third grade of elementary school my mother had to stay in a hospital in another town. Since we did not have any (female) relatives living nearby, my father had to resume all household duties while still working full time. For me it was a simple matter of fact until one day, in front of the whole class, my teacher inquired me about our family ‘situation’. With genuine concern in her voice she asked who was taking care of my four years older brother and me while our mother was away. Proudly (because we were so self-reliant), I replied that it was my father, only to turn lowly due to my teacher’s reaction. She expressed both surprise and disbelief, suggesting that my father’s attitude might have been admirable but was not quite proper and/or becoming for a man. Thus, all of a sudden, my father’s parenting that went beyond breadwinning and for me used to be normal and natural, appeared wrong and unnatural. My teacher’s reaction apparently reflected the common opinion which was informed by the dominant norm of a rather firm gender division of labor within the family and domestic realm.

¹²This work is supported by grant number III 41004, Ministry of Education and Science Republic of Serbia.

The norm of sexual division of reproductive labor, at face value, went counter the official ideology of gender equality promoted, at the time, by the socialist regime in former Yugoslavia and Serbia. Yet, for a variety of reasons, the norm continued to shape attitudes as well as actual practices throughout the socialist period in Yugoslavia, generating thus gender inequalities within the family and affecting women's public roles as well. There is an agreement among scholars that socialism brought about significant improvements in the overall social position of women, but the domestic realm to the most part remained the stronghold and generator of gender inequalities (Denich, 1977; Einhorn, 1993; Funk and Mueller, Gal and Kligman, 2000; 1993; Wolchik and Meyer, 1985).

Socialist project of women's emancipation implied primarily integration of women into labor force. In addition to that, socialist states had planned to provide child care and socialization of other household chores. However, since the latter plan never quite went through, socialist regimes made family the central place of social reproduction, i.e. of care work (*ibid.*, see also Drezgić, 2010). This meant that even though women entered wage work in large numbers, they also retained primary responsibility for child care and household (*ibid.*). Socialist regimes never confronted these contradictions and all their "policies were generally aimed at altering behavior of women, not men" (Gal, S, Kligman, G, 2000:72). As a consequence, gender roles and relations within the family, to the large extent, remained unchanged, shaped by traditional, patriarchal norms.

The anecdote mentioned above, however, does not only demonstrate the strength of the norm (of sexual division of labor). It is also illustrative of the fact that some men and women have always chosen not to conform to the norm. In other words, neither men nor women are firmly shaped by gender norms and can (to a greater or lesser degree) choose to act differently. Still, as the anecdote also reveals, there are numerous mechanisms at work that contribute to the norm's naturalization.

In this paper I explore the status of the norm of division of domestic labor in contemporary Serbia by examining attitudes and actions of men and women regarding the family, gender roles and relations within it. The aim of the analysis is

to scrutinize current forms of gender (in)equalities within the family and domestic realm. The analysis relies on the information collected by semi-structured interviews conducted for the research “The role of culture and cultural policy in contemporary Serbia”¹³. Information collected by the interviews will be compared with data from *Gender barometer* survey in Serbia (Blagojević Hjuson, M. 2013); and some other research/studies that I will refer to later in the paper.

I argue that today, like fifty years ago family life in Serbia has many different forms and various models of gender relations; that there is a discrepancy between the 'ideal' and 'actual' family, i.e. between attitudes and actual practices and between dominant discourses and actual relationships. Finally, existing research points to some important changes in the realm of domestic gender roles and relations for the periods between the last decade of the 20th and the first decade of the 21st century. For, example, sociological research indicates a return to traditional, patriarchal values and models of behavior in all aspects of family life in Serbia - from family organization and residence patterns, to relationships between partners, to child–parent relationships and the domestic division of labor for the period between the mid-1990s and mid-2000s (Milić, A. 2004).¹⁴ More recent research, however, reveals slow, but steady transformation towards a more egalitarian model of family organization, while attitudes still reflect patriarchal ideology, particularly among men (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013), as well as naturalization of gender difference.

¹³ The project was realized by journal *Republika* which provided funding for the research designed by Zagorka Golubović as primary investigator in cooperation with Isidora Jarić and Rada Drezgić . The results of the research are published in Z. Golubović, I. Jarić, *Kultura i preobražaj Srbije*, Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2010. In this paper, I analyze segments of the interviews collected for the research that asked about gender relations within the family. These segments were not analyzed for the study published in the book.

¹⁴ This conclusion is based on data from the representative, country-wide sociological research.

Between Women's Self-Sacrifice and Family Solidarity

The overall gender equity is a result of the interplay between the labor market, family organization, public policies and specific gender cultures. As mentioned above, in former socialist countries family organization remained patriarchal and the most important social role for women was motherhood. The ideal family was the nuclear family with two children and both spouses working full time. The real life, however, in many respects diverged from this ideal. In Serbia, for example, there were numerous multi-generational extended families both in rural and urban areas; large number of families had only one child and during the economic crises in the 1970s women made up the majority among the unemployed. Even though women's employment was primarily instrumental for family budget, not for their self-realization, employment did serve as foundation for women's identity. As noted by an American feminist anthropologist, "the Yugoslav working wife [was] an employee who [did] housework on the side" (Denich, B. 1977:268)¹⁵. This 'side job', however, was the source of women's power within the gender regime designated by a local feminist sociologist as "self-sacrificing micro-matriarchate" (Blagojević, M. 1995). Woman's power here is built through the ambivalent process of self-sacrifice for the family and all its members (ibid.).

In Western feminist literature on socialism this situation was marked by the concept of double or triple burden of employed women. Western scholars, however, did not recognize that this gender regime model in addition to being extremely exploitative in terms of women's time and resources was also an important source of women's power by making all other members of the family dependent on women and their (unpaid) work. Admittedly, this power had a high price – being based on asymmetrical gender roles, relations and expectations - and was also limited to the domestic realm. The price has become even higher in the context of post-socialist transformations marked by overall economic decline, deterioration of living standard, and crumbling down of the institutional system, including the system of

¹⁵ Denich contrasts this with the situation in the USA at the time, where, unlike in Yugoslavia, woman's participation in the labor force did not affect her social identity.

social care. In order to mitigate negative effect that these social processes had for family life, women took on themselves even more unpaid work within the household¹⁶ often in combination with both formal and informal paid work. Re-traditionalization and re-patriarchalisation of gender roles and relations were further ‘stimulated’ by conservative segments of public discourses, like for example religious nationalism, which, during the 1990s had the hegemonic status in Serbia. The ideology of religious nationalism in Serbia was built in opposition to communist (i.e. socialist) ideology including its project of women’s emancipation. Some research suggests that religious nationalism and other conservative discourses have been successful in undermining not only the ideology of gender emancipation, but also the achievements that had been made towards more equitable gender relations during socialism (Drezgić, 2010a:967).

The same social processes, described above, (cf. late and stalled transformation) that have strengthened the gender regime of self-sacrificing micro matriarchate, have, however, also strengthened family solidarity (Tripković. G. 2004; Blagojević Hjuson, 2013). As an important element of subsistence survival strategy, family solidarity undermines the model of male “breadwinner” (Blagojević Hjuson 2013:260) and leads to the spontaneous reorganization of family roles engaging all capable family members in child rearing and care for sick and elderly (Tripković, *ibid.*:209).

On the following pages, relying on empirical data, I analyze how various family regimes – the self-sacrificing micromatriarchate, male breadwinner and the regime of solidarity affect attitudes and practices related to gender division of domestic labor in contemporary Serbia. The analysis reveals how the above described gender regimes, and the dichotomous conceptions of gender shape attitudes and practices related to gender roles and relations within the family, and ultimately how they affect gender equity. I start by presenting attitudes vis-à-vis the family - its various forms, its meaning and its social role.

¹⁶ For example making and mending clothing for family members and other similar, subsistence work.

The Safe Haven

In our research on cultural policy in Serbia (Golubović, Jarić, Drezgić, 2009), we collected a total of 120 in-depth interviews in Belgrade and ten other towns in Serbia. I compare the data from our research with the results of the *Gender barometer* survey on a representative sample of 1026 respondents (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013).

Our interview had a whole section with questions about family. But in almost all the interviews, family popped up even before the interview reached the relevant section. Almost everyone, men and women alike, declared that family came first to them when answering the question about their life priorities. Family is a highly valued, important center in people's lives. It is, furthermore, considered the basic unit and pillar of society – a safe harbor and context in which its members should be nurtured, cared for and socialized. Here are some examples from the interviews:

Family is the place where one should be able to find shelter and to feel safe (female, 61, homemaker, elementary education)

Family means absolutely everything to me, if I can say so. I think that one cannot be normal without family. I think that one cannot function properly - it doesn't matter how big the family is. Simply put, family is necessary (female, 48, sales person).

For me, family is the most important thing. It is the first and most important priority. Family for me is a nook, isolation, the one place where we can follow our feelings and be the persons we really are (female, 40, physician).

Family is the most important thing in my life. Its primary role is to rear children and to support its members (male 30, self-employed).

Family to me means love, stability, oasis – it is extremely important to me. Stable family is the source of stability for the whole society (male, 40s, dentist).

My family is always on the first place for me, than comes everything else...If everyone lived alone, outside of the family, everything would be different, I believe, I don't think that could be good (female, 52, homemaker).

I think that family should be the pillar of this society. Its role is rearing, socializing and educating children. I think that family is much more responsible for its offspring than schools or any other institution in this state (male, 39, driver).

The last example reflects the influence of a family dependant social policy system that has been taking more and more ground in Serbia due to the collapse of the institutional system and austerity measures promoted by the international financial institutions. Within this system that is based on the ideology of male breadwinner, responsibility for welfare and care work is relegated to the family and ultimately to women.

All quoted examples, and almost all interviews, convey an idealized image of the family which is only occasionally questioned. Here is a rare example of an interview in which family is not perceived as necessarily a haven in a heartless world. This respondent points out complexities of family relations that in real life often produce conflicts, disagreements and in extreme cases even violence:

Apparently family exists for ages, thus, it must be very important. But, on the other hand, it can be a double edged sword - it can be good but it can also be bad (male, 30s, electrician).

While nuclear family is still the norm, no prejudice is expressed towards other forms of the family – the greatest number of the interviewed believe that each of the various forms of family and partnership arrangements is equally capable of fulfilling the most important social roles – safe harbor and rearing of children. While few respondents point out that rearing children is more difficult for a single parent (e. i. mothers), no prejudice is shown towards the out of wedlock mothering

or towards singlehood. The respondents themselves live within a rather broad range of marital and family arrangements. Among them there are: single middle-aged men and women; divorced and/or separated single parent families; three generations extended families; cohabitation and common law marriages (particularly for second marriages).

This plurality of marriage, family and partnership forms is limited though by heteronormativity as the hegemonic discourse. This means that there are no homosexual families in the sample and that respondents expressed rather strong opposition to homosexual marriages and parenting. Not surprisingly then, approximately 60% (68% of men and 55% of women) of respondents surveyed for *Gender barometer* agreed that homosexual marriages should be banned (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 131).

Interestingly enough, our interview did not even ask about homosexuality or homosexual marriages. However, interviews were conducted in the midst of a heated public debate regarding the draft Law against discrimination which, among other things, stipulated discrimination against sexual orientation. That article became the point of contestation and of public debates initiated by the Serbian Orthodox Church and other 'traditional' religious communities. The general opinion among the opponents of the Law was that it represented only one step away from legalization of homosexual marriages which they considered unacceptable (for being unnatural, and/or contrary to the religious dogma and contrary to God's will). The same opinion was reproduced by several respondents in our research who felt it important to bring up the issue of homosexuality and gay rights into the conversation even without being asked about it. In addition to being discriminatory against sexual minorities, heteronormativity is instrumental in maintaining and naturalizing dichotomous conceptions gender roles.

Paid Work and the Family Work

Paid work apparently has primarily the instrumental value in people's lives. For the majority of respondents in the *Gender Barometer* survey family is more

important than job (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 133). Still, approximately one third of both men and women (32% of men and 34% of women) in the survey stated that job and family are equally important to them (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 252). For these men and women, in addition to its instrumental role paid work also serves for self-realization.

In terms of income, a dual income family is the best case scenario according to almost all the interviews in our research and according to *Gender Barometer* survey (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 260). If, however, family has to rely only on one income, in principle, it does not seem to matter who is the breadwinner. However, answers to this question in our research tell that dual income model exists parallel to the male breadwinner model of the family. Dual income model is legacy of socialism and represents economic necessity. The male breadwinner model also has two sources – one is re-traditionalization of the domestic realm, particularly gendered division of domestic labor; and the other is the neoliberal ideology. In both cases, masculinity is firmly connected with breadwinning. According to *Gender barometer*, 63% of men and 55% of women agree that the most important thing for a man is to earn well (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 258)

This pressure on men to assume breadwinning role in the context of high unemployment causes frustration among men generating thus crisis of masculinity (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 249). More than a few women in our research recognize that the situation in which only wife provides family income is potentially threatening for husband's masculinity.

Such a situation represents a big challenge. One needs a lot of patience to support a man. If a woman is unemployed it doesn't mean that she doesn't do any work. She always contributes by working in home. After all, it is not easy for a man to put himself in the role of a housewife (female, 24, student).

Well, the husband should have a job. A man can have several jobs and he can make more money than a woman. Woman should stay with children

and take care of them. But if a woman has a good job, she may also be the sole earner (female, 52, homemaker).

Our interviews indicate that there are some differences in the attitudes between working class men and women on the one hand and younger, highly educated professional women and men, private entrepreneurs on the other hand. Members of the latter two groups tend to reproduce the neoliberal ideal of male breadwinner more often.

My girlfriend will never be able to make as much money as I can make. She can occasionally help me (with my business), otherwise it is better that I work while she should be taking care of our child (male, 40s, small business owner in a common law marriage)

Well, in principle it should not matter but it does. I think it is up to women, regardless of her intellectual level and skills to take care of the house; to take care of the kitchen; to take care of children. Men, on the other hand, should provide means for all of that. I've been brought up that way and I believe that's how it should be (female, 33, self-employed stylist).

The ideal of male breadwinner has been a part and parcel of the processes of re-traditionalization and re-patriarchalization of gender relations in Serbia since the end of socialism. Still, the ideal of the breadwinner could not take the firm ground within the working class families because their experience of post-socialist transformations is marked by job losses and single income very often provided by women, working often within the grey areas of economy. It has already be noted by the feminist scholars that female resources and resourcefulness have played extremely important role in maintaining the family life and well-being after the 1990s, the period marked by radical social change, instability, disintegration of the state and society, conflicts, including armed conflicts, deterioration of the living standards and overall quality of life for the majority of the population (Blagojević, M. 1995; Gal, S., G. Kligman, 2000; Milić A., 2001, Miletić-Stepanović, 2004). Thus it is a rather widespread practice of female breadwinners within the working

class families that has contributed to the attitude of the respondents in our research. Still, the situation of female breadwinner is perceived as potentially problematic primarily because of the gendered division of domestic labor which makes unemployed men without a purpose in life and in the family.

It doesn't matter [who works] but it is more difficult for a man if his wife works and he doesn't. That's how man's mind is (male, 42, administrator).

I think that man feels inferior if his wife is employed and he isn't (female, 19, high school student)

Models of Decision Making

According to the prevalent opinion expressed by our respondents decision making in the family should be a common responsibility – married couples should together, through the process of negotiation and argumentation decide about important family issues. Answers to the question “Who should make the most important family decisions” were usually short: ‘together’ (meaning both spouses) or ‘all’ (meaning all family members). There were, however, some other opinions as well. Actually, responses to this question can be divided in two groups: egalitarian and authoritarian. Here are some examples of the egalitarian, democratic attitude:

The best (way) is to make decisions together (female, 31, sales person)

I agree with the saying that house stands on consensus (male, 30, engineer).

Everyone should be involved when it comes to important things. I don't have a problem to make a decision on my own when necessary. For some things I don't have to consult with the others. These are small things. (female, 56, secondary education, unemployed¹⁷).

¹⁷ I differentiate between women homemakers, those that never had a job outside of house, and unemployed, those that like this respondent used to work but lost their jobs. This

The authoritarian answers could be further grouped into: gender neutral; patriarchal, and matriarchal. Here are some examples.

Examples of gender neutral authoritarianism:

Someone should have (the last word), it doesn't matter who. It is usually male because I have been brought up that way and we believe that we are a stronger side (male, 65, driver).

Well, that one who is psychologically stronger (female, 38, sales person)

Examples of patriarchal authoritarianism:

All decisions should be made together, but man should have 51% in decision making (m, 40s, auto mechanic)

I believe in consensus. However, if one person has to make a decision I would always let my husband decide. It is natural for males of all species to have that feature of determination and protective attitude" (female, 33, owns private business)

Examples of matriarchal authoritarianism:

Mother makes all crucial decisions and that's how it should be. The father is not excluded but his authority decreases in situations that require composure and sapience – these are, for example, decisions concerning children. (female, 20s, student).

All important decisions should be made together, however, usually it is the more stubborn and eloquent (who makes decisions) and not the person who takes the biggest burden of caring for children and the family (female, 60, secondary education, retired).

The *Gender barometer* survey brings about similar results. In the survey, 45% of both men and women answered that the most important decisions in the family

particular women work for 25 years, lost her job because her company was dissolved. She works occasionally, but has not been able to find a more permanent work ever since)

are made together, by both spouses. According to the survey the egalitarian model of family grows with the level of women's education. Husbands make the most important decisions in one third of families in which women have the lowest degree of education even though in almost 40% of such families the budget is based on dual income. Woman's higher educational level brings about decline in father's authority and increase of the authority of women and of both parents (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 92).

Almost 33% of surveyed men believe that most important decisions are made by man i.e. father, while 25% of women are of the same opinion. On the other hand, 8% of men and 20% of women believe that mothers i.e. women are responsible for making important family decisions (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 92). As the above interview examples show, women are mostly given priority in making decisions related to rearing of children, reflecting the norm of sexual division of reproductive labor according to which child rearing and care work are women's responsibility naturally.

Reproductive decisions (particularly fertility control) within marriage represent good indicator of the character of gender relations. Previous research shows that decisions about fertility control within the marriage in Serbia used to belong to men and that their preferred method was *coitus interruptus* (see Drezgić, R. 2004; Morokvašić M.; 1984; Rašević, M. 1993). Thus, according to a survey conducted in 1987, only 22,4% of women relied on modern, medical methods of fertility control, pill, chemical contraceptives and IUD (see Drezgić, *ibid*). Due to high failure rates of traditional methods, like *coitus interruptus*, abortion rates in Serbia were rather high.¹⁸

I argue elsewhere (Drezgić, 2004) that *coitus interruptus* in addition to giving men a sense of control over the relationship also serves to affirm their virility and prowess. Women, on the other hand, by accepting passive, subordinate status in

¹⁸ More on this see in Drezgić, R. 2004.

fertility control affirm their own and their husbands' 'gender proficiency'.¹⁹ Thus, even though women, at the time, were not fully autonomous in making reproductive decisions, they were active agents in facilitating of their own and their husbands' proper gender identities.

The *Gender barometer* survey and our interviews indicate that women might be gaining more influence and/or autonomy in making decisions about fertility control, as 53% of them in the survey use contraceptives – most commonly the pill (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 114). Compared to the previous period(s), this represents a significant change - not only in terms of the percentage of women who use modern contraceptives, but also regarding the attitude towards the most effective, hormonal contraception which used to be rather negative (see Rašević, 1995).

The most common opinion in the *Gender barometer* survey is that decision about fertility control is a joint responsibility – 67% of men and an equal percentage of women in the survey, while 28% of women and 26% of men believe that women should decide about means of fertility control (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 103). Only 5% of women and 7% of men think the opposite, that it is men's responsibility (ibid.).

Still sexuality and consequently fertility control seem to have remained a taboo as a discussion topic. Almost all respondents in our research somehow glossed over the question on fertility control. We asked who is responsible for pregnancy prevention and what the best way of prevention is. The answers were rather brief (“both husband and wife are responsible”), general – (“contraception” is the best way of pregnancy prevention”) without specifying a method), and not personal, namely not a single respondent said which method s/he preferred or relied on. Our data thus tell much more on attitudes than on actual practices of fertility control and should be taken with a grain of salt.

¹⁹ The concept of gender proficiency was introduced by Heather Paxon (2004), it refers to culturally constructed norms of doing things properly that shape ideas and practices about being good at being a woman or man.

Another important dimension of reproductive decision making concerns decisions about pregnancy termination. Almost unanimously respondents in our research believe that ideally partners should together make the decision whether to keep or terminate an unplanned or unwanted pregnancy. Ultimately, however, according to our respondents, that decision belongs to women as their responsibility and/or their reproductive right. Traditionally, taking care of unwanted pregnancies was ultimately exclusively women's responsibility and self-induced and illegal abortions were rather widespread. Like other socialist states, Yugoslavia legalized abortion in the 1950s, turning it into women's right and into a symbol of the socialist women's emancipation. During socialism abortion was widely accepted practice of fertility control in Serbia.

The *Gender barometer* survey results, however, show, that general attitude vis-à-vis abortion has changed to a certain degree – namely, almost one third of surveyed men and women (36% and 30% respectively) agreed with the statement that abortion should be banned (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 131). These rather high percentages, no doubt, echo the effects of consistent campaign against abortion within the conservative public discourses. The leading force in the campaign that was launched twenty years ago has been the Serbian Orthodox Church supported by conservative segments of political and civil sectors.²⁰ Previous research has shown generational difference in women's opinions about abortion – with younger women expressing more conservative views (see Stevanović, J. 2008, and Drezgić, R. 2010).

Several things stand out from the above analysis of decision making within the family – a combination of egalitarian, democratic principle and authoritarian attitude according to which someone should be in charge (i.e. the head of the family). Thus 71% of men and 58% of women in the *Gender Barometer* survey agreed with the statement: “a good family should have its head”. In our research, few male respondents expressed similar opinion with the saying that “someone

²⁰ More about anti-abortion campaign in Serbia, its role in nationalist politics and implications for gender equality see in Drezgić 2010 and 2012a).

should wear trousers in the family”. Most of the time, men are assigned the role of the family head except in matters of reproduction and child care – those decisions are mostly relegated to women. Apparently, decision making within the family is shaped at the intersection of generally democratic attitude with gender ideology dominated by a dichotomous division of roles, mostly founded on sexual division of labor. The dichotomous division of roles, however, is not necessarily conceived of as hierarchically organized. As a matter of fact our respondents, more often than not, believe that men and women have different roles in society but difference for most of them does not imply inequality.

Gender roles: different and (un)equal

Significant number of respondents in our research believes that different social roles of men and women reflect biological differences but they do not necessarily associate difference with inequality.

Men and women are generally absolutely different. Their way of life, of thinking, the structure of their bodies [are different]. These things can never be the same. Maybe we can perform work equally, equally divide family duties, that yes, but I can never be a man neither he can ever be a woman” (female, mid 33, small business owner).

Yes [men and women have different roles in society]. A male is a male and female is a female. There are a lot [of things] that woman can’t do, more difficult things, something like that. I don’t know how to explain it (female 37, unemployed)

Of course [the roles] are different... Women give birth to children... and men should work more ... That’s natural (female, 25 marketing manager)

And, according to this respondent, men and women “have become equal in our society”.

There are differences but only to a certain degree...Women certainly are not going to do things that require physical strength... and it is normal that men won't give birth... (*laugh*). Some men, they belong to the Stone Age, believe that they are allowed anything only because they are stronger...that is a primitive approach to life. We are equal, significant differences nevertheless... I want to say... actually that we are different but at the same time we are equal (male, 28, sales manager).

A number of respondents who believe that gender roles are shaped by tradition and/or social structure tend to perceive the gender roles as unequal.

Here, traditionally yes [roles are different] since we live in a rural society. We have here a patriarchal attitude that is dominant. Families usually rely on mother while the father has to provide material means, but I am not sure that it is how things should be (male 33, web designer).

[Roles] are different primarily because that is part of our tradition, it is normal that woman performs household chores and [that she] does not think too much, and men makes money and things for everybody. I can see that everywhere, including in my own family. I think that [men and women] should be equal and that they are equally capable. However it seems easier to bring such laws [that grant equality] than to drastically change something culturally. Majority [of people] is used to men performing 'male' and women 'female' work (female 22, student).

Men and women are not completely equal in our society. That is because class society is essentially patriarchal. As one wise man has put it, women are the proletariat of the proletariat... A social role of man and woman is a question of choice. Nowadays roles can be changed, that is part of civilizational development (male, 32, lawyer).

Marxist underpinnings in this respondent's criticism of gender inequalities and his constructivist approach to gender (roles) are in a stark contrast to the public discourses which are dominated by the neoliberal ideology of the male breadwinner and by essentialist, primordial conceptions of gender (roles). As is apparent from

the following interview excerpt, the primordialist approach to gender difference is in its most extreme form present within the religious discourses:

While on a field trip with school one priest was telling us that woman's role is to give birth, that university education for women is the devils work. I was appalled (female 19, high school student).

This excerpt is important and interesting for several reasons. First of all, it illustrates the degree to which the Church as institution has infiltrated the system of public education. And even though this priest's opinion does not necessarily represent the official position of the Serbian Orthodox Church, it certainly is not random. Similar ideas that essentially discourage girls from pursuing education beyond elementary and secondary school permeate religious publications. Some of these publications are used for religious instruction in schools (see Radulović L.).²¹ The interview excerpt, however, also reveals that there are limits to the influence of religious and other public discourses on gender. Particularly those discourses that, like in this example, go counter the real life experiences of the majority of men and women and counter some firmly set secular values.

As noted by Blagojević Hjuson, the movement towards a more egalitarian model of gender relations within the family is most salient in upbringing of children. The gender neutral upbringing, which is common across social strata and urban-rural divide, first and foremost means equal education for boys and girls. Parents also have equal expectations when it comes to economic independence of their children regardless of sex. Gender specific upbringing has been transformed in almost all other segments of life save for the realm of care and reproductive work which is still naturalized as female realm (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013: 138), as something that comes to women naturally and does not require any particular skill.

²¹ Religious education was introduced in public schools in Serbia in 2001. It follows confessional, segregated, multi-denominational model covering seven „traditional“ or „historical“ religious communities. Religious education was initially elective but since 2003 it has been mandatory for the first four grades of elementary school and throughout high school, interchangeable with civic education.

As the above analysis shows, the respondents in our research express similar attitude regarding the sexual division of reproductive work.

Here, we have come full circle from where we started. Today, nearly fifty years after the anecdote described at the beginning of the paper it appears that nothing much has changed. But things are not exactly the same either. At the level of practice, the gender gap in the family has narrowed significantly as men are getting more involved in housework and childcare without threatening their masculinity.²² However, the ultimate responsibility for household duties and care work belongs to women while men mostly help out, more or less regularly; when it is necessary; or when other priorities have been met:

I personally do not distinguish between male and female roles but I do reproduce social distinctions. Of course, it is much more comfortable without the equality of roles. It is o.k. to perform all household chores while living alone but when you share household with a women it comes natural to leave these things to her (male, 31, high school teacher).

Men and women should be equal in all aspects of life. (Does it mean that you share all household chores with your wife?) Yes, whenever I have time (male, 45, mechanical engineer).

Empirical evidence presented in this paper, reveals not only a general support of gender equality but also a slow but steady transition towards a more egalitarian organization of family life. At the same time the evidence also reveals that the majority of the respondents seem not to be able to imagine the world, to paraphrase Mahony, with no sexual division of labor (Mahony, according to Anderson, 1997). While all families cannot and should not divide paid and unpaid work equally, full gender equality cannot be reached without sharing care within the family. In Serbia, much like in most developed industrial countries, women are still left with the

²² Of course, in families where women and/or both spouses have higher education the gender gap closes faster, while in rural families, particularly within the extended households the gap is closing with a much lower pace. Research shows that younger women in rural families, particularly those that are engaged in paid work have equal status in decision making (Ivanović, S. 2004).

major responsibility for housework and child care, which negatively affects their participation within the public realm and the overall position in society.

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II Gender in Family Perspective

DEMYSTIFICATION OF MATERNAL IDEOLOGIES – MATERNAL INSTINCT

Viktorija Borovska

One of the components frequently associated with living up to the myth of a “good mother”, one that is completely dedicated, who sacrifices herself and who should know what the proper, best way of rearing and educating children is, is the possession of maternal instinct. The experiencing of mothers with regard to child rearing, starting from the first moments after the child is born, is frequently defined and attributed to the existence of the so-called maternal instinct. Maybe one of the strongest arguments of the normative-patriarchal discourse with respect to maternity and the “natural” role of the mother, which is almost never analysed, is the existence of the maternal instinct. This understanding is so widely accepted that it is receiving the status of “common knowledge”. But the expectations of motherhood and the assumption that maternal instinct exists, which switches on when the child is born, are not at all “benign”, especially not for the individuals that dominantly do the bearing and rearing of children - the mothers (both biological and non-biological ones). But let’s start by defining the terms “instinct” and “maternal instinct”.

One could say that one of the most quoted definitions of the term “instinct” is the one of the psychologist William James. According to him, instinct is “the faculty of acting in such a way as to produce certain ends, without foresight of the ends, and without previous education in the performance“ (James, 1890: 383). In

principle, instincts are viewed as an innate tendency of behaving a certain way, without previous deliberation or training. Hence, a possible definition could be that maternal instinct is some kind of innate *need to create* a child/children and an innate *skill of rearing* a child/children. The online Collins English Dictionary gives a similar definition of maternal instinct: “the natural tendency that a mother has to behave or react in a particular way around her child or children”. This would imply that maternal instinct is actually the result of human biology that does not allow a personal choice to be made to be a mother or not, and that it, as a biological predisposition, determines the manner in which the mother should act and rear her child. Otherwise, if such internal urge and mechanism that guide the mothers’ actions are not experienced, that would be regarded as something unnatural and abnormal. But what does research on this topic show?

Although the term “maternal instinct” is widely accepted in everyday language, there is still no fixed scientifically accepted definition for it. It is supposed that it would be a natural/innate tendency in mothers for a certain type of behaviour and reaction towards her child/children. But is it indeed so, is there really an innate instinct that guides them to behave and react properly towards their own children, which would allow proper mothering and rearing, in order to continue the development and the existence of the human race? Research of instincts and innate predispositions is a field of research of natural sciences, such as medicine and biology. The interest of scientists in the field of social sciences and humanities to research maternal instinct has particularly increased from the end of last century until today. The cross between social and natural sciences concerning this issue can be found in anthropological research. One of the more significant researches and elaborates on the existence of maternal instinct and motherhood is the set of works resulting from the two decades of anthropological research of Sara Blaffer Hrdy of human nature, maternal instinct, natural selection, mothers and infants. Hrdy is an American anthropologist and primatologist, who in her works, in a way, reviews and complements Darwin’s theories of evolutionism. According to her, she includes in her works a very important component in evolutionism-female reproductive

behaviour, considered to be completely neglected in evolutionist theory. According to her, the use of the phrase “maternal instinct”, used in everyday speech, referring to love or unconditional love towards children, is problematic, especially if one considers the various types of neglecting and abusing children, abandoning children, infanticide, and similar acts perpetrated by mothers (Hrdy, 2001). She lists the following as risk factors that influence this type of behaviour in mothers: teenage mothers, too small distance between two births, not having help rearing, and similar. Her several years of research of langurs, tamarins and other primates, but of humans as well, show that females use a wide diapason of behaviour when reproduction and rearing of the offspring is concerned. Hrdy argues that women are not “naturally” and “essentially” mothers. According to her, motherhood is not instinctive, but depends on several environmental and individual conditions influencing the woman. In the thousands of hours dedicated to monitoring various types of primates, she noticed that, in comparison to humans, in other primates it very rarely happened that the mothers would abandon the little ones. Aside for having such examples, the existence of maternal instinct in everyday language was not questioned.

Being female was seen as synonymous with bearing and nurturing as many offspring as possible. No wonder then that a mother’s responses were assumed to be reflexive and automatic, as inevitable as the uterine muscle contractions that ushered her baby into the world. Such devotion was subsumed under the scientific-sounding label “maternal instinct.” Accordingly, mothers who abandon infants were viewed as unnatural (Hrdy, 2001: 63).

Having in mind these conclusions, the “naturalness” of mothers that do not stay home to dedicatedly take care of their own children is questioned. The differences in rearing the children and caring for them indicates that if there was an instinct for proper rearing of children, it “atrophied” in the process of evolution, transferring this function to the ability of people to learn through social contacts and models.

What if, social constructionists proposed, humans, with their higher brain functioning and seemingly open-ended capacity for language and symbolic thought, operate differently from other animals, transcending “nature”? In short, what if maternal instincts have been lost in the human species? If devotion to infants is a learned emotion, no wonder attitudes toward children vary so much (Hrdy, 2001: 63).

According to Hrdy, maternal sentiments are to a greater measure socially constructed, compared to innate biological reactions. This can help explain the fact that women themselves in various periods of life react differently and behave in accordance with various circumstances they find themselves in.

Hrdy explains the re-examining of whether there is such a thing as maternal instinct not only by using the analysis of maternal behaviour in primates, but also by making a historical review of the differences in rearing children in mothers in various time periods and in different cultural contexts. According to her, humans, as well as other types of primates, especially the langurs, are “cooperative breeders” (Hrdy, 2010, in *Mothers and Others*), which, according to her, indicates that the survival of the human race depended on joint breeding and assistance in the rearing of the youngest members. Mothers throughout history, as well as today, could not care for a greater number of children alone, without the help of the father or other so-called allomothers.²³ In Macedonian society, but also in the rest of the Balkans, this care is generally taken over by the grandmothers. In the past, wet-nurses were used, which were mainly engaged by the wealthier families in exchange for a certain fee. Precisely this “indifference” towards children, says Hrdy, shown by the biological mothers, who, although they had milk, did not nurse their children, became the main argument that feminists used towards the end of the 20th century, undermining the notion of the existence of maternal instinct.

²³ Allomothers are female members, for example, the younger female members of the family, the grandmothers, aunts, friends, etc., who help the mother with the rearing of the children.

Another argument of Hrdy that undermines the belief of the existence of maternal instinct is the infanticide. If there is such a thing as maternal instinct that would inhibit such intentions, why have there been and there still are cases when mothers kill their children and what would the reasons be for such behaviour? Infanticide, according to her, was used mainly in cases when there was no assistance in rearing children, when there were limited supplies and means, but also when there was no access to other forms of birth control. But what is even more unusual regarding the infanticide, are the prevailing cases of female infanticide in some cultures. As there are less chances that maternal instinct will occur if the mother gave birth to a female baby. The various conditions and circumstances created a wide range of behaviour in mothers, from utter dedication with enthusiastic love, to complete neglecting behaviour towards the children. Mothers, according to her, adapt the maternal efforts in accordance with the circumstances in which they find themselves and not in accordance with the innate maternal instinct.

With respect to the initial inexperience in rearing the children, Hrdy thinks that for the young mothers, the best “antidote” for a mother’s inexperience is the assistance of the members of the primary group (the family). She accentuates the importance of assistance in rearing the youngest members in primates and considers that the question that should be asked is not why mothers always take care of the babies, but rather why the mothers do not more often delegate the responsibility of rearing the youngest members (Hrdy, 2001: 80). In principle, the mothers of all type of primates primarily take care of the babies. But there is a key difference between human babies and babies of any other animal type. Human babies are the most helpless creatures in the first months, even years after they are born and compared to other species, they are completely incapable of staying alive. That is why babies have characteristics that adults find adorable, such as big eyes, a round face, big soft cheeks and an irresistible smell. The irresistibility of babies does not have an effect only on biological mothers, but on people in general. According to Hrdy, the irresistibility of babies raises the level of prolactin not only in biological mothers, but in allomothers as well. Some of these allomothers produced milk, although they

were not biological mothers of the child and were never pregnant and never had children, which indicates that the biological factor is not a precondition for connecting with the baby and the ability to care and nurse it. Also, after a baby is born, hormonal changes happen in men as well (Hrdy, 2001: 96). Namely, the testosterone level in men decreases 30% after the child is born. What Hrdy stresses, and which is in favour of breaking the myth of maternal instinct, is that mothers are not the only ones capable of taking care of children, but many examples of caring fathers showed them as more dedicated in rearing children than the emotionally detached mother (Hrdy, 2001: 97). Aside for the numerous examples of female members of the family or hired women, as well as fathers that are equally successful in taking care of children, still mothers are seen as a “natural” choice for child rearing.

Aside from these arguments reached through the mentioned anthropological findings, one more way to avoid the uncritical acceptance of the widely accepted term “maternal instinct” is to view it through the prism of psychological sciences. If maternal instinct was defined as an innate ability to emotionally connect with the child, as an innate ability to skilfully mother the child, then how can we explain the incidence of maternity blues, and all the moods that can be generally named postnatal depression? By examining postnatal depression in mothers, British psychology professor, Paula Nicolson, examines what she calls the myth of maternal instinct. Nicolson argues that undoubtedly many women feel a powerful, sometimes an overbearing desire to have children. This is especially accentuated in women whose fertility is postponed or who struggle with sterility, but the fact that the number of women that state that they want to be without children should not be neglected (Nicolson, 1999: 163). But even in those that want children, giving birth to the child does not guaranty an instant connection with it, nor immeasurable love and dedication.

However, there is very little scientific or historical evidence of maternal instinct or even that mothers and infants immediately and automatically bond despite the best endeavours of midwives in creating the appropriate

postnatal environment. What is apparent is that when women have children (whether or not the children are planned) they usually try their best to care for them and often grow to love them (Nicolson, 1999: 170).

Nicolson supports the view that the inclination of women towards a maternal role is seen as generally conditioned by the social factor, the pressure of society and the peers, as some kind of belief in what one should (and what is “normal”) to do at a certain age. Actually, all societies are more or less pro-natal oriented and lead certain pro-natal policies. For example, in part of the Balkan countries one can notice the powerful media campaigns for encouraging married couples to have many children. Media are flooded with contents that encourage these gender role stereotypes, where women are generally portrayed as mothers and housewives (Gender on Television Programme Services, 2013). Although these roles are not negative, still, reducing the role of women only to them is a stereotype that produces a set of hidden and unhidden forms of discrimination. When it comes to portraying women in media as mothers, usually they are happy, patient and satisfied mothers. Exactly this positive portrayal of the maternal role, which creates unrealistic presumptions for motherhood-such as thinking of it as an extremely positive and fulfilling experience, leads to more difficulty in dealing with postnatal painful experiences that almost 70-80 per cent of the women have (Robertson et al. 2008, under “Postpartum Depression: Literature Review of Risk Factors and Interventions”). It is more realistic to expect some kind of postnatal difficulty with respect to the emotional and the psychological state, than not experiencing any difficulty, because, aside for medical interpretations, postnatal depression is usually due to the abrupt changes in life and social isolation. The conflict between the assumed and real motherhood brings about a great number of postnatal depression cases. Postnatal depression, according to Nicolson, defies the expectation for the maternal instinct to guide the mother naturally in her maternal role, because in that case, postnatal depression would mean that a relatively high percentage of women do not succeed to adapt adequately to motherhood, which is absurd if we claim that there is an innate motherly instinct that would secure that.

The relationship towards the children and the manner of rearing children are changing within a context of certain historical period. Related to this issue, the sociologist Anđelka Milić (2001) underlines the differences in respect of children as a value and the differences in various time and historical-cultural periods (Milić, 2001: 161). According to her, “child-centricity” as a practice, view and behaviour of the parents, was based on the new assessment of the child as a value. The child became a central figure in the family at the beginning of the 20th century. The preposition for this, according to Milić, were new researches conducted in that period, especially the research of Freud, with regard to the huge and key importance of this period in life, the early sexual development in children and the problems that this development causes in the process of stabilisation of the adult person. The development of social theory also had great influence because of the fact that in its key theoretical reflections, it puts socialisation in the middle of social reproduction. In this manner, this newly discovered value of the child became the parents’ “life project”. This concept of the child that the parents have, according to Milić, implies limitless subordination of the parents to the interests of the child, i.e. sacrificing one’s self for the child. All this, in accordance with the ideology that produced the myth of the “good mother”, has created the need for underlining maternal instinct as a characteristic possessed and experienced by “real mothers”.

A thread that can link the above arguments and answer the question about the skills of rearing the offspring is something that stands opposed to biological capacities and socio-cultural conditions, and that is the human ability for empathy and sympathy. Hrdy, when studying the survival and the development of the human race, whereby as the main condition of the survival she states the unity and cooperation in rearing, argues that what enables us to co-operate and act together in rearing and taking care of the youngest is the capacity for empathy. Empathy as a characteristic can be nurtured and developed, but the question that poses is what if the living circumstances and conditions do not necessarily require empathy; is it possible in this case to develop this characteristic and whether humans will remain humans as we know them?

The capacity for empathy is uniquely well developed in our species, so much so that many people (including me) believe that along with language and symbolic thought, it is what makes us human... Through evolutionary time, traits that are unexpressed are eventually lost... If human compassion develops only under particular rearing conditions, and if an increasing proportion of the species survives to breeding age without developing compassion, it won't make any difference how useful this trait was among our ancestors (Hrdy, 2010, in *Mothers and Others*).

The skill and ability of mothers to rear their children is not something that we possess automatically immediately after the child is born, but it is learned by adopting the role, through models, in the process of socialisation. Another proof that the maternal role is social and not biological is that if the biological aspect was so strong, there would not be such variance in the performance of the maternal role, especially in different time periods nor would mothers that adopted a child be considered equally good parents. Just like other social roles, it is to a great extent subject to previously mentioned ways of learning from models and socialisation, attained in concrete social and cultural conditions and filtered through the personal psychological, emotional profile. The ability to sympathize and to be empathic is not dependent on the biological fact - to have one's own biological child, because mothers of adopted children experience the same connection with their children. It is even more important to underline that this characteristic is not limited only to mothers, but for fathers and grandmothers as well, i.e. for the people that take care of the children. Although we must not neglect the personal experiences of mothers, their strong experiencing, premonition, especially when the outcome is unfavourable, all this speaks more of having an intuition, than of having an instinct. The mothers' experiencing intuition, with regard to their children, is formed in the process of emotional bonding with the child/children. The readiness, the way they interact and act with the children is built on this connectedness which arises from the capacity for empathy, which brings about less or more stronger emotions between the mother and the child, i.e. between the person caring for the child and

the child. In general, in Macedonian society, as well as in other societies, the care for the children is dominantly in the hands of the mother. Hence, the existence of active and passive monitoring of the child, the ability to detect the most subtle changes which would indicate, for example, the worsening of the health situation or the dissatisfaction, bullying, stems from the heightened empathy created in the process of bonding with the child, which leads to feeling the child's state strongly (from the side of the mother).

Stereotypes, Ideologies and Myths with Regard to the Maternal Role – Research Part

The Desire to Become a Mother and the Maternal Instinct

Several decades ago there were very few studies on the experiences of motherhood, biological concepts dominated, which viewed maternal behaviour as something instinctive, adjusted to the needs of the children. The trend of popularisation of motherhood and parenthood, as well as treating them from the social sciences aspect was even later to arrive to the Balkan countries, it happened in the past decade. The following data are part of the research that was conducted with regard to maternal experiences which included the expectations from motherhood and the views on maternal instinct. Empirical research was done in the form of semi structured in-depth interviews with mothers of children of different age, on the territory of the city of Skopje, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia. In accordance with the applied qualitative methodological approach, in respect to the demographic characteristics, the sample used for this research was quite homogenous. These were biological mothers, of Macedonian ethnicity, whose socio-demographic status gravitates around the middle class, married, with high-school or university education, who live in the urban part of Skopje. The sample of interviewed mothers was recruited by snowball sampling and through recommendations. 27 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with mothers were conducted. The mothers were divided into 5 groups according to the children's age.

Although the perception is that the term “mother” mainly referred to a woman-mother with a small child or children, the research breaks this stereotype perception, including the mothers of children of all ages, including those that are also grandmothers, and at the same time it gives an opportunity for comparison.

The five groups of mothers were made up in accordance with the following children age groups:

1. Mothers of child/children from the age of 0 to 6 (mothers of preschool children).
2. Mothers of school children from the age of 7 to 12.
3. Mothers of teenage children, i.e. from the age of 13 to 17.
4. Mothers of children from the age of 18 to 26.
5. Mothers of offspring at an age above 27.

Fake names of the mothers are used for the analysis of the research data, in order to maintain the anonymity of the interviewed subjects. Also, the names of the members of their families mentioned in the interviews are also changed.

The Desire for Motherhood: A Socially Created Desire or a Biological Need?

This part of the analysis concerns the period of the lives of interviewed women before they become mothers: how they perceived motherhood before they became pregnant, the desire for motherhood - whether they felt social pressure that “the time” has come for something like that, in order to more adequately live up to the gender role of woman, and to fulfil the expectations of society, or they felt an internal, biological need to become mothers. With respect to this topic, there were no differences between the mothers of different ages, i.e. mothers whose children are at a different age.

In accordance with the data from these 27 interviews, the motives for motherhood in these mothers can be divided into 4 categories:

1. Women whose desire to become mothers came from what can be called socially expected and preferred gender identity, which comes as a phase in life when a woman reaches a certain age;
2. Women that felt a strong inner need to become mothers;
3. Women that never thought of becoming nor expected to become mothers. These are women, who according to their statements, became mothers quite early (at the age of 21 to 24) and whose first pregnancy was unplanned;
4. Women that felt a strong emotional (neither social nor biological) desire for a child, especially after a certain event in their lives.

Although it seems simple to explain the reason for their desire to have a child, to be a mother, still this question was perceived as unusual. As the sociologist Martha McMahon says, in societies (meaning all societies) where having children is normative, an explanation why we want to have children is not required, but rather the one why we don't (McMahon, 1995: 51). In this research the most common answers to this question contained the segment of "normality". For Rosana, it was something normal, something that was expected after having a long relationship with her husband:

Well, OK, after a 5-year relationship with my husband, it was normal to feel that as well, that you want to become a mother, I think that it is the desire of every woman to become a mother. That is the primary reason (Rosana, a 50-year-old mother of descendants 22 and 26 years old).

Maya gives a similar answer for the desire for motherhood, which is described as a desire for some kind of normal progression, a stage in life:

A normal progression of events... It wasn't like I was dying to have, and that the moment has to be, now, no, I didn't feel that way. That I wanted to form a family consisting of a husband, children, the whole package, just as... that is something socially imposed, in some way, but it is also a desire. So, it

was there, but not as if I have to have children now, that now I have to... It was not as if I was feeling the biological clock so intensely and strongly (Maya, 35-year-old mother of descendants 3 and 5 years old).

The socially imposed need to realise this role is apparent in Blagitsa's case as well and in the explanation that that is how things "should" be:

It was more like, that's how it should be. I thought that was how things should go. I don't know, looking from aside, I think that the limit has been moved. At that time, it was like, she is almost 30 years old, so, OK, I should, and it was not like I felt a need. I am being sincere. Some are merely dedicated to that, to have children, that is. Not me (Blagitsa, a 42-year-old mother of descendants 12 and 14 years old).

As some unwritten rule, a stage in life that follows, it appears in the same way in Ljupka's answer who also mentions the maternal instinct as something that had not been developed in her yet:

I planned to become a mother. So, it was not as if the maternal instinct was so developed, but what I say, to form a family, to get married. And now, as an institution when you form a family, what follows is to have a child (Ljupka, a 50-year-old mother of descendants 21 and 24 years old).

Natalia's answer is also interesting. She is the eldest of the interviewed mothers (73) and she describes the pressure from the expectance that the environment has for the woman to become a mother within 9 months after getting married:

I agreed with Žarko not to have children, but instead to get to know each other better, to go somewhere on holiday that summer, because we did not know each other well, actually we did not know each other at all. Go, and simply enjoy our youth. And so, that was the deal, but what happened now, people watch you, they wait, as all women back then, if she is married, she should give birth to a child after 9 months. So they waited, but I was not pregnant... New Year came and I was still not pregnant. And I had been engaged since August; you can just imagine and understand. According to

them, I should have been 6 months pregnant. Someone said to Žarko: “How can you leave this wonderful woman childless, what are you thinking”? So he said to me: "Natalia, let's not go on holiday, let's do what all people do". And I told him: “I don't want to do what all people do; maybe I want things to be different”. But, he insisted and I got pregnant (Natalia, 73 year old woman of descendants 46 and 50 years old).

The desire for motherhood as an emotional reason was mentioned by Stefania, and the event that she mentions as the desire for motherhood was the death of her mother.

It is very complicated, so I have to tell you. I was one of those that did not want to get married, have kids; I didn't want to be overburdened, to deal with dippers, although I liked other's kids. I was not exactly a child lover, I just loved the one's I loved and did not care too much about the ones that I didn't love, although I did not hate any child. I am a single child. I think that my mother really wanted me to get married and have kids. She always said: those grandchildren, these grandchildren, the one with the grandchildren, that one with the grandchildren, and because she was a good woman, an intellectual and a biologist, she never offended me by confronting me with my age. However, she died of pancreatic cancer and I noticed that it was incredibly difficult for her to leave me alone and that I did not have children. She was convinced, since I was almost 40, that I would remain alone. My father was an invalid. All of a sudden, I started thinking: OK, why am I such a selfish person? My mother was dying and she needed someone beside her, and at least when she dies, she will have, someone beside her, who really loved her, but who do I have? (Stefania, a 57-year-old mother of a descendant 14 years old)

The desire to become mothers from an early age and the need to take care of someone was described by 7 of these 27 mothers. That was Sandra's case.

I've always wanted to be a mother. That was something from since I was a girl, I really liked children, to have my own children and everything. When we first got married, at the beginning, somehow, I was afraid because I was unemployed, only my husband was working, so I thought that we should wait a while to have a child. But I couldn't wait and I said that we should start with that part of our life, regardless of whether I have a job or not, so my motherhood could start... I've loved children since I was a child, I have always wanted to take care of someone; I always had several favourite younger kids around me. I've always has 2 or 3 kids younger than me, that I would guide and take care of (Sandra, a 45-year-old mother of a descendant 21 years old).

It is evident that the social moment in the desire for motherhood is the strongest and in principle it is an informed choice of women and a socially expected outcome, rather than an innate natural desire to have children. The strength of ideology as a set of ideas that one woman should aim for, how she should behave, act, how to imagine it and to strive towards the realisation of those goals, dominates over the biological aspect of humankind. If we compare these answers with the definition of the maternal instinct, which would be an internal, biological drive for rearing children, it can be noted that the perception and the experiences of the interviewed mothers does not correspond with this, but, on the contrary, they connect the desire, or rather, the decision to have children, as dominantly dependent on societal factors in their life.

The expectations from motherhood and the actual motherhood

Although in principle people can suppose what they should do and how they should act once they become parents, still no one know exactly what is going to happen and how parenthood is going to be perceived. Part of these mothers more or less supposed how it would be after they give birth to the child, but part of them did not think about what was expecting them. The answers about what their expectations

were of motherhood before they gave birth, and to what extent what they expected related to the actual motherhood can be divided into three groups:

1. Mothers for whom the actual motherhood turned out almost as they expected;
2. Mothers that did visualise motherhood, but for whom it was not as they imagined. Some segments were unexpected for them;
3. Mothers who due to certain reasons (mainly due to previous inability to become mothers – sterility, miscarriages, due to pathological pregnancy, or they were in a profession that closely regarded the anomalies of the foetus in the uterus, working with children with special needs, and similar), did not think of what motherhood would be like, but their primary occupation was whether the child would be healthy.

For example, Ljupka, who previously had an extrauterine pregnancy, did not think at all about what she could expect in motherhood. But she mentions the feelings of insecurity and fear, because in the beginning she felt unprepared for the maternal role.

No, no. It did not think about it at all. I was just hoping all would be well and that I would do everything I could. I felt that I am, somehow... not unprepared, but scared. For example, to hold her. Not only in the first days, but for months. So I was afraid to bathe her because I was afraid of doing something to her, something happening to her, that I might break something, a hand or something else. My mother in law helped me a lot. She bathed her until she was 6 months old. I helped her with all of that, but everything I did was with fear. Scared that she would get water in her ears, that she would suffocate. That was my only problem. I was not free. Later, I started slowly and realised that it was nothing scary (Ljupka, a 50-year-old mother of descendants 21 and 24 years old).

For Eva, actual motherhood was very different from the expected; the expectations were that it would be more positive and more relaxed, where obligations and worrying were concerned.

Ah, when I was pregnant and when I imagined having the baby, it was always an image of a baby in a crib sleeping peacefully. It was so sweet sleeping like that. When I was imagining it, there was no waking up every 2 hours, pain while nursing, that much crying, vomiting, physical engagement. I didn't even think about how much I'd be worrying. Actually, all of a sudden my feelings amounted to worrying. There was also a surprisingly big love and exhilaration, even disbelief: "Wow! I gave birth to this baby, I am a mother, I created this miracle!" I didn't envision the worrying, somehow I did not think of it. If someone asks me now, I think that motherhood amounts to that, to constant worrying (Eva, a 34-year-old mother of descendants 2 and 5 years old).

Also, for Miryana, a mother of daughters of 35 and 39, motherhood was not as she had imagined it.

Sure, there was a big difference. There was excitement, happiness when I gave birth and became a mother. I had a different perception about motherhood, it changes... many things changed. What you imagine is that it will be sleeping peacefully, that it will wake up from time to time, when it needs to be changed and fed. But everything was completely different when I became a mother. First, I was chronically tired. That is the main thing. Caring for the baby, for it not to get sick... I did not expect to have to worry in such a way when I become a mother (Miryana, a 66-year-old mother of descendants 35 and 39 years old).

One of the characteristics of motherhood, i.e. the period before the first child is born, is that mothers don't have a clear idea of what the challenges would be and the advantages of motherhood, what life and the obligations would be from the first day onward. But why is that so, why some of the mothers didn't even thought about

what is expecting them, why most mothers are surprised by the intensity of the maternal role as soon as the child is born? Thousands of children are being born every day in the world, and there are still women who, although they don't live isolated from societal happenings, still avoid thinking of and visualising the challenges awaiting them. The romanticized view of motherhood is due to the ideologies of motherhood as ultimate pleasure and happiness, avoiding the challenges and the difficulties. These "looking through rose-coloured glasses tales", that construe the maternal role, are strongly supported by media presentations (movies, cartoons, advertisements) for motherhood, where the mother carries out her double role of a mother and a housewife with a smile on her face, calmly and with ease. This image portraying exclusively the positive sides of motherhood imposed by society and the media causes adversity and a problem towards expressing the difficulty connected to motherhood, especially since often it is expected that the maternal instinct will automatically connect the mother with the baby and give her mothering skills. But at it can be noticed, the mothers' experienced reality is different. Expectations are many times more positive and the costs of motherhood are not expected in such measure. But aside from the obvious need to have an adaptation period for the maternal role and to acquire skills to handle the baby, the strong ideologies around motherhood rarely allow questioning and doubting the existence of a maternal instinct.

Maternal Instinct – Views and Personal Experiences

This part of the research concerns the results with regard to the beliefs, views of whether there is a maternal instinct, how mothers define the maternal instinct and whether they have personally experienced something like that.

Although this is a qualitative research which cannot and which does not make generalisations, still a certain numerical overview of the results will give a more clear presentation. Of this group of 27 mothers, with children of different ages, more than a third believes that there is such a thing as maternal instinct. The rest think that

it is a myth because personal experiences do not indicate that it exists, i.e. they think that the dedicated mother can recognise certain things in the child, and only two of the interviewed mothers were not sure whether there is such a thing as maternal instinct.

It is typical that most often the mothers that believe that maternal instinct exists, they usually connect it with biology, i.e. the biological birth of the child. This means that they believe that this is only possible in the children's biological mothers, excluding in this way this type of experience in the ones' that have adopted a child, i.e. who are not biological mothers.

With respect to the definition and the personal understanding of maternal instinct, there are several categories of answers that do not overlap each other, which means that even though most of them believe that there is maternal instinct, their understanding of it is very different. Some associate it with premonition, others with physiological processes in the female body, for some it lasts all their lives, for others, it just occurs in the first period after the birth of the child.

The different understandings of these mothers of what maternal instinct is can be classified in several categories:

1. Premonition, feeling for your child, telepathic connection especially when something bad has happened to the child or when it gets sick;
2. Mothers that sleep tight waking up at night in the period soon after the birth, without any problem when the baby cries and needs to be breastfeed;
3. Inner impulse for mothering the children, the capacity to care for and nurture the children;
4. The desire to have children as a physiological need of the female body at a certain age;
5. Recognising the needs of the child and an innate ability to properly take care of and nurture the child;

Almost half of the mothers that believe that there is such a thing as maternal instinct interpret it as some kind of premonition, feeling and telepathic connection with the child. The second most common answer was the waking up at night without a problem when it was time to feed the baby, which was followed by: the desire to have a child and the innate impulse to take care of it.

Matea, as well as most of the interviewed mothers, recognises the maternal instinct in the premonition that something is going to happen to her daughters, and she feels that without seeing them.

Yes, yes, yes, it exists. For example, if something bad is happening to one of the daughters, I feel that before she comes and tells me that (Matea, a 39-year-old mother of descendants 8 and 13 years old).

Jacqueline, similar to Matea, describes her experience with the premonitions she has when something is happening to her children.

I think it exists. You know, it is when you think of something. These are the latest ones, for university. He is taking an exam and I know that he will pass and I am absolutely fine, then it really happens that way. OK, we could say that it could be from knowing whether he studied or not, so you know. Or when they were younger, when they would get sick, when you feel... You feel some vibrations. Whether it has to do with their bond with the mother, that has not always been clear. How can you feel that your child has a fever or that something happened at school and when he comes back... And I knew it would happen (Jacqueline, a 59-year-old mother of descendants 21 and 37 years old).

Borka's case is interesting; she interprets her premonition as maternal instinct and thinks it is transferred to her grandchildren.

Sure it exists, I think that I know when my children are not feeling well and I do not see them. How come I call them at the moment when my grandson is being given a shot, please tell me that. That feeling... I feel nervous. I feel nervous when they are not well. I... On the Sunday when my

grandson fell, I phoned three times to see if they were well (Borka, a 57-year-old mother of descendants 33 and 37 years old).

Rosana thinks that the maternal instinct refers to the innate ability of the mother to take proper care of the children, an innate ability for rearing children. It is interesting that she believes that it cannot be learned by learning from a model, unlike household work.

Yes, it exists. Yes. It continues later on in life as well, not only after delivery. Not only after the delivery, every mother has a maternal instinct. I felt it as some kind of nervousness, you sense, if something is going to happen to the child. Or it is enough if it tells you that it has a headache, you simply feel it. It is stronger than you. I think that usually, at least 80% of the mothers have it. They have it inside, it appears after birth. Who knew that? We have not been mothers before nor did our mother prepare us for it, that when you become a mother... They could turn us into housewives, teach us how to vacuum, wash dishes, cook (*laughter*). But how to be mothers, no. No mother tells her daughter this. It comes naturally (Rosana, a 50-year-old mother of descendants 22 and 26 years old).

Stefania gives a broader explanation based on her knowledge of biology. But unlike the previous interpretations of the mothers, for her the instinct in mothers is her ability to wake up at night to breastfeed the child, but she thinks that after that period, the rest is socialisation and unlike Rosana, she thinks that maternal instinct appears only in the initial period of nursing.

It exists. All atavisms are present in people as well, aren't they? Yes, it exists. It exists and it is probably most expressed, at least in my case, in the "guarding" spot, which is purely biological in the woman's brain. When the child is young and wakes up often and then continues to sleep. It is mainly it (*the instinct*) that wakes her up immediately. Probably it is that maternal instinct, experienced purely biologically. This guarding spot is somewhere in the mothers' brain and it wakes her up and only one part of her stays awake

so she can continue sleeping after that. It is there for a while. When the mammary glands are activated, this spot is also activated. It should be like this, although there are exceptions... The instinct appears at the beginning. In every animal there is an instinct until the child grows up, while you are breastfeeding. That is clear. While we are animals, we are animals, what separates us from them is a social thing (Stefania, a 57-year-old mother of a descendant 14 years old).

Miryana gives a different interpretation of the maternal instinct, for her the maternal instinct is the care of the mother for the child from the moment it is born. But here she also includes the premonition of the mother when something is wrong with the child, when it is getting sick.

There is a maternal instinct, in the whole living world. Not only in people... The maternal instinct exists. Maternal instinct for me is the care of the mother for the child from the moment of birth. The mother has some kind of premonition when the child gets sick, that something is not OK with it, in that sense. Maybe she notices some small changes which the others don't (Miryana, a 66-year-old mother of descendants 35 and 39 years old).

Nina interprets the existence of maternal instinct using female physiology, as a biological need of the female organism for reproduction and the problems with the menstrual cycle if the pregnancy is not realised in the peak of the reproductive period.

Maternal instinct is a physiological thing. It is because our organism is designed to be reproductive and already when you are 24-25-26 years old, I don't know whether you have thought of going into it, but that is the period when the menstrual cycle is most problematic. I have personally thought about it, also with friends and others... That is the optimal time when the organism wants to reproduce and every destroyed ovum, if I can express myself that way, punishes you! (Nina, a 36-year-old mother of a descendant 15 years old)

Mothers, however, who do not believe in the existence of a maternal instinct are explaining that with not experiencing any internal urge, while they explain that the premonitions when something is wrong with their children come because they know their children that well, because they are involved and they monitor them constantly, this in turn develops into an ability to recognise from the micro signals when something is wrong with her child.

Before giving birth, Milena thought of the maternal instinct and expected that she would feel something powerful immediately after giving birth to the child. Nothing like that happened and that is why she thinks that it is more a myth than a reality. She doesn't consider waking up easily at night for breastfeeding as being maternal instinct; she simply considers that the crying is strong enough to wake you up from your deepest sleep.

I thought of that at the moment when I was in the operating room having my caesarean. I kind of expected to feel the maternal instinct the moment when they took the child out of my body. I even found it amusing in the last moments of my pregnancy. I kept on thinking, here it is, it's coming (*laughter*). And it did not come, no way. I don't believe that it comes at the same moment with the coming of the baby. It is built. For example, I panicked, because I slept tight, I wondered how I would be able to hear that the child is awake or how will I feel that the baby is crying, what if I... if it is hungry and I keep on sleeping. Everyone kept on telling me that I would wake up because of the maternal instinct and that it would warn you that the child is awake. It is not the maternal instinct, it is a voice that wakes you up (*laughter*). The crying is such that it will wake you up from a deeper or shallower sleep. And I do not think that it is a maternal instinct and I don't think it came to me at the moment of birth. Even though I believed in it, I thought, OK, maybe it builds up during the 9 months, you prepare for the moment, for the instinct to come, but it did not come to me, as if pressing a button. I think that I do not possess it. I mean, now I would

die for the baby, I would kill, but, yes, that is a myth, the maternal instinct does not wake me up at night, I did not feel anything when I looked at it. I don't know what the maternal instinct is supposed to do. The maternal instinct, if we are not together at the moment and he is crying and I feel that, is that maternal instinct? If it is crying I try to do something, I try, I pick him up. If it stops crying, that does not mean that the maternal instinct told me, take it, it will stop crying. I think it is more of a myth (Milena, a 34-year-old mother of a 6-month-old baby).

For Maya, the ability to foresee and notice something with the children that other can't notice is a result of the intuition due to the involvement of the mother, continuous following of signs and situations and not the innate maternal instinct.

So, the classical maternal instinct in the context that it is said to exist, I am not sure if it actually does. I think that the maternal instinct is more connected with the fact that the mother knows her child so well that if she monitors her child long enough she can notice things. It is not an instinct, just a part of being a mother. For example, something that happened to us, at one moment I said: my daughter cannot hear well, my daughter cannot hear well. Of course, my husband and my mother said that it was nonsense. Finally, we took her to the otolaryngologist, it turned out that her hearing is decreased because she has negative pressure. What it actually is, is that you see your child all the time and you see something is not as it should be. It is not about me having an instinct, but that I merely recognised, noticed that something is not as it should be. So in that context, I think that that intuition comes only if the mother is involved enough in the child's life. She follows the signs, she follows the situations, she can foresee, recognise and say that it is some kind of intuition (Maya, 35-year-old mother of descendants 3 and 5 years old).

Although the mother becomes a mother immediately when the child is born, for most of them, getting into the role is something that happens gradually. Some of the mothers reported that they were surprised that they did not immediately feel like mothers, that they did not immediately experience a strong emotion stemming from the biologically innate maternal instinct. Moulding into motherhood is a process that is built and happens in a period that is dependent of several emotional and social conditions. Sometimes it happens in the first weeks and sometimes it needs more time, months or years, or maybe it happens when the second child is born. The fact that a certain period is needed for mothers to adjust and to skilfully perform the role of a mother indicated that it is a skill that is built and development in the process itself.

Discussion

The arguments with regard to the existence or the non-existence of maternal instinct, having in mind the mentioned anthropological and psychological theses, as well as the data that resulted from the interviewed mothers, are in favour of interpreting maternal instinct as a myth and not as a reality. The American psychologist and scientist Shari L. Thurer, researching the differences with regard to the position of women and the manner of practicing maternal roles throughout history, explains the existence of the transformation of the instincts in humans: “an instinct is an innate and invariant behaviour pattern, common in ‘lower’ animals but rare in humans whose sophisticated nervous system enable them to adapt to the environment, so that whatever pure urges they may have started with are rapidly overlaid, perhaps overturned, by the effect of learning” (Thurer, 1994: 6). Or in other words, if such an instinct existed in the process of evolution, it was waived and transferred to the psycho-social capacities of humans.

Not questioning, not rethinking, stereotyping motherhood and the role of the mother indicate a strong influence from the powerful ideologies on motherhood. Due to the fact that motherhood has its biological aspect, the difficulty to recognise

these ideologies is even more pronounced. It can be said that precisely in respect to motherhood there is greatest resistance and also blindness with respect to demystifying these ideologies, because after the argument: “that is natural, that is normal”, all further efforts of rethinking and revising these aspects come to a halt. But why is it so important to demystify the ideologies of motherhood? Exactly in the parental roles, or more specifically, in perceiving maternal practices as biologically conditioned, is the root of gender inequality, because the biological aspect of parenthood conveniently rationalises the gender differences. It justifies reductionism of women’s roles; as if they are predetermined to act practically without other legitimate choice and solely in the “institution” of motherhood. Due to the biological fact that a child can grow and develop in a mother’s womb and that she can later on keep it alive with her milk until it starts eating solid foods, in the beginning the mother needs to be the one mainly engaged in caring for the offspring. And that is how it usually is. But not all mothers breastfeed, not all mothers carry in their womb the baby that they take care of, and more importantly—both men and women are equally capable and equipped to take care of children (those that they have given birth to and those that they have adopted or are taking care of).

Because of this, it is very important to realise that motherhood is made up of two aspects, the biological one and the social one, which do not always come together in one person. Rearing and raising children are the social aspect that reflects maybe one of the most important human traits—the capacity to show empathy and to connect, which makes it equally possible for this skill and ability to develop in men and in women, regardless of whether they are genetically connected to the children. Taking maternal instinct for granted, as something attributable to only women who are biological mothers of the children would mean saying that children cannot be equally well reared by single-dads and individuals that adopted children, furthermore it would mean that any other choice that a woman would make, not involving motherhood, would be seen as unacceptable or as not natural and not normal.

Someone might wonder: does giving up on the unique ability of the mothers that comes from having a maternal instinct mean taking away female power? Let's see; if maternal instinct were an innate capacity, something that we should possess without learning and mastering, would in that case women be able to experience it as their own virtue and ability or it would be something similar to having a magical wand, which activates immediately after the child is born, and whose effects she could not control? Therefore the question that should be asked is: isn't the ability to rear, take care of and love its own children (biological or adopted) without having that "magic wand", a far greater power?

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MOTHERHOOD AS A SOCIAL CONSTRUCT

Nada M. Sekulić

The good mother is required to be loving and caring, to have ‘never-ending’ supplies of patience, to willingly and regularly spend time with her children, and in this time provide her children with the right sort of attention, stimulation and guidance. She is required to remain calm and relaxed at all times, to be a good listener and communicator, and to be understanding and sensitive to children’s needs. Amongst the tasks she must competently perform are the disciplining of her children, teaching of appropriate behaviour, and everyday basic care tasks of feeding and keeping children clean. In order to manage all this she must have highly developed skills in juggling competing demands; she must be responsible, consistent, fair, able to handle (control?) her children in any situation, never lose her temper—and it would help also if she was energetic, creative, and had a sense of humour.

Barbara McFarland and Virginia Watson Rouslin, *Mother Was Right*

When I decided to start my research and writing on the topic of motherhood and mothering, which is enormously interesting theme for me, I had to answer myself the question which, I supposed, others would ask me too: Am I qualified to write about this? Feminist authors who wrote about motherhood usually were mothers themselves, which shaped and contributed a lot to their profound understanding of the issue. I've never been and never planned to become mother. And I must emphasize that I love children (since, this is often interpreted as symptom of women's incapacity for love and as her natural disability). I met so many people in my life who considered me either spoiled, unhappy or somehow handicapped because I haven't fulfilled the "natural mission" which every woman should fulfil and is supposed to have some kind of almost physical "urge" to fulfil, that I finally stopped trying to explain anything. I simply never considered being mother was "must be" event in my life and in my "life mission", whatever this might be. I considered it as an option and possibility, but while making my decisions and while thinking of the purpose of my life, I couldn't recognize there was much truth in the assumption that female body is aimed for reproduction more than it is a case with male body. Eventually, I couldn't take as a guideline the common idea that woman is born to become mother and I made my decisions on a more practical ground.

However, I was reared as female child and since much of my life experiences have been shaped by highly gendered socialization, the topic of "love mission" and "care mission" was always important to me and gave me a sense of the purpose of life. Then, when I started studying philosophy and later sociology and anthropology, I was astonished by the fact how little attention has been paid to love in these disciplines. Besides "The Art of Love" written by today almost forgotten Erich Fromm, I couldn't find highly intellectual and theorized approach to the topic. Social theory of love simply doesn't exist. While hate, competition, power, ratio and sexuality were intellectualized and interpreted in details as crucial agents in historical shaping of humankind, and made inexhaustible source for research, cultivation, training and discipline management in broader society, love has been taken for granted. Consequently, in our curriculums, we can't even imagine

sociology without theories of power, but we do not have theories of love, and, I am sure, the suggestion to introduce such a “queer” subject would face much mockery and ridicule and would be considered intellectually unworthy among many of our colleagues in academic world. Even worse, I wouldn’t be surprised if the fierce opposition came exactly from those who are considered renewed authorities in the field.

Mothering and love are of the same kin and status. Both of them have been taken for granted, and they share the same marginalization and lack of articulation in human sciences. Personally, I never gave up my “love-scape”²⁴ strategy and found that research on motherhood and mothering is very important for the inevitable process of introducing the topic of love as serious subject in intellectual world and in political activism today.

Mothering is agency of love based on responsibility for life and its nourishment. This is exactly the lacking principle in the prevalent neo-liberal politics of social sustenance, survival and development. It opens the battlefield and the field for negotiating for recognition of love as complex and highly developed social practice, a form of political activism, intellectually valuable topic and as everyday experience which makes life purposeful and truly developing. To study motherhood and mothering is a scientific and political field related to theory and social practice of love.

In that context, what we can learn from motherhood studies in the first place is that nourishment is not simply natural process, but highly demanding agency which can be done only with dedication and full attention. Mothering makes visible fragility and uniqueness of life, while. In theory and in politics we too often believe in its endless reproductive capacity and its substitutability. Without such an agency, competition, invention or power can’t secure sustainable development. By “socializing” motherhood and mothering in social theory and political practice, we

²⁴ “Love-scape” is the expression that Heide Pauwels (2008) uses by modifying Appadurai’s notion of “ethno-panoramas”. Consequently, lovescapes are forms of highly symbolic life strategies based on the search of love.

open the field for the promotion of an idea of responsible development in which life, health, education, social care, peace, nature and humanity are considered indispensable common goods and common responsibility, and not only private or experts' issue. In addition, study of motherhood makes visible one of the fundamental mechanisms of discrimination based on naturalization of social subjects. It proves that it is possible to build almost perfect mechanism of marginalization and isolation based on the politics of protection of those who are recognized as "vulnerable" members of society. The social positions of women, particularly in their role of mothers, can serve as a mirror of the presence or absence of all which is mentioned above.

In this paper, I would like to emphasize the connection between neo-liberal politics and contemporary regime of motherhood and to put forward some of the social means through which women, and particularly mothers are depowered and put into disadvantaged position in society. The topic of motherhood was open in feminism during 1970s, through the feminist critique of psychoanalysis and through the critique of motherhood as a social construct.

The fact that motherhood had not been discussed before that time, even in the feminism, either as a socially constructed relationship between mother and child, or as a creative social potential for the humanization of society, reflects in itself the ideological power of the naturalization of women and their presence and participation in society. **Naturalization** of womanhood is probably the most powerful policy of neglecting their social presence. As Adrienne Rich wrote during 1970s: "We know more about the air we breathe, the seas we travel, than about the nature and meaning of motherhood" (Rich, 1986/1976/: 11). Even today, motherhood is recognized in popular culture and in broader society more as phenomena based on the maternal instinct than on the mechanisms of social support and negotiation. It seems that, due to its nature, it is difficult to rationalize it completely, and because of that, it stays unarticulated and marked by extreme emotionalism which has, somehow, something to do with female glands.

Unfortunately, as Shapiro has noticed, in the absence of articulation, social phenomena actually don't exist (Shapiro, 2001: 9). **Silence** stems from naturalization. Derrida explained this context of thinking (or, to be more precise, lack of thinking) marvellously in his essay "The animal that therefore I am" (Derrida, 2002), showing that silence produced by our incapacity to talk for ourselves, to present ourselves without representatives, not only disadvantage us as members of society (in front of law, religious institutions, or in the framework of customs, economic relationship etc.), but also animalizes us in a deeply subjective way, and opens a gate for a destiny shaped by others' will. Beings (humans, women, animals...) who do not have capacity to articulate themselves need protection, through which very often their submission is actually confirmed and their social participation outlawed by the authority who protects them. Consequently, it is possible to build almost perfect system of exploitation based on the system of protection. **Socially constructed vulnerability** generated from naturalization and devoicing of somebody's presence in society, becomes the political and explanatory reason for constant supervision and depowerment. And exactly womanhood and particularly motherhood (identified with womanhood) have always been protected in the patriarchate as vulnerable "soft core" of a society surrounded by innumerable protectors, representatives and other authorities entitled to violate and outcast them, absurdly, with the purpose to "protect" and "represent" them. Positioned sometimes almost as animals in broader society and in family, women were missing their power and their self-determination through centuries by being forced to stay silent. Their "nature" was articulated by male representatives in a way which strongly disadvantaged them and interpreted them as underdeveloped subjects ("by nature") aimed only for the biological reproduction, sexual pleasures and certain kind of work. The huge area of social life stayed simply forbidden for them.

Adrienne Rich pioneered the motherhood studies from the perspective which makes visible the contradictions of the social construction of motherhood today as it is reflected in the concrete experience of women, in their mothering, which

oscillates between oppression and fulfilment. She explained these contradictions as a widely spread social oppression hidden in motherhood regimes and as a constrained social potential hidden in mothering as a social bond based on love and care. Her approach to motherhood was pivotal and initial, but it owed a lot to “the personal is political” political attitude developed among feminist activists and theoreticians during 1960s. Nonetheless, at the time where “Of Woman Born” was published for the first time, motherhood was not considered an important topic. In the mainstream discourse, it was treated more as a medical issue (**medicalization** of motherhood is common method of its objectification and alienation, but it pertains also to the crucial moments in women’s life circle in general – women’s psychological characteristics, aggression, depression, happiness, menstruation, pre-menstrual, post-menstrual periods, emotionality, instability, pregnancy/abortion, time for giving birth, climax, all other life crises, peaks and lowest points in life achievements etc....), than as an issue relevant for social sciences.

Medicalization of women’s crucial point in life is only one of the methods of taking control over their bodies and bodily knowledge and to expose power over them. This happens in many ways through the **control over women’s sexuality, reproductivity and bodily freedom**. Concerning giving birth, there is a lot of “reticence to talk about pregnancy and birthing in the general community which added to the lack of knowledge of this bodily process, while birthing a baby was shrouded with as much invisibility as possible” (Porter, 2010:10). Of course, today it is possible to learn a lot about these processes through different media. However, the culture of sharing and making visible women’s experiences, doubts, pains, shame, constraints, incapacities, enjoyments, risks, fulfilments achieved through their bodies, is still missing. Women are simply **rarely supported to trust their own experience** and are not allowed to question it, particularly if their body is in question. The most representative is probably the event of giving birth. Today, women give birth in hospitals, which contributed to the decrease in the rate of death among pregnant women. However, despite the fact that agency and active participation of pregnant woman is necessary in the process of giving birth, the

whole process is objectified and adapted more to the medical personnel than to a woman who will soon become a mother. Imposing induction, obligatory lying position, episiotomy on women's body, the event is organized in such manner to be as easiest and most comfortable as possible for the medical staff, while woman stays helpless and passive object of professional treatment and she is not in any sense authorized to argue about it. Not to mention that giving birth is often organized simply as medical operation, and not as a special social event, in which sensitive communication is of the utmost importance. Only lately, partners have been allowed to participate during giving birth and still most of them don't choose this option, considering it exclusive and secretly female issue. Women are often left to be alone for hours, without adequate communication and support, unsecure about what is going on in their body. After giving birth, babies are taken away from them and during the hospitalized period kept in separate rooms. The context in which women give birth is very different from country to country, and the quality of medical service varies depending on several factors, but one of them relates to the presence of patriarchal culture in a society, which gives birthing experience special meaning of initiation into the patriarchal societal structure. Despite the differences, many women, from different countries, report how traumatic this experience was for them. It would be impossible to guess the place and the time in which this happens:

“My first confinement, I would say was the loneliest time of my life... lying on a thin bed. You're alone in that room by yourself. – Alone by yourself! You're alone. They pop in and they ask, 'How're you going? I'll just listen to your tummy. No, you can't eat anything until after the birth.' Starving to death. 'Keep drinking water. It plays up with your kidneys.' And my mind's thinking, 'Why what's going to happen to my kidneys?' A woman in the next room, yelling, 'Mummy! Daddy!' I'm thinking, 'Oh, am I going to go through that.' (Voice becomes very high pitched.) It was awful. (Spoken softly.) It was extremely lonely. (Freda)” (Porter 2010: 10)

The event of giving birth serves as a liminal moment in the life circle of woman, it functions as a kind of rite of passage through which she as individual enters new social positions, and receives new responsibilities and rights. Among many identities and roles that humans can achieve and inherit during their life, for woman, to become mother often changes almost everything, not rarely in an unexpected or even shocking way. Usually after this event, they realize there are not many people on whom they can rely. Too often (in traditional patriarchal society this is a rule), woman will be allowed to keep only this role in society after giving birth, and the identity of a mother will overlap all other identities, which will be disregarded and overlooked from the moment she becomes mother. At the same time, she will become socially much more vulnerable and dependant on others, since motherhood, shaped in society as a natural, biological and not social relationship, will be separated from social mechanisms that support and provide her children and her in a new social role of mother. In the traditional patriarchal societies, this is the most important tool for making women men's property.

Consequently, for many women this passage is painful not only physically, but even more psychologically and socially. However, this is exactly a kind of experience that women rarely share openly and transmit as a serious personal issue from generation to generation. Daughters learn how beautiful and important is to become mother, but instead of sharing with them how painful is the experience of loss that follows this event, they are educated how essential for a woman is to marry, in order to provide social, material and emotional supports from husbands, for themselves and for their children, since they know very well that otherwise, they might stay without any social support despite their new vulnerability.

No matter how sociable they are, in case of being single mothers, women usually have to face loneliness, isolation and marginalization exactly in the issues they can't solve alone. They become conspirators, allies, negotiators and have to develop many other strategies based on different kind of compromises in order to take care of their family. And, even if doing their best, "many mothers were judged harshly for problems that were beyond their control" (Porter, 2010: 9). "Thousands

of daughters,” writes Adrienne Rich, “see their mothers as having taught a compromise and self-hatred they are struggling to win free of, the one through whom the restrictions and degradations of a female existence were per force transmitted” (Rich, 1986: 235). Matrophobia - “the fear not of one’s mother or of motherhood but of *becoming one’s mother*” (Rich, 1986: 236).

So, this issue is also about **the lack of maternal history and maternal lineages and reproduction of inequality**. Without them, the conflicts and constraints they face from generation to generation have been reproduced and repeated without improvement. The mainstream history is elaborately masculine, and is divided into oral history, written documented history and history in modern sense, as a science of laws that shape humankind and development of human society throughout ages. On the other side, we lack even the oral history of female presence in the history.

Adrienne Rich showed concrete social implication in everyday life of the idea that it is natural to be mother. It implies that the child rearing is the sole and natural responsibility of mothers, while it “gives them no power to determine the conditions under which they mother” (O’Reilly, 2004: 5). It is supposed that every mother knows “by nature” how to care about her child, and if she can’t meet its need, at last instance, it is her and nobody else’s failure. The pressure of being mother stems from the huge gap between responsibility put on mothers’ shoulders and their incapacity to meet them - the needs of their children and harsh requirements of society - without adequate social mechanisms and support. Like in the case of pro-life approach to abortion, the model of the “good mother” was focused only on the child without any consideration for the mother. “The should of motherhood, the master narratives create expectations that all mothers should mother in the same way” (Porter, 2010: 9). Actually, the dominant and the most visible cultural model of mothering is based on the experience of white, middle class women, which many women do not share.

In reality, the complicated patterns which mark connection between motherhood regime and mothering as a care are different for different classes, and

they have to face and solve different problems. In that process, various actors and mediators contribute to reinforcing or challenging mother's authority and to enforce or neutralize patriarchal influence. And the process is mostly completely **invisible** in society. When worker works on a black market in order to survive, this is at least recognized as irregular and exploitative social condition, but if woman must make many submissive strategies and compromises in order to survive with her children, this is private issue.

As mothers, women are either idealized or despised following the principle "smile or die" - the value system of patriarchal society is made on assumption that every mother must be perfect mother ready in every moment for self-denial, or she is not mother enough. There are only two options - perfect or bad mothers. **Idealization and shamefulness** incorporated into the interiorized value system of women based on what „mother should be“ lead women to social disorientation. The same relates to female beauty. Social attitudes toward women oscillate between **idolization and abjection**. To be beautiful is considered inherent to female nature, and no matter how unachievable this ideal is, the abbreviation from the proscribed (historically changeable) standard is interpreted as women's natural handicap, something that shouldn't happen if nature fulfils its mission in female body. The border between idealization/idolization and abjection/shamefulness of women is very tiny and it can be crossed easily. In the absence of the realistic social standards, women are exposed to the extremes in society which contributes a lot to the spreading of violence against women in patriarchal society. Not only mores and value systems, but also the rules imposed by legal institutions belong to the category of extremes, but they were accepted during time as if they were a law of nature, making different forms of cruelty and misogyny acceptable and highly required social norms.

“To destroy such an institution is not to abolish motherhood. It is to release the creation and sustenance of life into the same realm of decision, struggle, surprise, imagination and conscious intelligence, as any difficult, but freely chosen work” (Rich, 1986: 280).

However, society always cherished a strong fear against women's freedom, particularly if it relates to their reproductive potential. Even today, and even in the most developed countries, to supervise, to have and to impose somehow the control over the birth rate is the task that state takes seriously. Political measures related to reproduction are unstable and vary extremely. Particularly if they are conservative, state puts responsibility and impose duty for biological reproduction of nation on women's shoulders, only because of their biological capacity to give birth, neglecting them as primary social subjects. It is true that the classical population policy is being reconsidered today, with the purpose to become friendlier and that it is shifted to the issue of partnership and improvement of the quality of life. However, it is true also that the choice which of these policies will be applied depends on the political context which is highly unstable and which can easily shift to extremes. Consequently, bio-political treatment of the reproduction reflected through measures of population politics increase the chances of violation of women's basic human rights.

What the approach of Adrienne Rich also made visible is that to live up to the norms of motherhood regime and to fulfil the ideal and obligatory demand of being tender, self-sacrificing and always available mother is not only physically impossible, but emotionally and psychologically somehow contradictory experience difficult to integrate in one personality. Today women take many roles. Professional roles, especially if related to position in power, require competitive and aggressive and very often ruthless approach. Mothering roles require the opposite. Both of them require full person and engagement. In case of lower classes, women often have to do several jobs in order to earn enough for their family, while they can't rely on anybody to take care of their children in the meantime. Caught between these two models, women usually make all kind of compromises, in most cases giving up the aims to achieve powerful professional positions in society.

There is a huge contradiction between public/professional and private/family life in relation to the value system they are grounded in. This contradiction is recognized only as a private issue of women related to their double burden, which

strategically should be solved by social measures. It is not recognized that contradictions between public/private today and their strange mixtures shows a deep social fracture produced by parallel support to neo-liberal economic and political expansions and to the politics of family support. Absurdly, the expansion of neo-liberal policy which takes a global influence today is followed by revitalization of family life ideals, which have many ideological variations and forms, from popular advertising of the idealized nuclear family living in the welfare state to the strong advocacy of gay marriages interpreted as a basic right of every citizen to have family. However, what actually happens is that family is neither sustainable nor stable social form if exposed to such aggressive economic, political and warring strategies that dominate world today.

Namely, concerning the motherhood, it is simply impossible to provide sustainable development if love and life care stay such a strong unconditional private duty, while aggression and competitiveness such a strong public and professional requirements. However, in the neo-liberal world the aggressive market approach in which democracy is labelled by the overall privatization of public goods, expansion of warring politics, forced restructuration imposed by MMF on many underdeveloped countries and those who are in the process of transition, which put them into neo-colonial status, are considered part of progressive developmental global policy which supports particularly women and all those discriminated or marginalized on different bases. Politics of human right protection are indispensable part of neoliberal politics. However, this politics is today completely separated, if not even opposed to the politics and the ideal of social justice. In that context, the repressive regime of motherhood continues to exist in the framework of ethno-nationalistic pro-natal politics, in the presence of imposed collapse of social and medical care systems, expansion of corruption, flourishing of black market, increase in unemployment and poverty, decrease in workers' rights etc. (Vilenica, 2013: 14). Regime of motherhood becomes a part of the overwhelming expansion of military politics too, as a tool for overcoming the increased death rate produced by military policy and its collateral side effects, as

well as for devoicing and depowering women who raised strongly their voices against war in the last decades all over the world (valued as unqualified political emotionalism, however, supported and literally highly priced if voiced against regimes targeted to be overthrown).

To question motherhood today means at first place to challenge patriarchal society and to uncover the existence of motherhood regime hidden in supposedly neutral institutions. Then, it is about making women's maternal experience present and articulated in social and political discourse. Mothers should represent politically distinctive and eligible voice and should not stay only "feminist enterprise" (O'Really, 2004: 160). And lastly, motherhood regime and maternal experiences can be used as a tool for broader social and political critique of neoliberal politics today.

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SINGING SOLO OR DANCING DUET: GENDER EQUALITY TUNING IN TRANSNATIONAL FAMILY BLUES

Alissa V. Tolstokorova

1. Introduction

“No match found” was the result of my Google search at its pages in Ukrainian for the entry “transnational family”. The same result emerged for “transnational parenthood/ motherhood/ fatherhood”. Online catalogues of central research libraries did not show any items either, evincing a lack of appreciation and absence of interest in this novel outcome of human mobility in the Ukrainian academic community.

It is argued that although the explosive character of institutional changes following the demise of state socialism entailed the destruction of all the principal social institutions in Ukraine, the family was the only among them which did not undergo fundamental transformations (Golovakha, Panina, 2006: 37). However, as I have discussed elsewhere, the Ukrainian family is changing (Tolstokorova, 2003). Some of these changes reflect European tendencies in attitudes toward kinship and relationships; others mirror global trends in the development of marriage and partnership (Tolstokorova, 2009c). Thus, the concept of the head of the family is no longer the norm, and out-of wedlock cohabitation and single parents are not exceptional any more. The availability of contraceptives has enabled responsible family planning, while women’s active entrance into the work-force resulted in older age of the first child-birth and fewer children in the family. Furthermore, new configurations of families have emerged during the years of economic reforms, such as the “transnational family”, caused by the massive outflow of the population for earnings abroad as a result of “shock therapy”. Ukrainian labour migration is a

comprehensive process, affecting from 10% to 20% of the working age population. Together with family members, it encompasses over 1/3 of the Ukrainian total population (SIFY, 2004a). Indeed, considering the magnitude, this process invariably transforms the society and its principal social institutions, including family. In the Ukrainian school of family studies, however, no thought is given to changes in the institution of family caused by the increasing economic mobility of the population. The emergence of transnational family model as a by-product of globalization, urbanization, economic restructuring, combined with improved transportation and information technologies has not been yet conceptualized and no attempts to reflect on the complexity of this phenomenon have been made. Even more than that, the most recent national accounts on the situation of Ukrainian families do not cast any light on this phenomenon (Libanova et al., 2009; UCSR, 2008; SIFY, 2005), whilst the latest available typologies of Ukrainian families (Kravchenko, 2006; SIFY, 2004b) do not mention transnational family and cross-border parenting as an emerging family pattern. Neither is there any entry on it in the online edition of the “Encyclopaedia for Family and Youth” (2007). In essence, the scholarship on this issue is limited to occasional papers (Solari 2006; Castagnone et al, 2007; Yarova, 2007; Leifsen, Tymuszczuk, 2008; Tolstokorova, 2009a; Dalgas, 2010). However, as these are mainly individual research projects performed outside Ukraine, they cannot afford either to cover a wide range of empirical material, or to offer a comprehensive conceptualization of this phenomenon. Meanwhile, transitional Ukraine, with its massive scale of migration flows accompanied by their *increasing feminization* (Tolstokorova, 2009b) is an excellent setting in which to study the vast changes in family life, caused by growing international mobility.

The impact of cross-border experience on transnational family, marriage and parenthood may entail both positive and negative reverberations. My earlier research (Tolstokorova, 2009; 2010) showed that social costs of this experience for the family and its principal actors are often too high and can outscore economic benefits, but they can also bring progressive changes into the transnational family

space. Over last years the category of gender is being regarded as an important signifier of borders as constructed and contested lines of differences, which in the interplay with other categories of difference (class, race, ethnicity, and religion) plays a key role in giving meaning to different forms of cross-border experiences (Schimanski, 2010). Therefore, *the social relevance* of the paper is in the examining, using qualitative analysis and methods, of the gendered impact of cross-border caring and transnationalism on social reorganization of such social institutions as parenthood and grandparenthood in Ukraine over the transitional period.

The research methodology for the project involved a complex approach, incorporating participant observation, in-depth interviews with experts in migration and gender/women's issues, gathering life-histories of circular migrants (10 women and 2 men), the use of sociological survey data and available statistics, as well as secondary sources on transnational migration, parenthood, gender and women's issues. Participant observation was possible due to my personal experience of extensive short- and long-term (up to one year) academic trips across Europe, which enabled the socialization with compatriots of diverse social backgrounds in a wide range of social settings. The informal mode of communication with the interviewees and absence of social distance in interpersonal interaction allowed for a deeper immersion into the migrants' milieu, facilitated a wider perception of their conditions, work, life styles and opportunities, and enabled a broader conceptualization of issues under study.

Semi-structured interviews with experts were conducted due to my participation in the project "Care-work and welfare internationalization: Transnational scenarios for the welfare of the future", together with researchers of Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale (CeSPI), Rome, Italy²⁵. Though some of the interviews were

²⁵ The experts interviewed covered a wide range of specialists, including top officials at the Italian embassy in Kiev; researchers at state research institutions and National Academy of Sciences; representatives of independent analytical think-tanks and research centres; policy-makers at ministries, local administrations and state employment centres; representatives of international organizations, like IOM, Amnesty International etc.; NGOs

conducted in English, more frequently I translated the interviews from Ukrainian or Russian into English for the Italian interviewers and then transcribed. Life-history interviews with Ukrainian migrants were gathered in the course of an individual research project “Gender implications of Ukrainian labour migration: costs and benefits for aging Europe” (2008), realized partly courtesy to the National Scholarship Program of Slovak Academic Information Agency (SAIA). Most of the interviews were done during my visits to EU countries to participate in research seminars and conferences, which provided an opportunity to meet with compatriots working abroad. As the titles of both projects make clear, the study of transnational parenthood was not central to either of them. In the course of the fieldwork, however, this issue emerged as a by-product of discussions about gender, migration, family and welfare. Due to that, it became obvious that further research was required to document the clearly observable ongoing gender transformations in the institution of transnational parenthood as well as to illuminate parental experiences, concerns and constraints of both migrant women and their families left behind at home. It has to be done to facilitate policy-making and improve social harmony in the Ukrainian family for the well-being of all of its members.

The *main goal* of this paper, therefore, is to explore the gendered effect of labour migration on Ukrainian transnational families as *imagined communities* (Vuorela, 2002), highlighting the actors’ point of view as “a unique, and often the only, way to access migrant experience, sensitivities and identities” (DeRoche, 1996, cited by Chamberlain, Leydesdorff, 2004: 228). The paper focuses on gender implications of migration for motherhood and more broadly, for the institution of transnational parenthood in Ukraine. Experts’ observations and migrants’ life-history interviews were used to document, with a gender-sensitive eye, the multiple relations established between the key actors involved in transnational parenting. The concept of *transnational motherhood* is understood here following Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997: 550) “not as physical circuits of migration but as the

activists working in the area of care services, social work, women’s issues and migration policy; journalists, etc.

circuits of affection, caring and financial support that transcend national borders”. Both transnational motherhood and parenthood more generally, are regarded as phenomena “encouraged by the global network society” (Lutz, 2004: 54).

Drawing upon my interviews and observations, I *argue* that although migration might change gender roles, it primarily affects mothers, who assume the role of bread-winners and providers. This role, however, only increases their family obligations, but, as discussed below, does not necessarily entail women’s empowerment. Instead, it may lead to the perpetuation of their roles as *pseudo-moms*, who are exposed to multiple exploitations, but receive few dividends from their emotional and financial investments into children and family. The roles of *pseudo-moms* and *distant care-givers* are sustained through ICT, which allegedly enable *virtual intimacies* (Wilding, 2006) and *connected relationships* with families left behind, and therefore, serve as a compensatory strategy for adverse emotional effects of migrancy. My research showed, however, that ICT may also be used as a tool of enforced financial and emotional outsourcing of migrant mothers, draining not least their time, energy and earnings, but even affections. Meanwhile, changes in the gender roles of fathers that are prompted by their wives’ migration are only temporary. As such, they do not entail the *modernisation of fatherhood* (LaRossa, 1997) by means of either a more *involved fatherhood* (Wall, Arnold, 2007) or *co-parenting* (Castelain-Meunier, 2005) after their migrant spouses come back home. Thus, the *culture of fatherhood* (La Rossa 1988) in Ukraine does not change noticeably due to migration. I argue, however, that though these transformations might indeed be temporary, they nonetheless may effect changes in the long-run, provided they are sufficiently conceptualized and used creatively for the benefit of both the family and society at large.

2. Transnationalism, family and parenting: “the underbelly of global capitalism” (Bash et al, 1994)

Throughout the last decades a new perspective on the study of migration has developed in the social sciences. As observed by Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997), the linear, bipolar, and assimilationist models, that were typical of well-established migration paradigms, were taken over by a transnational perspective, emerging from post-colonial, post-modern inspired anthropology. It is argued that this new perspective focuses on the cross-border communities and networks and considers migration as a multidirectional process. According to Vertovec, this perspective “underscores numerous ways in which, and the reasons why, today’s linkages are different from, or more intense than, earlier forms”, including “the rapid development of travel and communication technologies (Vertovec, 2001: 574). In line with this perspective, “mobility and insertion are viewed not as contradictory or exclusive, but as complementary” processes (Gherghel, Le Gall, 2005: 4). Migrants are seen not as uprooted, but as *transmigrants*, who “develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious and political – that span borders” (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992: ix). Thus, the transnational perspective enables a new approach to the study of individual migrants, their communities and families; although at the same time it admits that currently transnationalism *per se* is neither sufficiently understood, nor regulated at an institutional level (Piperno, 2007).

Analyses of the transnational family have been conducted within different theoretical frameworks. Baldassar, Baldock and Wilding (2007) outlined a model of transnational care-giving, focusing on the complexity of factors underpinning this process, including a capacity to provide transnational help, the cultural sense of obligation to care, and character of family commitment and kinship relationship. Gherghel and Le Gall (2005) offered to combine a transnational perspective with the life course approach, which enabled a comprehensive model of analysing social and family behaviour and generational change aimed at understanding the individual development, in regard to multiple temporalities: the social time, the historical time and the individual time. In the analysis of transnational parenting, Mummert (2005) underscored the importance of viewing individual and family

decision-making processes within the framework of the global political economy. Changing labour market conditions, migratory policies, legislation regarding nationality and citizenship, border crossing controls, and other social, political and cultural trends, all shape how and why parents resort to leaving children behind or sending them back home. Sørnsen (2005) argues that a renewed focus on transnational family life occurred because of the increase in independent female migration. She offered three models of transnational family relationship: transnational motherhood, childhood and fatherhood. However, Sørnsen's argument bypassed an essential aspect of the transnational family arrangement, *grandparenting*, specifically *grandmothering*, outlined earlier by Plaza (2000). All of these studies admit that transnational, multi-local families are now increasingly common and therefore, transnational parenthood is a widespread phenomenon that requires closer attention. Many of them acknowledge that "migration engenders changes in a family" (Parreñas, 2005: 317) and research on the gender dimensions of transnational parenting is similarly important.

3. Gendered effect of transnationalism on Ukrainian mothers and motherhood

3.1. "First of all you are a mother": children's well-being as a push factor and a migratory imperative

My research concurs with the opinion that Ukrainian migrants "see labour migration as one of few ways, if not the only one, to provide for immediate care of their children; i.e. care related to their survival and well-being, by providing for the child's basic needs (food, clothes etc.)" (Leifsen, Tymchyk, 2008: 9). Therefore, it is primarily the role of a parent and specifically *motherhood* that induces women to leave their homes to work abroad and causes them to confront multiple exigencies of migratory life, often illegal, to be able to provide for their children. Mothers' responsibilities to their dependents serve as a push factor for foreign employment.

At the same time, the obligations of motherhood perform the function of a *migratory imperative*, giving them reason for endurance and tolerance of *cultural risks* (Kindler, 2008) they might face in a foreign setting. For example, in her interview, Tamara²⁶ (49, a live-in care worker in Italy), highlighted the emotional pain she endured as a result of the limitations her employer imposed on her dietary and personal habits. However, both Tamara and her family back home framed it as an unavoidable *emotional fee* to be paid for the financial benefits for her children she reaped:

“When I complained of it to my Mom on the phone, she said: “I know, it’s hard. But remember: first of all you are a mother. While you are there, your children here have food to eat and money to pay the University fees. So, clench your fists and tolerate it. Just for the sake of your kids” (Rome, 02.04.2009, originally in Ukrainian, translated by the author).

Hence, ironically, it is “in the child’s best interests”, that mothers make their heart-wrenching decision to travel far from their family (Mummert, 2005: 2) and to leave their children behind, sometimes alone and unattended, which is detrimental to their emotional security and social well-being. However, the remittances the mothers working abroad send home are not necessarily spent for the benefit of children, but instead, may be wasted on whims (Kyrchiv, 2004), if not vices. This is illuminated in the following interview by Yarova (2007: 5):

“My husband and fourteen-year-old son did not suffer because I earned more money... You know ... money spoils people. They started to go to restaurants a lot, wasted money. After I came back, they passed back all my responsibilities to me, and were ready ‘to sit on my head²⁷’ ”. (Lena, married, fourteen-year-old son)

²⁶ The names of informants were changed to protect their anonymity.

²⁷ “To sit on one’s head” means “to parasitize”, “to use somebody in one’s own interests”.

Furthermore, as evidenced by an expert interview with the head of the Department in the Affairs of Minors at the Lviv City Council (July 2, 2008, Lviv), the negative effect of remittances on migrants' children is that they may entice them into an unfavourable social milieu. Migrants' children represent a cohort of social risk and, therefore, a target of criminals' activities. They use these socially neglected children for a variety of dubious purposes, like draining the remittances sent by migrant parents, involving the children in gambling, drugs, alcohol, pornography and child-trafficking, and using them as objects of sex tourism. This opinion was confirmed by other experts:

“Statistics show that most women who migrate are women of reproductive age. Most of them leave behind if not very small children, but at least teenage children, at the age when they most of all require their parents to be around. The children’s letters of which I told you earlier confirm my opinion. You have to consider that those who agreed to participate in this contest²⁸ were the brightest children. But they also describe the life of their contemporaries or coevals - what happens to them when they have money, but live without parents. It is drug-taking, alcoholism, all possible negative developments” (Interview with the director of a think-tank on connections with the Ukrainian Diaspora, Lviv, 01.07.2008, originally in Ukrainian).

It was also noted that for the children of migrants education becomes primarily a matter of high social prestige, rather than skills and knowledge acquisition and therefore, they often neglect studies at universities, thus wasting *European scholarships*, received through remittances of their *paychecks moms* working abroad.

“One girl told me: ‘Oh, I study in a group where half of my group-mates have their moms in Italy, so they don’t have to study

²⁸ It goes about the contest of letters of migrants' children, organised in 2008 (Open Ukraine, 2008)

because their moms send them money and they just pay for their credits'. So, it's a huge impact on children, especially teenagers. They have money that their moms send, they have easy money, they start gambling, or take alcohol and they don't need to study because they know: 'Mom will send me money, why should I go to school?'"
(Interview with the experts of a women's NGO, Lviv, 02.07.2008, originally in English).

Hence, the sacrifices migrant mothers make for the sake of their children's well-being are not necessarily fruitful, and may have a reverse impact on children's worldview by fostering a consumerist attitude to life and to their migrant parents (Tolstokorova, 2009a). Furthermore, the hope that remittances invested in higher education of children will secure a bright future for them may turn into an unrealized dream. Migration has a tendency to become *hereditary*, as evidenced by the experience of countries with a longer migration history. Thus, transnational motherhood beginning as early as the 1970s and 1980s among Dominican migrants, showcased a new generation of migrants raised by their grandparents who now repeat the pattern of entrusting their own offspring to the next generation of grandparents (Mummert, 2005:12).

3.2. Broken family bonds: parental cultural shock in migration and reverse cultural shock after the family reunification

«Жди и помни меня, я опять уезжаю,

Жди и помни меня, все плохое забудь,

...Да, я уезжаю, я опять уезжаю,

но скоро вернусь»²⁹

²⁹ “Wait and remember me, I am leaving again,
Wait and remember me, and forget all the wrongs”

I am leaving, I am leaving again, but I will be back very soon” – words from a popular Soviet song of 1970s.

The displacement of women due to migration is not only physical, but also social and cultural (Henderson, 2004; Skrbiš, 2008). As a result, they may experience a *culture shock* due to the exposure to a foreign culture and the necessity to adapt themselves to changes in lifestyle and norms as well as to their own new social status, which is most often related to “contradictory class mobility” (Parreñas, 2001: 180). Additionally, it is argued that “family dispersal” (LARG, 2005: 5) resulting from migration, may come at a high emotional cost (Levitt, 2001), because it “generates feelings of continuous instability” (LARG, 2005: 5), “abandonment, regret and loneliness“ (Parreñas, 2002: 44) and entails emotional distancing, because generations operate in *time pockets* that are outside the real time of the outside world (Parreñas, 2008), which may exacerbate the cultural shock of migrancy.

My argument here is, however, that an essential element of the cultural adjustment migrant mothers face is what I would call a *parental cultural shock*. It is pinned on the changing attitude towards mothers on the part of their children, for whose benefit women sacrifice themselves. For instance, as was observed in reference to Mexican women working in the US (Mummert, 2005), biological mothers had to accept the fact that other kin could develop closer relationships to their children than they themselves could manage, despite frequent visits, telephone calls, letters, videos and other means of communication. In other cases children who have been cared for by alternative caregivers, or *other-mothers*, came to consider these women their real mothers or even forget who their biological mothers were (Schmalzbauer, 2004). Similar sentiments were expressed by Ukrainian migrant mothers in their interviews with Dalgas (2010). For younger children this situation is especially problematic because they do not understand the financial necessities that had driven their mothers away from them. Sometimes children reacted by not wanting to talk to their mothers on the phone, while others simply seemed to slide away from their mothers and formed close relationships to other important adults.

This was the case in the family of my interviewee, Nadezhda (39, a former music teacher and a singer), who went to work first in Greece to earn money to pay for her son's university studies and then moved to Italy, where she was employed in elder care. In Ukraine, she had left her 10-year old daughter and a 17-year old son with her mother. The old woman could not survive her daughter's departure and passed away a month after Nadezhda had left. Her son moved to Kyiv where he lived with his uncle, Nadezhda's brother, and studied at the University. Unfortunately no one was left to care for her small daughter. Nadezhda had to ask her former school director, who was also her neighbour, to take care of the girl:

“You don't know what it cost me. At the beginning I cried all through the night. Meanwhile, my daughter kept sending me such sad, touching letters! In one letter she wrote: ‘Mommy, please come back! Please! Please! I need you and miss you very much and sob every day, but who cares? They step on my tears and walk over them’. She attached a page of her pencil drawings, covered in tear drops, with big black footprints over them across the page... [crying]. But what could I do? I could not come back without money, because I had to pay for my son's education and I had to earn something. How could I explain that to my little girl? She would not understand. She told me on the phone that I betrayed her and refused to talk to me when I called my ex-director to know how things were going on at home” (Milan, 04.06.2007, originally in Russian, translated by the author).

As Nadezhda's story shows, this experience may be highly traumatic and stressful for transnational mothers. They believe they “have fallen short of their duties” (LARG, 2005: 8) and self-identify as *pseudo-moms* deserted by their own children, for whose benefit they risked foreign employment.

Additionally, I argue that women also have to confront a *reverse culture shock* after returning home, that may be just as damaging to their emotional well-being. Thus, the results of my field research were consistent with Yarova's empirical study, which showed that “after coming back from Italy, women sometimes

experience difficulties with their children, including communication problems, misunderstanding and estrangement...Very often, women become alienated from their families, because by leaving home, they are departing from traditionally constructed gender roles. Meanwhile, their transnational family may go through certain transformations during their absence...”, which entails “challenges [to] the images of mothers and fathers” (Yarova, 2007: 3).

Furthermore, as was shown in my earlier papers (Tolstokorova, 2008; Tolstokorova, 2009b), Ukrainian experts reported a plethora of cases when upon returning home, women discovered not only that their marriages were ruined, but in effect, that they did not have families anymore, because during their long-term absence abroad, their husbands remarried and deprived them of their maternal rights. Therefore, such women lost their status both as wives and as mothers to their own children. This may also happen in mixed marriages after women return home, as showcased by the following story:

“Some time ago a Ukrainian woman came back from Italy with a kid. She said that she had been married to an Italian guy and the kid was born in Italy, but then the family was broken and they agreed that the kid comes back with the mom. She said that it was a mutual agreement. <So>, the family was not there anymore and she came back to Ukraine and she didn’t hear from him <ex-husband> for two years. But then she got papers from the Italian court, <writing> that he tried to deprive her of <her> maternal rights. She was shocked. She said that he didn’t call, didn’t give money and the kid got serious health problems and it was really shock for her, and she didn’t get any papers that she was invited to the court . She has just got papers that she was deprived of <her> maternal rights and a two-years old baby <had to> be sent to Italy... He didn’t see the baby for two years! It was a problem, but she resolved <it>. She said: I am OK. He can come here and see the baby. I don’t mind <that> the child has a father and if the

father wants to come – it's great! It's very good, but not this way: give me my baby back after two years of having nothing with him!"
(Interview with the experts of a Women's NGO, Lviv, 02.07.2008, originally in English).

Migration, thus, may impose high emotional costs on women as wives and mothers. The transnational character of their family life may be deceptive, concealing a morbid reality, of which they are often unaware and continue to cherish relationships that may exist only in their imagination. As Leifsen and Tymuszczuk argue, "relational closeness tends to wither if care at a distance is not complemented with return visits" (Leifsen, Tymuszczuk, 2008: 2) and "moments of physical co-presence" (Urry, 2003:156). Hence, although "motherhood is priceless" (Anderson, 2000: 22), the price of transnational motherhood, at least in the Ukrainian context, is the broken kinship bonds in transnational families. This is at odds with the definition of transnational family by Bryceson and Vuorela (2002: 3) who describe it as the one whose members "live some or most of the time separated from each other but yet create a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely 'familyhood', even across national borders". My research findings showed that transnationalism more often translates into *defamilization* (Lister, 1997) rather than into a specific transnational *familyhood*.

4. Role of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in migrant mothering and transnational caring: controversies of the *compact contact*

The scholarship on transnational parenthood has witnessed an increasing recognition of the importance of ICT as an essential element of transnational familial relations. This scholarship emphasizes technology's positive role in maintaining *connected relationships*, and even *virtual intimacies* (Wilding, 2006) in transnational families, seen from this perspective as social constructions or *imagined communities* (Vuorela, 2002). It is argued that ICT and low prices "had spurred a burst of activity" in transnational families because "many have cell

phones, phone cards, Internet access, Web-cams and carry out international conversations routinely” (LARG, 2005: 17). This enables family members “to be actively involved in everyday life there in fundamentally different ways than in the past” (Levitt 2001: 22). My argument, however, is that the role of ICT is not always so straightforward, insofar as the new and different ways of transnational communication within “new migratory spaces” (Morokvasic, 2006: 49) may have both favorable and adverse implications.

a. Favorable effect: a connected relationship

Many papers underscore that migrancy induces women to build alternative constructions of motherhood when separated from their children, (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Avila, 1997; LARG, 2005; Parreñas, 2005; Dalgas, 2010). This most often requires “to mesh caregiving and guidance with breadwinning” (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Avila, 1997: 564). It is argued that the fact that migrant mothers are no longer physically present in their families does not entail the abandonment of their caregiving responsibilities, but rather their rearrangement or even reinforcement by *intensive mothering* (Hays, 1996, cited by Parreñas, 2005: 323). It may include management of the home from a distance by controlling the use of remittances, making telephone calls, maintaining e-mail communications, sending SMS and letters, and paying visits. These “time-space compressions” (Harvey 1989: 240) of transnational family space become possible through the advanced technologies. They are indispensable in maintaining cross-border connections: geographic distance is perceived not as constraint to familial communication, but rather a determinant of its availability and intensity. This sentiment was echoed by one of my informants:

“I bought my mobile as soon as I came here, so I call home very often. I learned how to use the internet as well, since we have free access to internet here. Our employer often says: “Children are sacred” and encourages us to maintain connections with our

families. For that purpose he hooked our place to the internet and provided us with e-mails, so all our girls have unlimited online connection and we write home whenever we might need it". (Interview with Anastasia, 38, working in the service business in Monaco. [More specific information on the character of her job was not provided to the interviewer "for confidentiality reasons"]. Nice, France, 08.12.2007, originally in Russian, translated by the author).

Hence, ICT as a new form of *compact contact* are instrumental in mitigating "the feelings of depression and hopelessness" (LARG, 2005: 19) of migrant mothers, generated by the effects of "family dispersal" (LARG, 2005: 5) and allow to *vitaly energize* the connected kin relationship across great geographical distances (Parreñas, 2005).

b. Dubious effect: an unreliable connection

It is true that "modern communications systems do allow better oral communication" (Lutz, 2004: 54) to transnational families. However, it is highly doubtful that this kind of "acts of care from afar" (Parreñas, 2005: 323) may be seen as "compensatory strategies which limit the impact of care drain" (Piperno, 2007: 2) and that these "childrearing tasks [...] conducted over great geographical distances" (Lutz, 2004: 54) are highly efficient. Rather, I argue that while it is true that "at least there is an attempt to maintain contact with the children" (Lutz, 2004: 54) and other family members, this can hardly compensate for a physical absence of a caregiver in case of a physically disabled, elderly, or sick person. Nor can technology guarantee efficient control, guidance, and timely advice to children, especially at a complicated age of puberty when children themselves may be unaware of the challenges they face or unwilling to admit them, showing to their mothers a *glossy picture* of their daily life. However, improved technology provides a convenient excuse for the compensatory effect of *care drain* (Hochschild, 2000) and a prerequisite for *care gain* by care-recipient countries. This is why it is argued

that “the sheer quantity of contact is not made up for by quality time” (LARG, 2005: 23), because “compensatory strategies adopted by transnational families often prove insufficient and an underlying care shortage persists” (Piperno, 2007: 2). Indeed, empirical studies have shown that physical absence and virtual communication actually erase emotional closeness even between the closest family members. It changes the nature of the relationship and entails estrangement together with a “lessening or ending of the mothers’ direct emotional connections” (LARG, 2005: 23) as evidenced by an interview with a Ukrainian woman conducted by Dalgas (2010: 3): “One woman told me, that after years living apart from her daughters, sometimes days could pass by, when she did not think of them”.

LARG (2005) reports that another reason for estrangement is the frequent breakdown of direct telephone contacts. In other words, although technological advancements surely benefit transnational families, they do not automatically guarantee a smooth flow of transnational communication (Parreñas, 2005). For example, children may be unable or unwilling to come to the phone, or relatives may insist on taking messages rather than letting mothers talk directly to their children (LARG, 2005). This was the case with the daughter of my informant, Nadezhda, cited above. This means that ICT are not always helpful and reliable, especially in emergency. Due to possible misconnections the required assistance, help or advice of far-away family members sometimes cannot be provided when necessary.

c. Deleterious effect: enforced outsourcing of mothers

There is hardly any appreciation of the fact that the use of ICT, especially mobile phones, makes mothers almost always reachable, “always there” (Parreñas, 2005: 319) for both employers and families back home. It allows mothers to give an instant feedback on any problems their families might have. In doing so, mobile communication reconfigures the *power geometry* (Massey 1994) and renders

women bereft of any personal space. As one interviewee explained, migrant mothers have the sense of *not belonging to themselves* and of being exposed to manipulations by those whose calls they can hardly dare to neglect. Additionally, it creates the virtual spatiality that places migrant mothers “simultaneously *here and there*” (Parreñas, 2005: 319). This, in turn, increases the stress and emotional pressure on women, whose job of *emotional labour* is energy-consuming in itself. Thus, advanced technologies turn into a subtle tool of women’s exploitation by persons who matter to them.

Financially, international calls are also costly. Dalgas (2010) observed that the Ukrainian domestics she interviewed spent up to €100 per month for telephone communication with their family members. For live-in workers, this was quite a large proportion of their salary, which in 2006 was around €850. This is probably why none of my informants mentioned, for example, using Web-cams for interfamilial exchange. Very few of live-in domestics could afford using internet. It may be attributed to the fact that “the compression of time and space in transnational communication is not a uniform condition, but a varied social process shaped by class and gender” (Parreñas, 2005: 318). Transnational communication requires access to capital and its frequency depends on the resources of individuals (Sassen 2000). As Mahler (2001: 610) notes, in this case, geographic location in essence translates into “social location”: technological advances are not accessible to everyone, which hinders the possibility of virtual caring experiences. This is especially true in regard to older women, both migrant and those left behind, who may be at pains using ICT. In a private conversation, a woman in her 60s told me that she had problems learning how to use her first mobile phone, and after numerous failed attempts to call to her son, she was so angered and exhausted that she smashed her very expensive mobile phone against the wall. Equally, ICT may be a greater challenge for migrants’ families located in rural areas without the appropriate facilities and infrastructures (Parreñas, 2005: 318). ICT thus may serve a means of the enforced financial and emotional outsourcing of migrant mothers, draining their time, energy, earnings, and even affections.

5. Transnationalism, gender and fatherhood: “new father’s” share in old mother’s care

Generally, discussions on issues of parenting have been focused on the role of mothers in childcare, whilst the fathers’ participation in parenting is most often ignored. This stems from a traditional gender ideology that presents mothers as the primary care-givers in the family, while assuming that fatherhood is the male’s additional role to that of a breadwinner. However, throughout the last decades, the *modernization* of the institution of fatherhood (LaRossa, 1997), and the emergence of the so-called *new fathers* (Coltrane, Allan, 1994) has caused the discourse on parenting to address both parents rather than mothers alone (Sunderland 2006). Wall and Arnold (2007: 509) point to a plethora of research, maintaining that the emergence of a cultural shift in expectations surrounding fathering has been most notable since the 1980s and was partly driven by movement of mothers into the labour force. In Ukraine, a renewed focus in the public discourse towards the issues of masculinity, paternity and responsible fathering was observable throughout 2000s, a trend that has only increased over the last two years (Tolstokorova, N.d.). Yet, my opinion is that the causality behind this process is of a different order than in post-industrial economies, insofar as the massive entrance of women into the labour force in Ukraine started in 1920s with the introduction of state socialism. At that time, however, it did not entail the new *culture of fatherhood*³⁰ (LaRossa, 1988) that emerged half a century thereafter in Western societies, which gradually progressed through the stages of *paternal power* (*la puissance paternelle*), then *parental authority* (*l’autorité parentale*) and eventually arriving to *co-parenting* (*la co-parentalité*) (Castelain-Meunier, 2005).

I argue that one of the key triggers behind the recent interest in issues of fatherhood in Ukraine is the feminization of labour migration in the country (Tolstokorova, 2009b), or to be more exact, the increase of independent female migration. This issue is especially relevant in small towns and villages, where the

³⁰ LaRossa argued that, for example, in US, fatherhood undergone more changes in culture than in conduct.

high level of poverty and unemployment have pushed women to search for income abroad. Statistics evidences that most of the females leaving for earnings abroad are family women with children. Thus, a 2003 sociological survey of Ukrainian migrants in Italy (Gorodetsky and Shegda, 2003, cited in Sapunko, 2006) showed that out of all the interviewees (of whom 91.1% were females and 8.9% - males), 64.4% were married at the time of the survey, 8.4% - not married, 16.4% - divorced, 10.7% - widowed. Furthermore, 90.1% of responders had children, of whom only 5.5% stayed with their parents in Italy. According to another source (Women's Perspectives, 2003, cited in Yarova, 2007: 3), 94% of the women interviewed had left their children at home in Ukraine. Most often, children stayed with their fathers, but in families headed by single mothers or in which both parents work abroad, 66% of children were left behind in the care of grandparents, whilst 33% stayed unattended. In this context, the issues of men left behind, and especially the responsibility of fathers for their children when mothers are working abroad, gain currency. From this, there emerges an imperative need to conceptualize these changes in gender arrangements in the family and society and to offer viable solutions for their regulation, especially in regard to the social roles of men and fathers in the family (Tolstokorova, N.d.).

My research shows that in Ukrainian “mother-away migrant families” (Parreñas, 2005: 318) the fathers left behind sometimes perform *reproductive work* efficiently and cope well with their new roles of caregivers and “househusbands” (Parreñas, 2005: 331). As one informant explained:

“When I told to my husband that I wanted to leave to work abroad, he replied that he would not wait for me and would find another woman to live with. In effect, by that time our marriage was at dead end, but anyway, we still lived together as husband and wife. So, I had no choice but to agree to divorce, because my elder son was about to graduate from school and we needed money to pay for his university education. The problem was that, when industry and the army collapsed after the demise of the Union <USSR>, in our

small Crimean town there were no jobs left for men. Only some low-paid work for women in the service sector was still available. So, my husband lost his job and could find only part-time work in the informal sector. Since I worked in the service sector, I managed to keep my job, but my wage was ridiculously low. Anyway, our joint incomes were insufficient to maintain a family with two children. So, I decided I had to leave, because I knew that although my man was not the best possible husband, he was a good dad and my boys loved and obeyed him. Now, I see that although I am away from home, my boys are taken care of well, and all my guys get along with each other. Now that I have a short annual leave to go home, I am busy with present-hunting for my ex, to thank him for being a good father to our sons.” (Interview with Anastasia, 38, working in the services business in Monaco [more specific information on the character of her job was not provided to the interviewer “for confidentiality reasons”], Nice, France, 08.12.2007, originally in Russian, translated by the author).

Anyway, the results of my fieldwork were consistent with the finding that “this change is just a temporary one, or at least in some cases they [men] wished this was so”, hoping that “after their wives come back they will again become the main breadwinners and their wives will stay at home and do the housework” (Yarova, 2007: 4). This was confirmed by expert interviews:

“Interviewer: *There’s a question of debate in Italy: when a woman migrates, the man left behind, the husband, will do the domestic work and caring work, looking after kids. So if a woman goes away, if she is not divorced, and the man starts to do main things in the house, do you think it changes gender roles?*

Expert: *I think that in some cases it may be so, but I don’t think it’s typical. As La Strada research shows, mostly children are left not for the care of fathers, but mainly for the care of grandmothers, aunts,*

older siblings. Then problems of men are mostly in drinking and idleness". (Interview with an expert in migration issues from a state research institute, Kyiv, June 24, 2008, originally in Russian).

My research confirmed that the reconstitution of gender role models *in mother-away migrant families* occurs mainly while women are absent from home. After the family is reunited, however, it is expected that the traditional gender contract would be reactivated.

This interviewee echoes that expectation:

Expert: *I have a brother who had been taking care of two teenage boys for two years while his wife was in Italy, and it was not a problem. It was OK.*

Interviewer: *And when she came back home, did anything change?*

Expert: *When she came back, it was the same as it had been before. You are back to Ukraine now!"* (Interview with a lawyer, an expert of a women's NGO, Lviv, 02.07.2008, originally in English).

Therefore, my conclusion is that the gendered effect of labour migration on the paternity status of Ukrainian men has only a short-term effect. It does not entail any tangible changes to the institution of fatherhood *per se*, given that men are ready to engage in *involved fathering* (Wall, Arnold, 2007) and assume traditional women's roles only conditionally and temporarily. Drawing on the LaRossa's *culture versus conduct* paradigm of fatherhood (La Rossa, 1988), I argue that in Ukraine, though the *absent mother migration scenario* may entail temporary changes in the conduct of fathers; it does not affect the *culture of fatherhood* in society at large. Nevertheless, this experience may have effect in the long-run if these changes draw public attention and transform the awareness of the society about the role, status and responsibilities of men to their family and children. It is possible, that these changes may become "an important precursor to a more inclusive gender movement that will incorporate both women and men on egalitarian principles" (Tolstokorova, N.d.).

Indeed, the social constructions of fatherhood and motherhood are intimately intertwined (Mummert, 2005). The experience of transnational parenthood discussed above confirms my earlier finding that the optimism about the empowering effect of migration on women, allegedly enabling them “to move away from situations where they lived under traditional, patriarchal authority to situations where they are empowered to exercise greater authority over their own lives” (United Nations, 2004: III) is not always pertinent. Although this optimistic assessment may be true for a few female migrants, more generally, the migration experience does not entail a more egalitarian gender order than currently exists in Ukrainian families. When they come back to Ukraine, women either have to return to the traditional *gender contract* they had had before migration, or their marriages dissolve because the women do not want to readjust to the traditional gender roles, while their husbands are not ready to agree to their new roles as bread-winners (Tolstokorova, 2008; Tolstokorova, 2009a). This opinion was expressed in expert interviews:

Expert 1: “It is an extremely complicated issue [...]. In the village she [a woman] works hard, because you know the situation. And now she can leave abroad, where she sees quite a different attitude to herself. This is why she does not want to go back to the same situation at home. It is an empowering effect, you see. This is one of the reasons why families collapse. Because she does not want to go back to conditions where she was powerless [...]. Because after coming back home she will teach her child that it is possible to live by other standards. She will not want her daughter to be treated the same way as she herself had been treated by her husband.” (Interview with the director of a think-tank on connections with the Ukrainian Diaspora, Lviv, 01.07.2008, originally in Ukrainian).

Expert 2: “A woman who works in rural areas in agriculture here, she works very hard, and she is not paid much. And of course, when the context changes, when she gets into other conditions of work, her

attitudes change too, it changes her mentality, and when a woman gets back home she refuses to accept the same realities as she had had before, because her mentality changes and her perceptions change.”

(Interview with an expert in migration issues from a state research institute, Kyiv, 24. 2008, originally in Russian).

In this situation, women face a dual loss. In the best-case scenario, they forfeit the possibility to benefit by *social remittances* earned due to migration, but preserve their marriage. Hence, they have to endure the forfeit of the individual human capital, but preserve the financial capital of the dual-earner family. In the worst-case scenario, they forfeit their marriage and therefore, an access to resources available due to the husband's contribution into the family budget. In doing so, they are forced to confront the shrinking financial capital necessary for investments into children. Furthermore, they have to tolerate the decreasing social capital due to the lost status of a “family woman”. Even more than that, they often have to cope with the feeling of *parental guilt* (Wall, Arnold, 2007) caused by stigmatization of mothers by their children, who consider them responsible for the dissolution of the family. In effect, women are forced into the circuit of “permanent transnational mothering”: to provide for the children as *solo mothers* (Hobson, 1994), they have to resort to re-emigration as a coping strategy and, therefore, re-separate from their children, returning to the roles of *pseudo-moms*. Hence, women become trapped in a vicious circle that requires them to choose between a bad scenario and the worst one. Hence, my research goes in line with the finding that “crossing borders for work purpose can be empowering, open up opportunities for challenging the established gender norms, but it can also lead to new dependencies and reinforce existing gender boundaries and hierarchies” (Morokvasic, 2007: 69-70).

6. Summary and conclusions

My analysis of the social dimension of Ukrainian economic mobility shows that transnational, multi-local families are now increasingly common, evincing the

importance of issues of parenthood, both motherhood and fatherhood, in the exploration of migration processes. However, neither the transnational nor gendered perspectives have been applied in its study in Ukrainian scholarship. The situation of men and fathers left behind, their relationships with their children and migrant wives, and the impact of transnational care-giving on children as well on the institution of motherhood are still largely undocumented. Equally, little is known about the gendered implications of migration for the transnational family space. Such observations point to the pertinence of the research on the Ukrainian family through a transnational and gendered lens, viewing it as a social process that involves not only the *fluxes of labour force*, but also human interaction by means of complex familial dynamics that explains the transmission of practices and norms related to caring, without excluding their transformation over time (Gherghel, Gall, 2005). Therefore, in my paper the analysis focused on the gender effect of migrancy on key family actors, both migrants and non-migrants, in the transnational perspective.

6.1. The price of “priceless motherhood”: a vignette of women’s burdens

I concur with LARG (2005: 30) in arguing that “transnationalism comes at a tremendous human cost for couples, extended families, mothers and children.” My opinion is that, for Ukrainian transnational mothers, as for others, too, transnational migration entails multiple exploitations and overexploitations. Thus, Mummert (2005) spotlights hiring and labour force control practices that not only foster but actually impose the transnational motherhood circuit. For example, Wilson (2000) explains how attempts to enforce a re-separation of production and reproduction serve as a strategy for leaving the labour force “unencumbered” by family responsibilities and, therefore, available for overexploitation, while Barndt (2002) showcases how this recruitment strategy creates a docile, vulnerable, exploitable labour pool. Other studies have paid close attention to the exploitative nature of the division of labour in transnational families, where the duties of non-migrant women expand to include traditionally male responsibilities, such as farming. Yet these

reconfigurations of labour are accompanied by the continued preservation of unequal gender divisions of labour in these families (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Messner, 2000), thus increasing women's double burden.

My research findings are consistent with these observations. As discussed above, for migrant mothers who often identify themselves as *pseudo-moms*, the *benefits of motherhood* may be only ephemeral, because they are based on mothers' hope that their sacrifice will be beneficial for their children, a hope that might not necessarily come true. At the same time, the *costs of motherhood* are often too high, as they entail a "vignette of women's burdens": overexploitation, multiple penalties, financial and emotional outsourcing. Women are penalized for their long-term absence abroad by the forfeiture of spousal and maternal rights, and lost contact with children that results from their estrangement during the mother's employment abroad. They undergo multidimensional exploitations: by employers, using their cheap domestic labour; by families back home, living on their remittances; by national economies, benefiting by the foreign currency they bring (Seguino, Grown, 2006); by ICT businesses, making fortunes on transnational mothers' *virtual connected relationship*; by financial corporations, earning interests on women's cash transfers; by transportation industries and postal services, profiting from the circulation of goods, resources, gifts and other forms of intimate exchange across multi-focal migrant families networks; and by private educational systems, benefiting by university fees paid with mothers' earnings abroad. Furthermore, even social remittances, and more specifically, *gender equality remittances* that women acquire through the exposure to more egalitarian cultures of Western democracies, may contribute to overexploitation of women. As discussed above, they perpetuate a *transnational motherhood circuit* and reinforce the status of *pseudo-moms*. Moreover, in transnational families, "mothers inadvertently go against the reconstitution of gender initiated by the institutional rearrangement of the family in women's migration," because acts of nurturing "reinforce conventional gender norms." (Parreñas, 2005: 333). Therefore, transnationalism "has ironically become a mechanism for the retention of gender norms and a force that impedes the

reconstitution of gender practices engendered by transnational mothering,” leading to “no-win situation” (Parreñas, 2005: 333). In this context, the value of *gender equality remittances* for women’s empowerment becomes dubious. Put another way, although gender roles in transnational families are, in essence, reconfigured, this change does not benefit women. As long as female migrants are forced to assume both the traditional male roles as providers and their traditional female roles as mothers, their responsibilities and workload only increase, and their double burden is exacerbated by distance. Hence, the cost of financial independence of post-Soviet Ukrainian women (which they in effect enjoyed already under the state socialism), received due to migration, does not offset the cost of financial, managerial and emotional responsibilities for the well-being of their families. Mothers still have to perform these duties in complicated conditions of cross-border parenting in addition to their paid employment abroad. Hence, the institution of motherhood as a conventional social role of women turns into a tool of their exploitation, exacerbated by the *vignette of multiple burdens* they bear due to transnationalism.

6.2. «À la guerre come à la guerre»

The answer to the question in the title of this paper, “where have all the mothers gone?,” which is a paraphrased quotation from a popular song, suggests that they have gone to the war. In the context of this paper, it is a war against poverty and destruction, and for the dignity and fulfilling future for the children of migrant mothers. It is an invisible war, because the battlefield is deployed within the bleeding hearts of women whose children, husbands, and elderly parents stay home unattended, while their love is being invested on the frontline, away from their homeland. The mothers’ only weapons in this war are the *labour of love* (Bock, Duden, 1977), *caregiving at distance* and *virtual intimacies*. However, it is questionable whether this weapon is powerful enough to enable the mothers’ triumphant return to Ukraine after the *Blitzkrieg*, or they will remain on the

battlefield as casualties in this war. Therefore, the question of the title persists, but in a somewhat different mode: will mothers ever come back?

For this and other reasons, I find the optimism of some experts regarding the stabilization of migration flows from Ukraine as a positive sign for the national economy to be myopic, because, metaphorically speaking, for the wounded heart, the stabilization of bleeding does not entail pain relief, nor it is a sign of recovery. While bleeding, albeit slowly, the body still suffers the loss of energy, which is not only painful, but is detrimental for the patient's health. If not stopped, it might be fatal. The body can recover only if the bleeding stops and the wound heals. Similarly, Ukraine will recover when mothers and fathers come back home to their children and when transnational families reunite. In current conditions, however, this perspective seems unrealistic, because labour migration from Ukraine has been acquiring a pattern of permanent emigration, despite the migrants' willingness to go back home (Chaloff, Eisenbaum, 2008). Thus, Ukrainian parents working abroad are running the risk to remain in countries of work as "immigrants forever" (Oliveira, 2000) and never to rejoin their families. In this way they are enforced to confront the *warfare of immigration* (Lind, 2004) endlessly.

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TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY IN ASSESSMENTS OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS OF STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NIŠ

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1. Family relationships from the view of the systemic approach

Systemic perspective was used in considering the family relationships. According to the systemic approach to family, family functioning cannot be understood as a sum of individual family members' functioning. Family is a system composed of subsystems' components: partner subsystem, parent subsystem, the subsystem formed by children and at the same time family is seen as a part of the ecological suprasystem with which it exchanges energy and information. For understanding of the way family functions it is very important to understand the relationship between these subsystems as well as the relationship between the family and its surrounding. Applying the general systems theory on family and its functioning, it can be said that the parts of the family - its subsystems are in a constant exchanging, and that the behaviour of certain members cannot be understood in isolation from the other part of the subsystem. The family as a system works through transactional patterns which consist of repeated interactions which establish the pattern of behaviour. During the time, every family develops patterns of interaction which draw the scale of family members' behaviour and ease the interaction among them. A functional family structure is needed in order to

accomplish the family tasks in supporting the individualism and at the same time giving the sense of belonging and community. For understanding of the functioning of family system it is important to understand the social constructivism, and in that context to understand family roles and rules of family functioning, which are inseparable from the cultural frame and the patterns of functioning which exist in a certain social milieu.

The parents' subsystem is very important for the child's development, because what the child sees in his family will become a part of his values and expectations from the outside world. If there is any kind of dysfunction in the parents' subsystem, it will reflect and affect the family, and it will transmit through generations because parent functioning is related to partner functioning and the tensions which exist within partner relations will reflect on the parental functioning. In families with problematic parent functioning, there is often a problem about establishing coalitions, most often between a mother and a child against the authority of the father, which diminishes the hierarchic structure of the family and takes the power of the parental alliance. Parents often have two different styles of implementing control, which is conditioned by establishing different coalitions in the family.

2. The parenting style of the parents according to the theoretical concept of

D. Baumrind

Of great importance for our research is the theoretical concept of D. Baumrind (Baumrind, 1966) who, relying on the Shaffer's model, defined three main types of parent-child relationship: authoritarian, authoritative and permissive. The authoritarian parenting style, according to Baumrind refers to the behaviour of the parents who have high expectations and demands from their children, primarily because they are intolerant and do not behave properly. These parents are strict, expect obedience and express power whenever their children misbehave. Authoritarian parents express their expectations without discussing with their

children the reasons which stand behind these rules. For example authoritarian parents insist on “you must be excellent at school... because I say so”. These parents show high level of expectancy and control and they do not have bidirectional communication with their children (Baumrind, 1968).

The authoritative parenting style according to Baumrind is characterized by parents who encourage verbal communication and child’s initiative and they also make conclusions together. Authoritative parents recognize their rights as older persons, but also the special interest of the child, they recognize the current qualities of the child but also set standards for future behaviour. They use their common sense but also use power in order to accomplish their goals. Their decisions are based on communication and agreement, and not only on child’s wishes nor on their wishes because they do not consider themselves as perfect and unable to make mistakes. Authoritative style is characterized by a relatively high control combined with rationalism and emotions adequate for the child’s age. Authoritative parents express general acceptance accompanied by verbal communication, which most often results in successful adaptation to independence and social responsibility. What is important to notice when authoritative parents are in question is the question of rational behaviour of the parents and related to that it is important to mention the Maloney’s statement (Maloney, 2010), who believes that on a more experienced level, a large number of parents behaves intuitively, which amongst other things, can explain the problems which appear between the parent and the child.

Opposite to the authoritative parents, the permissive parents, according to Baumrind, try not to punish their children but to accept the impulses, wishes and acts of the child. They require less responsibility in the household and adequate behaviour, but what they do is that they actually present themselves to the child as a tool which can be used whenever the child wants, and not as an active mean responsible for shaping and changing his current or future behaviour. These parents allow their child to organize his activities, they avoid taking control the best they can, and do not encourage their child to respect the standards defined by the outside

world. Permissive parents spend much more time responding than demanding. The permissive style is characterized by low control and requests accompanied by general acceptance of the child which results in low social responsibility and false independence of the child.

In her later work (Baumrind, 1991), Baumrind adds one more parenting style, neglectful. Those parents are neither requesting nor responding, they do not even try to support but they can constantly refuse or even completely neglect their responsibilities towards the child.

3. Methodological approach to the problem

The aim of the research was to examine the differences in estimates of family relations on the basis of vignettes depending on gender of parents. We assumed that the estimates of family relationships are more positive when the fathers are represented as authoritarian and mothers as permissive. The following instruments were used in the research: The Index of Family Relations (Hudson, 1982) and vignettes in which several parenting styles were presented. Five vignettes are used for describing the parenting style of the father and of the mother and those were *authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, inconsistent and indifferent*. The content of the vignettes was, for example, for the authoritarian style of the father: Dejan's teacher called from to school to tell his father that Dejan signed his father on the test. When Dejan came home from school, his father yelled at him because he used his father's name for the test. He said to Dejan: "Go to your room and do not go out until I say so". For the indifferent style of the mother, the content of the vignette was: "Milica has Serbian language test and she needs help. Her mother is in the living room and watches some TV show. When Milica tried to talk to her mother, the mother said: 'Don't bother me, it's the most interesting part now, you can do it by yourself'". Situations represented in the vignettes were the ones taken from everyday family life with one of the parents and a child aged twelve and thirteen.

Below the vignettes there were items of the Index of Family Relations (IFR, whose author is Hudson, 1982). This questionnaire should determine to what extent is the family, in which the situation takes place, happy or satisfied (for example “*Members of this family are really good to each other*”, or “*There is a lot of tension in this family*”). Hudson in his study found that the internal consistency of the IFR questionnaire ranges from 0.91 to 0.98 on three different samples of students, and also in our research study this questionnaire showed high internal consistency. It consists of twenty-five Likert’s type items.

The research was conducted in May 2011 at the Faculty of Philosophy, the Faculty of Science, the Faculty of Electronic and Mechanical Engineering in Niš. The total number of students who filled out the questionnaire is 607, but 584 of them filled the questionnaire properly. There are 316 male students and 268 female students, it means that 54% of the samples are male students, and 46% are female.

4. Results of the research and interpretation of the results

In the vignettes, the short stories many different parenting styles were shown, the parenting styles of the father and of the mother were shown separately and those were: *authoritarian, authoritative, permissive and inconsistent and indifferent*. Based on the description of the parents’ acts towards the child the students evaluated the family, in which the situation took place, as a whole. The assessments referred to different positive and negative aspects of family functioning, which can be found in the IFR questionnaire. The scores on this scale of family relationships are transformed on the scale from 0 to 100 and are oriented in that way that *higher scores show family relationships as worse, while lower scores show family relationships as better*. The results are shown in Table 1.

From this data we can conclude that the family relationships are better evaluated when the actor of the story is the father rather than the mother in every parenting style, except for the inconsistent style where the difference in evaluations, when the actors of the stories are of different gender, is not statistically significant.

Also relatively small differences were obtained between the assessment of family relationships when the actors' gender in the story is different and when their use of authoritarian and indifferent educational style are in question. The greatest difference in the assessment of family relationships was obtained in the permissive educational style between different genders. Respondents were positive in assessing the family relationships when the protagonist of the story is the father, which is in the opposition to the previously established hypothesis.

Table 1 Differences in evaluations of the family relationships when the father and mother apply the same parenting style

	Father		Mother		t	sig.	r
	AS	SD	AS	SD			
Authoritarian	53,4	17,4	55,3	14,1	-2,649	0,008	0,11
Authoritative	26,6	14,0	32,0	15,8	-9,159	p<0,001	0,35
Permissive	27,7	15,0	36,7	15,2	-15,123	p<0,001	0,53
Indifferent	56,9	13,0	59,3	13,4	-4,3570	p<0,001	0,18
Inconsistent	36,3	14,4	35,5	16,5	,971	0,332	0,08

The unexpected direction of the differences in favour of better evaluation of the families where the father applies the permissive style can be partly explained by the fact that children tend to better assess every situation, in which the actor is the father, especially in the case of permissiveness. Respondents were generally stricter when assessing vignettes where the mother is the actor. The expectations from mothers are higher in terms of tenderness, support, care and control, therefore the assessments is more rigorous. The permissiveness of the father is more preferred in the assessment of male and female students, while the permissiveness of mothers is rarely approved by the students, which can be seen in the Table 1. That is the general picture of the families, where the mother is usually the one who insist more

on completing the tasks, especially those related to school, so it is expected from her not to give up her goals easily. Children willingly accept the *permissiveness* of the fathers who in that way easily get children's affection. The results from research can be compared to the results of Milevsky and colleagues (Milevsky, 2007) who researched the correlation between the parental educational styles with self-esteem, depression and life satisfaction of the adolescents. They stated the value of the authoritative parenting style of the mother for the previously mentioned results, but the contribution of the father was different, their results show that the permissiveness of the fathers is not so harmful for the development of the child, as the permissiveness of the mothers is. Although the fathers start to have more important roles in the life of their children, they still state that the permissiveness of the father cannot be as harmful as the permissiveness of the mother. These findings are in favour of the contemporary tendencies that are present in family functioning, and refer to a different distribution of power and family roles, which is more based on the flexible acceptance of family roles, although those results can also refer to the inversion of the roles in relation to the permissiveness of the mother and the father.

The substantial difference can also be seen in the situation where the actors, the father and the mother, apply the authoritative parenting style. The hypothesis is confirmed when the authoritative style and gender are in question. The families in which the father expresses authoritarian style were more positively assessed compared to the family relationships where the mother expresses the same educational style. It is more according to the expectations that the father should demand obedience, to have a sharp tongue and to determine harsher punishments. The authoritarianism of the mother does not correspond to the usual prototype of mother-child relation, and that is the reason why those kinds of families are evaluated as dysfunctional. Based on the results in Table 1 our expectation related to the difference in evaluating the authoritarianism of the father and mother is confirmed. The authoritarianism of the father is more acceptable than the authoritarianism of the mother. The perceptions of parental styles may be associated

with variety of beliefs that exist in a given culture, for example, a father should be strict and fair, and mother should be gentle and supportive. These kinds of beliefs were present in the Serbian patriarchal culture where all those roles were complementary. According to many authors, the love of the father towards the child completes a different role than the love of the mother. While the maternal love is unconditional, the paternal love is conditioned by the child's behaviour, the child must earn his love, fulfilling the expectations of the father and in order to do that, the child must be subordinate to the father.

It has been shown in many researches that the emotional expression and the warmth of the mother have positive effect on the child's development in many different stages of his development (Todorovic, 2004), while the expectations of the father are more likely to be directed towards making demands and boundaries. Therefore it is less probable that the family context expressing the mother's authoritarianism will be understood in the same way as the family context expressing the authoritarianism of the father. The authors McGillicuddy and De Lisi (McGillicuddy and De Lisi, 2007) have determined that there are differences in the parenting styles of the mothers and fathers according to the adolescents' beliefs. The adolescents saw the family relationships as much more negative when the mothers were presented with the authoritarian parenting style than when the fathers represented the same parenting style. There were also differences when the permissive parenting style was in question. When the fathers were presented with the permissive parenting style, the adolescents assessed the family relationships worse than when the mothers were presented with the same style. The given result show the existence of the differences which exist in the adolescents' beliefs, which are most probably culturally conditioned. It is obvious that the American society promotes different system values related to the parents' roles, the mother is still expected to be permissive which is probably related to women's education which has been supported greatly in the socialistic society that promoted women's occupation as a social value. The idealism of the American society is still a woman who takes care of the children, who has given up her career in order to pay her full

attention to her family and children which furthermore results in permissiveness as the main expectation from the mothers. In our social context multiple roles of the modern woman's functioning are being valued as a model, which than reflects on woman's maternal role with certain problems that can emanate from that. The results of the research on the parenting style (Matejevic, 2012) show that the first parenting style, when the mothers are in question, is based on rejecting of the mothers, which can be very problematic for the child's development because it effects in his anxiousness and low self-esteem in adolescent stage. There is a question what will happen when the contemporary and traditional will cross roads and what the effects of those changes will be, taking into consideration that certain ambivalence appears which can be very problematic and frustrating.

The results of this research show that any parenting styles presented by the mother will not be estimated in a good way as the parenting style of the father will be. Are the results maybe a sign of the mothers' preoccupation which results in their inadequateness, or the problem is in the presence of the traditional relationships and the expectations of the mother? Our respondents are strict in the evaluation the mother's acts but that is not the case with the acts of the father. This results also refer to the presence of the both traditional and contemporary in the family relationships as the fact that a great strictness and discipline is expected from the father as it was usual in the Serbian patriarchal culture, but the role of the father has also changed as the time was changing and so was the society. In the same context, the expectations of the mother have also changed though time and now the mother, in the contemporary family also demands certain tasks which can probably relate to the feeling of safety that the family offers and which is very important for the outcomes of adolescents' development. Basically, adolescents still see their parents' roles as complementary although that complementary is nowadays different compared to the past, where the strictness was the father's feature and the permissiveness – mother's. Transition has brought a different redistribution of the indulgence and the sternness, but the complementarity of the roles is still kept. There is a question what to do with the expectations according to which the

agreement of the parents, relating to the parenting style, is something which should be insisted on? It seems that the complementarity is so deeply rooted in the expectations related to the educational techniques of parents that it represents a pattern of a parental functioning in our culture.

5. Conclusion

The results of our research have shown that the gender of an actor of the story is important for assessments of competent parental functioning. Families in vignettes in which the main actor is a mother have been assessed consistently worse than families in which the actor is a father. These findings may be associated with the stereotypes which exist in our culture and which refer to the double standards, and thus to the double criteria in assessing the adequacy of the behaviour of men and women (in our research - fathers and mothers). There is a tendency to assess maternal behaviour more critically due to the presence of the stereotype that she is responsible, “guilty” for the upbringing of children. By virtue of being a mother, she is expected to know and to be able to do more than fathers. One could say that the criticism of mothers’ actions comes from a bigger responsibility that is attributed to her upbringing and care of children, and the expectation that she fits in that role better, simply, by following the maternal instinct. The results show that competent parenting of fathers is better estimated than that of mothers; and inadequate upbringing actions of fathers are less disapproved than those of mothers. Probably the expectations are lower when it comes to the upbringing style of fathers, as it is more common that fathers are impatient and authoritarian, and when they exert authoritative, especially permissive educational style, it is valued better. From the standpoint of a family as a system, competent parenting of fathers is often a reflection of a satisfying partner relationship, and in this regard, a better evaluation is the evaluation of families in which a father behaves competently in an upbringing role. The obtained results also indicate that the differences between our culture and the American culture contribute to the creation of different expectations regarding the competence of parents. In the American culture, fathers’

permissiveness is perceived as a problematic functioning; in our country, fathers' permissiveness is accepted as an adequate parental functioning. If one looks at things circularly from the system perspective, then it is certainly important to understand the different positioning of fathers in relation to the diversity of a woman or a mother in the American and in our culture, hence the different expectations in relation to the distribution of family roles. The obtained results have started certain questions and pointed out the existence of certain ambivalence in relation to the perception of the parental role, which requires further research and study. However, in the end, we should say that the transition contributed to the creation of various forms of chaotic functioning, as reflected in family relationships and parental roles.

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PARENTAL STYLES IN THE PROCESS OF EMOTIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN IN CONTEMPORARY MONTENEGRIN FAMILIES

Jelena Ćeriman

“I was their father and their mother”.³¹ The term is used to emphasize that one person is the actor in everything that parenthood means but also points to the existence of a notion of two different parental roles. What does it mean in such a case to be a father, and what to be a mother, especially if both roles are performed by the same person? In this case, what thoughts, feelings and activity characterize the maternal role, and what characterizes fatherly role? How often and in which situations have you heard men utter "I was their mother and father," and how often and when do women?

As for other social roles, the success or failure of "being a mother" or "being a father" is determined by a number of criteria that set priorities and determine the characteristics and skills of those who play the role of parents. The attitude that women are more skilled than men to play this role can be heard frequently. Those who support this attitude with a whole range of policies and practices are preparing

³¹ Center for Ethics, Law and Applied Philosophy's project "Gender perspectives in family socialization" is prepared within the framework of the Regional Research Promotion Programme in the Western Balkans, which is run by the University of Fribourg upon a mandate of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, SDC, Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. The views expressed in the paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent opinions of the SDC and the University of Fribourg.

and/or pushing women into the role of mother justifying the same with the historical legacy of women caring for children, and the "natural properties" of women.

The subject of this paper is the parental styles in the socialization process of children in Montenegrin families. The data was obtained in the research of 27 families in 8 municipalities of Montenegro (details about the sample will be shown in the section on methodology). Data presented in this paper should be considered in accordance with the changes in the Montenegrin society - economic crisis, privatization, redefining of gender roles etc. Specifically, according to the study of social status and quality of life of women and men in Montenegro (Blagojevic, 2008) the largest gender inequalities in the households are linked to the exploitation of women's resources. Men and women share more of those parenting activities that include play, communication, etc. Hence, the role of the father in the upbringing of children is one of the assistance in relation to the role of the mother. Fathers engage in leisure activities with their children while mothers perform physically and emotionally more demanding care activities and education of children. Also, according to the answers of both women and men in this study, women predominantly "sacrifice for kids" and have the role of "emotional managers" in the family (idem, 2008: 51). "Sacrifice" which is the backbone of this kind of parenting, but also of the functioning of the household, is usually assumed by men and by women, and points to the "bearing of the problem." A family atmosphere where there is a "relationship of bearing" is a specific context in which socialization of children is carried out. In such a context the effort of individuals to share and understand the feelings and position of others and to understand their causes and consequences is lacking. Demonstrating the power relationship between men and women in the family, "sacrifice" indicates a lack of intimacy, affection, harmony and absence of emotional empathy.

Emotional Socialization

Emotional socialization (or otherwise, socialization of sentiments or sensitivity) is part of a wider process of socialization and includes, among other things, the development of social self and the development of empathic abilities; thereby, sensitivity can be defined as *"a set of behaviours and complex processes underlying the behaviour of individuals, social groups and entire communities and which are determined to establish and maintain social relationships..."* (Nikolic, 2005: 277, italics in original). One of the aspects of general emotional socialization represents the relationship of fatherhood and motherhood, as well as the relationship between a parent and child. Relationships between parents and children can vary according to which principles and methods of educational practices are parents guided by during the educational process in the family. Parental style can therefore be defined as a fairly consistent pattern of behaviour of parents establishing the overall relationship with the children. Parental styles represent a two-way interaction between parents and children. The child sees the parental styles as a model of parental behaviour and reacts in a certain way to those styles. Parents, however, experience the child's reaction as corroboration or denial of their actions.

Most of the research shows that the foundation of parental behaviour is based on two dimensions - emotionality and control, regardless of the age of the child that parents care for (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Peterson & Rollins, 1987). Emotionality dimension refers to the emotions that a parent is experiencing and showing while interacting with the child. Emotionally "warm" parents accept their children and provide them with support, attention and care, while emotionally "cold" parents ignore, reject and criticize their children. The dimension of control refers to the actions of parents which effect change in children's behaviour and internal states of the child. Parents who apply strong control keep a close eye whether the child abides by the rules they set, and parents who apply weak control set fewer rules or do not set the rules themselves and give children greater freedom of behaviour and decision-making. There are several typologies of parental styles that are based on these dimensions, one of them is Shefor's typology (according to

Nikolić, 2005: 287) of prevailing strategies of emotional exchange, according to which there are four defined models of father-child and mother-child, and it will be used in this analysis:

1. High control - high emotional warmth is used in parenting in which liberal parent-child relationship prevails;
2. Low control - high emotional warmth is used in parenting in which permissive parent-child relationship prevails;
3. High control - low emotional warmth is used in parenting in which authoritarian model of parent-child relationship prevails;
4. Low control - low emotional warmth is used in parenting in which a neglecting parent-child relationship prevails

It is believed that the development of certain traits and future personality of the child depends on the general attitude towards the child, the general atmosphere in the family, and especially the feeling of security of the child that the parents love him and care about him. Sensibility is not learned only as an ideal, but also as a "practical source for interaction, concrete response to various children's attempts to express an attitude" (Gordon, 1981: 585).

Strategies of emotional socialization of boys and girls will depend on the perception of masculinity and femininity in both social as well as in the individual perception. The specifics of parental styles and their degree of "emotional participation" in the process of socialization of children depend on the perception of gender roles in a particular social context and the understanding about the existence of "implied" attributes of men and women.

Methodology

The study encompassed 27 families from 8 municipalities in Montenegro: Podgorica, Nikšić, Tivat, Herceg Novi, Savnik, Bar, Kolašin and Rožaje. Total number of research subjects was 54. Territorial distribution of research subjects was

as follows: urban population accounted for 66.7% of the sample, while rural population accounted for 33.3%.

Research subjects were chosen with respect to several criteria, of which the most important is that couples who have children and live with them in the same household were chosen. Another criterion that was important to be met was that the research subjects have a son and a daughter, which was independent of the total number of children. In addition, only those parents whose children were aged 2 to 12 years were made part of the sample. According to the socioeconomic status of subjects of the study, we got the following distribution: among the employed the most numerous are officials and technicians 42.6%, then highly-skilled, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers which make 18.5%, then experts 22.2%, unemployed³² 11.1% and small entrepreneurs and self-employed 5.6%. Distribution of educational levels of the research subjects is as follows: the most numerous are those with high school education 77.8% (including technical secondary schools and schools for workers' occupations) and with higher education 22.2%. None of the subjects had only primary school education or had a post-graduate degree as their highest level of education.

Parents provided information on various aspects of parenting and everyday life in the household in individual interviews. Field research was conducted during April, May, June and July 2012. Interview covered different areas of family life and parenting such as: socio-demographic indicators, marriage and family relations, distribution of responsibility and power in the household, and the views of parents and their educational practices. Maybe someone will attribute a remark on the findings presented in this paper that they are one-sided since the data in the survey was obtained only from married couples with children. However, I am of the opinion that this method can get interesting and certainly essential insight into parenting practices in families whose structure is in the public discourse of the Montenegrin society presented as the norm.

³² It refers to families in which one spouse is employed, and the other is unemployed. Families in which both spouses are unemployed are not represented in the sample. If someone earns a profit in the 'gray economy' he/she was counted as employed.

As a framework for the analysis of data obtained in the field study I used grounded theory of Strauss and Corbin (Corbin, Strauss, 1990). Following table provides an overview of the phases and the steps in the process of building grounded theory as it has been applied during the study.

Table 1 The Process of Building Grounded Theory

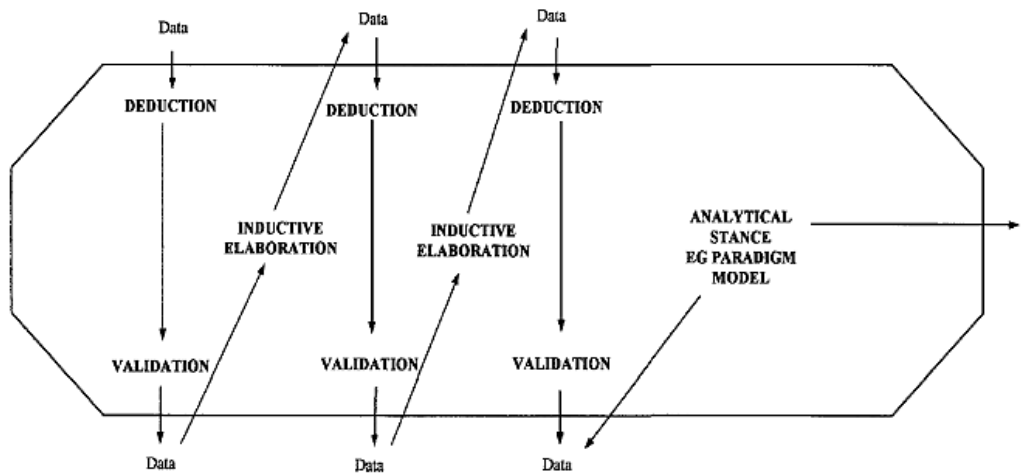
PHASE	ACTIVITY	RATIONALE
Selecting cases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Theoretical, not random, sampling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focuses efforts on theoretically useful cases (e.g., those that test and/or extend theory)
Entering the field	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overlap data collection and analysis Flexible and opportunistic data collection methods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Simultaneous analysis reveals helpful adjustments to data collection Allows researchers to take advantage of emerging themes
Analysing data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use open coding Use axial coding Use selective coding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Develop concepts, categories and properties Develop connections between a category and its sub-categories Integrate categories to build theoretical framework All forms of coding enhance internal validity
Theoretical sampling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Literal and theoretical replication across cases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Confirms, extends, and sharpens theoretical framework
Reaching closure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Theoretical saturation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ends process when marginal improvement becomes small
Literature comparison phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Comparisons with conflicting frameworks Comparisons with similar frameworks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improves external validity by establishing the domain to which the study's findings can be generalized

Source: Pandit, internet.

Being one of the key concepts for the understanding of grounded theory - constant comparative method, Figure 1 shows the cyclic process of reflection and

comparison of old and new materials that can be repeated several times, as well as the place of induction, deduction and validation in grounded theory analysis.

Figure 1 Paradigm model of Strauss and Corbin



Source: Heath, Cowley, 2004: 145.

In this paper few aspects of emotional socialization of children in the family will be analysed, such as: socialization context, agents of socialization - parents as well as parental styles, but not internalization of socialization' norms by children.

The basic dimensions of parental styles that I have investigated are control and emotionality. Control is examined through disciplining - punishment, banning, criticizing, reward and approval, controlling the use of computers and insisting on the independence of the child - through rules and obligations in household. The second dimension covers wide fields of activities of which are included: the expressions of attention, love and care, familiarity with child and knowledge about the child, as well as speaking with the child. The starting research assumption is that parents' attitudes toward gender roles in society will affect the selection of specific parental style.

Results

The data obtained in the study show that parents of researched families see the manner and intensity of expressing emotions towards children as the main line of division of maternal and paternal roles.

"Well, the father is, well, some stability in the life of every child, because he is there to put some prohibitions that... and a mother... is like every mother, gentle. So, the father is there to provide, support or deny something or to lash out verbally at a child and I mean this, and I think that they get first what the father says before what their mother says." (mother, unemployed, high school, urban area)

"Well, the mother is certainly important. I think both are of course. The mother because she gives children the women's love, protection, comfort, tenderness. These are some of the reasons... Maybe she spends a little more time with them. You know how big are the feelings that a mother has towards children and consequently children express different feelings to the mother than to the father (...) I think that the father is the pillar of the family. He is the one who is in some ways more stringent perhaps, builds authority. He is the one who ensures safety. Those are some basic features. I think that to a certain extent the positions are different...that the position of the father and the mother and in that sense...just like that..." (father, worker, high school, urban area)

"...From that perspective, I am not satisfied with her relationship with them because it's too emotional and too much is a certain way, like, in an emotional way, bonding (...) I mean, I love my kids as much as she does, but she shows it to them in a spectacular way. So I'm the bogeyman, and she is the prince on a white horse, that (...) My wish is that my children grow up in a better way, that they have better quality in growing up, become people, in the true sense, and I want to do everything that there is to make it so, and whether they considered me the bogeyman now, or will they think of me as

some small rod or a stick, it is less important to me, let them think of me like that, just let them not be bad people tomorrow, not to turn to the bad side, on the street, on this or that, now that I would not allow, so let them think of me as they want for now." (father, clerk, high school, urban area)

In the specified statements of research subjects motherhood is seen as a uniform role that is based on the unvaried experience of women regarding birth, emotions and control. In contrast to such conceived role of the mother is the role of the father who should compensate the "sensitivity" of mothers towards their children.

"What do they say...? You only have one mother. She gives birth to a child. She provides for the children... she is more forgiving, gentler, unlike the father. She is weaker... so... how can I say... she is in the equilibrium with children, and so on (...) a father is important to children because he represents greater fear than... a mother... So children have more respect for the father. They have their own, so to say, the father and the mother have their own characteristics that help the children develop." (mother, worker, high school, urban area)

"Well, I mean... the act of birth; children have an unbreakable bond with their mother. Just through the act of giving birth. So, this closeness between mother and child means a lot, from birth onwards. Throughout childhood education is important. For every father usually does not have much time, that's why fathers are not home much. That's why mostly... but my mother is the one... that should be non-stop present in the upbringing of children." (mother, employee, technician, rural area)

"The mother is the one who brings children into the world, who gives birth, who is pregnant, and gives birth. Somehow I think it is from the very moment of conception that the mother simply has an unbreakable bond with children." (father, clerk, high school, rural area)

The concept of naturalness is used in the interpretation of gender roles in the family, in the first place the "natural" connection between a mother and a child,

while excluding the possibility of motherhood as a result of adoption of a child or the possibility of surrogate motherhood. The content of parental (paternal and maternal) roles is closely associated with gender symbolism. The greater involvement of mothers in raising and educating children in relation to the involvement of fathers is justified by the natural connection of mother and child. The birth of a child, in this case, is necessary and sufficient to ensure the commitment to the "maternal role". At this point it should be said that by stating this I do not want to deny that there are practical and conceptual links between the maternal and the feminine, but rather to point out that in the contemporary Montenegrin society, the role of the father and the mother are completely gender-specific.

"Well, why is the mother important to the children... well, the mother, well, the name alone, the feeling alone, mother, motherhood, says it all. Yet this parental feeling no matter how much a person has a male parent, or possesses those qualities of sensitivity he cannot express them in the right way like a mother can. If not for anything else but this I think is the reason enough to understand what I'm talking about." (father, clerk, high school, rural area)

Explaining the role of the mother with the notion itself "...well, the mother, well, the name alone" indicates the implication of the role of a mother and not the re-examination of this concept, and therefore the imposition/taking over of everything, all of the implied duties, responsibilities and emotions that are marked with same name.

"The mother is very important to children, as much as the father. So the both are very important figures in the upbringing of children. Because they pick up from each character something. So the mother serves for one thing, the father for the other thing, both are there to provide a lot of love, but both are very important in the upbringing. Well, the mother is important to provide that, as it is said, "motherly love" so can the father, so this means that she is present in each... each of their upbringings, in solving their

problems, that she provides them warmth, love, and some orientation in life. What do I know, my husband also provides this in this case and so I cannot determine somehow the role of father-mother." (mother, manager, high school, rural area)

"Well, maybe, maybe father in our society is like the head of the family, let's say, maybe he is that security and some support and something. Therefore I can say he is significant because of that. As second, in upbringing, in love, in that I do not see the difference between a father and a mother. It should not be in it." (father, craft-worker, urban area)

In these statements, it is noticeable that parents make a difference in the roles of mother and father, "the mother serves for one thing, the father for other thing", "father, in our society is like the head of the family", "that security and some support"; also, although parents say that between the roles of mother and father should not be a difference it is significant that the role of mothers in parental statements is problematized by the concept of "maternal love".

The question is raised: how is this understanding of men and women incorporated into the parental styles of fathers and mothers?

Control Dimension

Independence

The dimension of independence was analysed through a child's participation in the households' work and a child involvement in the process of decision-making in the family.

When it comes to performing certain work in the household, most of the children's parents define what obligations children will have:

"So, most often, they need to clean their room, to clean their place where they have school supplies, clothing, and that's it." (mother, worker, rural areas, with sons - 12 and 8 years old, and a daughter - 6 years old)

"I have never thought that children should be encumbered with some responsibilities in the house, but I'm not a supporter of the opposite either, simply, they should learn about discipline and order, at least to arrange their stuff and clean the room, yet I think they are grown up enough already to do that. In any case, she is a big help for me, especially since this woman does not work for us, she and son, he also helps at least picks up toys or vacuums, or dusts which means a lot to me." (mother, employee, high school diploma, urban area, daughter - 12 yrs., son - 11 yrs.)

Some parents do not define responsibilities for their children; instead of that children themselves want to work:

"But she does it all by herself. Believe me; I do not need to speak to her: do this or do that. She alone knows when to get up, get dressed first, of course, and get ready. If I am at home I give her breakfast, if I am not, there is a grandmother to give her breakfast. Although she herself would know to prepare a meal but...there is always someone to prepare her a meal. And then, when I am at work she cleans up the rooms and everything else. Believe me as if I were there. I have never told her you need to do that. But she simply realized that... all alone certainly, even when she has been in the kindergarten, teacher told me that no one cleans the classroom and returns everything to its place as she does (...) And he...no, neither he or she has obligations in the household, but he's probably watching her how she does it and he likes to participate (...) or, when I am not there, when I'm at work, she probably feels like older sister and she is the one that says we need to do that and he is younger so she gives him obligations." (mother, expert, with faculty diploma, daughter – 9 yrs., sons – 6 and 3 yrs. old).

"Well since she is an excellent student with an average 5.00 I do not bother her with a lot of work at home, her room must be clean (...) for example, now when there are summer holidays she helps watering flowers and some other little things but since she is 11 years old almost 12 I do not bother her with some additional physical work around the house. Although

I am in that age, for example, in that age, when I was little, I knew I had to remove dishes from the table and wash them and clean the house because both of my parents were working as well as my husband and I now, but somehow I am on that topic a little...she is a girl, there is enough time, and she will work hard in her life. Someone will carry the burden for her, so that she can enjoy her childhood.“ (mother, employee, with high school diploma, rural area, daughter – 12 yrs., son – 7 yrs. old)

Almost all parents in our sample defined responsibilities to their children in the household, but there are noticeable differences in the importance that parents attach to housework. For some, it means learning discipline and getting used to the "order and work as a duty", while for the others this meaning is combined with the necessary assistance in performing household chores. This is the case for mothers who are "overworked", so for them children assistance is significant. In those cases, parents apply strict control of children's performance of duties.

There are also parents who believe that children should gradually be introduced to the responsibilities of adults, mostly because they feel that they are still "small" or they believe that children's primary focus should be education or school obligations. It is significant that some mothers release their daughters from domestic work because they think those obligations will surely wait for them when they grow up since "they are women". In this way, mothers actually talk about their difficult position in the household and the unequal distribution of duties and responsibilities. In these situations there is a low control of children.

There is a kind of pseudo solidarity with a female child in these attitudes. Although mothers are saying that they are "saving" daughters I believe this practice also carries meaning that is potentially harmful. In the first place, the atmosphere that is created by this attitude carries with it a tendency toward certain ways of relating to the family members as well as to the contacts outside the home. In this way the situation is presented as unchangeable to the daughter, and that implies some sacrifice (either in the type of responsibilities that should be endured in certain situations or through the lack of choice in everyday life). On the other hand, as it

will be seen in the following examples, the needs of the male child are disregarded because he can "manage it since he is a man." Paradoxically, the situation in which the initial idea is to change the existing inequalities, in fact justifies inequalities in gender relations and roles because it confirms them in this way.

In terms of the amount of children's obligations there are no significant difference between boys and girls, but the difference is occurring with the age of the child (older children have more obligations). Gender differences are, however, evident in the kind of obligations that mothers and fathers give to their children. These are manifested in certain families division as "feminine" and "masculine" jobs.

Participation in the Decision-Making Process

When it comes to participation in decision-making, parents in our sample include their children most often in decision-making at the family level and in situations when there is a need of buying toys, children's books, clothes and shoes. The involvement of children in the process of decision-making increases with the age of the child, regardless of child's gender. If it comes to buying something which is, in the opinion of parents, outside the framework of gender roles of boys and girls, the final decision on whether to buy the required thing or not parents make themselves, which means that their value orientation plays a crucial role in making a decision. In these cases strong control is applied.

"M³³: Would you buy a kitchen or a doll to your son if he asks for it?"

P: I'd first, well, inquire why he wants that, then I'd, well, then I will decide whether to buy it or not. " (father, small entrepreneurs, high school diploma, rural area)

Control of Using the Computers

³³ M is for moderator, P is for parent.

Parents listed as negative social changes that accompany technological advances. They compare changes of value attitudes of young people with the time in which they grew up. Although parents are also stating the possibilities of technological progress, they find it difficult to accept the increasing presence of technology in the growing up period of children.

"Before, there was a better time to raise children, I think, than today. And the differences are... we did not have a computer or perhaps, even this laptop, even not half of what kids today have. I think children before had better growing up period than the one growing up today. Those children before were happier and more satisfied, because today it is a more modern time, and I think more harmful and damaging to our children." (mother, worker, high school diploma, rural area)

"...It started with computers and everything else while I still do not allow that to my children. Well, more to spend time in the fresh air rather than looking at the computer, I think even for them it's not healthy, and it's nicer for them to play, rather than sit and watch the computer and play computer games. Computers are something that can help, only you need to know how to use them, so it should not be misused, so for those children, it does not matter if they are five or ten or fifteen years old to sit five hours next to the computer... It is nicer to play outside, rather than play on a computer." (mother, worker, high school diploma, urban area)

"Today, children are more introverted, more asocial, they all have computers, spend time with them. I'm not saying that's bad, but I personally do not like it. I like to play with friends in person, and not five people in five regions of the world playing one game. I do not know what kind of communication is that." (mother, expert, faculty diploma, urban area)

"A child today...is more mature at the age of 5 than we were at the age of 15. These are computers; they can learn everything on them today. You cannot lie to them anything. In the past, our parents... would say "let's get

out” and that is a finished story you can’t see anywhere that, not even read about...compared to today’s children they can learn all possible things from the computer. Well there is a difference...there is a difference. When I was 12 years old I practically didn’t know some of the things they know today, 99% they know more than I knew then. It is the computer and everything is known earlier.” (Father, unemployed, high school diploma, rural)

“Here, I had a case about a month ago, we watched a movie together, domestic, which was related to the topic of the LGB population, how do they call them, and all three of us watched it, M. asked to watch again, to turn it on, that is, you simply have to include children. Kids need to know that there are other things, no matter how much it is unusual to you no matter how much it is difficult for you, but you cannot...they know everything. We ourselves say that there are a lot of these Internets, there are no things they do not know. We think that they do not know a lot, they know a lot, more than we think.” (father, expert faculty diploma, urban area)

All parents in our sample who have a computer, exercise control of content to which the child has access in this way. Differences in whether it is a selective control (prohibition of viewing certain content) or complete control (prohibition of the use of computers) are reflected in the value judgments of parents, regarding use of technology in their everyday lives, as well as their attitudes towards available contents. Parents are primarily talking about the fear of the content which could be accessed this way, and not so much about the fear of new technology. In this way they reveal the fear of another/ fear of different, which stems from their value orientations. Also, from that basis, the extent and strength of control is applied. The educational status of parents was not a significant predictor in the study of this aspect of control.

Punishment and Criticism / Rewarding and Praise

It can be concluded, based on the parental responses, that the difference in punishment and criticism of daughters and sons goes in the direction of greater tolerance towards girls, especially if they are younger than boys, and it is occurring in families where parents have the attitude that girls are weaker and more fragile compared to the boys. Accordingly, in such families the prohibitions which are directed to boys and girls are "gender colored" because parents want to achieve, for example, that boys are emotionally strong and brave, and for girls to be modest and moral. Those parents will resort to sanctions of undesirable behavior rather than try to develop desired behavior using corroboration, which actually testifies to their powerlessness in such situations. Therefore, parents resort to high control in relationship with children. I cite a few examples of typical responses of parents:

"But the female gender is more sensitive and vulnerable. And the consequences of raising a female child are more tangible, more difficult. I think it's easier for me, I think it's easier to raise a male child." (father, holds expert position, college degree)

"Man is a man, the man will find his way and this and that and somehow he will manage it in life, man is a man." (mother, housewife, high school diploma)

"I always told him to be nice to the girls, whatever she might say, whatever they might do to him or hit him that he should never hit back so I want him to be at least a gentleman." (mother, holds expert position)

"Well, he protested many times. Because, I must admit, I protect daughter a little more...Not that I...I like him less, or...that's not the case, in no way... but, uh, just, something, a girl child is...she is more cuddly and somehow we're a little more attached, and he notices that, and I feel that some things bother him...Because whenever it comes to the, well, some conflict between them, I am always on the side of...daughter. Because she's, like, well, gentler sex, and so... I am somehow weaker towards her... Just, I

won't allow my son to do some things, but I let daughter to do something like that ..." (father, worker, urban area)

"Well, I punish daughter somehow milder and rarely, perhaps because she has different character, she is not, she often obeys and she does not have that maleness...that revolt...how shall I put this...she is gentler than him and then it somehow goes with the smaller, less turbulent situation." (father, entrepreneur, high school diploma, urban area)

"To be nice and with good manners, that is really important for a girl, I really would not like for her to be a hoyden. So she is basically a very grateful child, she accepts most of the things and all that without a lot of talk, so I do not have to explain seven times something to her or to repeat if I already have told her 'no' about something." (mother, expert, faculty diploma, urban area)

"So, I often commend him. He came back from karate training, I was late to pick him up, and I was so distraught when I saw that there is a police, a million people, and I had no idea what is happening. I realized that it is a graduation party. And then I was afraid because he doesn't want to stay alone like that. I was afraid for him. And he said: "Mama, do not worry, I will now pass through this." And he came, without any trouble he has passed through the crowd and came where we agreed. It thrilled me (...) She is always good. I often praise her. She knows how to clean up nice, she knows how to entertain brother, play with him, help a brother when he needs help, and if he is in a hurry she is there to help him..." (mother, expert, faculty diploma, urban area, son - 9 yrs., daughter - 7 yrs. old)

There is also an example of parent who pays attention to gender equality when praising her children:

"Bravo, sugar-pie, you did it well (...) I call her cotton-candy. Those are equal nicknames to us: sugar-pie and cotton-candy." (mother, expert, faculty diploma, urban area)

Emotionality Dimension

Talking with Children, Knowledge about the Child and the Expression of Attention and Love

Emotionality is a dimension that encompasses the entire upbringing. Therefore, this analysis includes some of the aspects of emotionality, but not all of them. Analysis of this dimension includes the following sub-dimensions: talking with children, knowledge about the child and the expression of attention and love.

Communication is included in all interactions of parent and child, both in the area of control, and in other areas. Therefore, this sub-dimension will be tested over the general encouragement of communication between parents and children. Knowledge about the child includes knowledge of the everyday life of a child and child's characteristics. Expression of attention and love is the hardest "tangible" sub-dimension for the analysis. In this paper, it is analyzed through the statements of parents on how they show emotions towards children and how much they allow their children to express different emotions.

General conclusion for each of these sub-dimensions is that they largely depend on the parental involvement in the upbringing of a child, their joint activities and closeness. Psychological connection to children includes possibility to understand the "children's signals" that is, to understand what the child wants, what are children interested in, and to respond promptly and adequately to their needs and expectations. With the growth of socio-economic status of the parents, the greater involvement in the upbringing of children can be noticed. However, this is not a consistent criterion, so the question of parental involvement in the upbringing of children must be analyzed in combination with other factors. Since parental role cannot be separated from the family and wider social context, the process of upbringing children depends on: family dynamics, quality of partnership and existence of open communication between partners, flexibility of family members and their mutual support, the possibility of relying on the resources of the family of

origin and, very important, the attitudes of parents towards the models of fatherhood and motherhood in the family of origin. The largest part of these factors depends on value judgments and value orientation of individuals.

If parents have attitude that power and strength are the main characteristics of men and weakness for women, then their attitudes toward emotional expression would be as following:

“I do not know, well, men do not cry, they have to suffer (laughs). Well, no, more to keep that to yourself.” (father, craft-worker, rural area)

“Now I cannot explain why but I think it is wrong for men to cry about every little thing, and this and that. It's not for a man to cry. It should not be, should not be characteristic of boys. For girls it is a different thing.” (father, worker, high school diploma, urban area)

Almost all parents in our sample provide detailed descriptions of the characteristics and interests of their children. Descriptions are absent in situations when children are younger than one year or, very rarely, when parents do not pay attention to the needs of the child. This indicates some changes in relation to children and childhood in families, which are best expressed in the following statements of parents:

“I try to stand by what I say, not to speak stupidity to children, they are little people I can't lie to them, how are they going to be honest to me tomorrow, if I lie to them...” (mother, unemployed, high school diploma, urban area)

“And I think that everything can be resolved, nothing is irresolvable and everything can be said, and I keep telling them that, nothing was done for the first time, nor said for the first time, everything was and everything will be. And I think that together we can do everything more easily.” (mother, expert, faculty diploma, urban area)

Discussion

During socialization process, the child enters into different emotional interactions. When it comes to family context, through a series of interactions that have an emotional subtext and that are repeated over the years, the child creates the skills and the essence of emotional behavior (Goleman, 1997:185). From the results of this study it is evident that the family controls the direction and quantity of emotional expression. In the process of emotional socialization of boys and girls parents use different parental styles. Contrary to the belief of some parents in the sample that mothers are more permissive in raising children than fathers, this study has not confirmed that opinion. What parental style the parents will choose depends primarily on their value orientation towards gender roles in a given society. Such a pedagogical strategy of adults is not quite conscious, not even practical, and the degree of "gender stereotypes" may be very different in the individual consciousness, and yet they exist. Value orientations of parents are partly related to the family dynamics, the quality of partners' relationship and openness of communication, flexibility of family members and their mutual support, as well as "emotional capacity" of parents and their achieved self-awareness.

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FAMILY VALUES AND MODERN IDENTITIES

Jelena Đurić

This paper will consider the problem of identity which reflects ‘family values’ transmitted usually to the child in its first cultural environment. That's why the family is substantial factor of enculturation: internalization of culture, developing a social identity, providing an ascribed social status and early gender socialization – the child usually socialize by getting used to routines of the family members, receiving signs of their needs and expectations. Hence, the personal life experience of father and mother are crucial to the resultant parental values that would be transmitted to the child. But apart from parental identities, their upbringing practices and educational patterns also depend on cultural worldviews and social policies. The collision among the two is present in Serbia where cultural recognition of family values, originating from the traditional society, still seems resilient to modernization policy (since the period of socialism with its ‘state feminism’ that promoted women rights as ‘equality in employment’). Provoking paradox in the issue of women rights, modern values also assumed a need to harmonize both of women's roles – as industrial and as domestic labor force. Waiting for the idea of that harmonization to spread globally, as the reconciliation of family values and modern identities, one should know that mostly women (mother) mediate child's early self-development and that modern emancipation made that task even harder for her requiring greater engagement of men in the child's care and domestic activities. Basically, it demands both halves of humanity to emancipate as well, just

this time maybe not so outwardly, from traditional and modern roles, but inwardly, from egocentric drive to dominate. Only that could mean shifting the paradigm from the obsolete age of domination towards the appealing age of partnership.

Modern age brought to human life considerable changes that affect experience of values in all domains. Vanishing traditional habits changed the thinking and lifestyles of individuals as well as of most societies. This was founded on a need for liberation from the limits of system on different levels of society. However, it became observable that after significant demands are fulfilled, new limits and contradictions arise inviting to be overcome again.³⁴ That is how the current transition to global society, which lasts for decades, is directed towards the articulation of new ways of transcending an unsustainable system.

Reflecting at the experience of previous epoch and the destiny of common need for Justice, expressed through demands for the rights of man, child, woman, animals, or environment sustainability, we should try to understand why complications are repeatedly faced over and over again. As time is passing by, former achievements transform into new limitations that trigger crises followed by needs for the new change. These modifications of values and identities, whether in the individual domain, or in domains of different sorts of communities, should serve for achieving the resilience to different conditions of life and strengthening innovative capabilities for change.

In the book *The Third Wave* (1980), Alvin Toffler pointed at the crisis of whole system of previous “waves”. New milestone values begun to change family, church and state causing confusion in all areas of life: the social and the personal as well. The traditional “authoritarian” values are drawn into the vortex of plurality. Without coherent evaluative criteria and thus fragmented, they had been fuelling the crises of

³⁴ For example, technological progress created by workers, make them redundant, thus tricking labor and syndical movement. Since the industrial age made people lose their connection with the soil (where many of them undeniably toiled, but which also was the opportunity of relative independence from the wider social system) that was particularly hard for them. At the political level, the liberation through democracy contributed to the weakening of the state and its protection of the culture thus empowering the corporate influence on economy. That is how the state, like the democracy itself, became redundant.

all social systems, ranging from the nation-state to other institutional subsystems (related to: food, health, education, finance, politics and culture).

Rejection of traditional paternalistic relationships between the sexes, and between parents and children, coincide with questioning of family values. In this regard, the so-called “sexual emancipation” is woven into the pursuit of liberation and transformation of identities. Issues of woman liberation, launched and developed in various stages of the feminist movement, culminated with broader gender issues and requests for the acceptance of the alternative (“queer”) sexual orientations.

Despite half a century of efforts (from sixties to the present time) sexual emancipation has not progressed enough. It seems that combined spread of pornographic content, ideas of acceptability of homophilic lifestyle, and attitude that women should enjoy their own life did not exactly support a higher purpose of sexual emancipation. Perhaps, this is mainly because it is troubled by ambiguity of criteria, like other struggles for liberation. While cultural discourse of an “open society” globally takes place, everyday practice is loaded with nontransparent decision making on social, political and economic matters. This contributes to the impression that, by reproducing dyad authoritarianism/infantilism, certain “engineers of society” continually take control and repeat a system of social relations which make people “passive subjects”. This creates a gap in minds of individuals, caught by the dominant trends that globally infiltrate in human beings. Degrading propaganda of the media is based on the profit principle as it is an ultimate value in itself. Its continuous spread challenges the quality of life which media attempt to reduce to the external dimensions of existence and consumers’ power (reflected in the lack, or the pointlessness of free time).

The climate of value pluralism doesn’t encourage family values by enabling their perception from different points of view. It provokes a competition of values, as representations of different kinds of motives for actions, and threatens family values as such. Moreover, the meaning of family values depends on the context. Politicians idealize them in order to attract voters. Sociologists consider them as

necessities for the social cohesion or as social constructs. Psychologists interpret them as starting point for the personality development.

As persons, we experience family values in ourselves, psycho-emotionally, as expressions of the need for belonging through feelings of intimacy and confidence – the ground for coexistence and community. But, given that, describing the feelings requires concepts and given that practice often imposes something different from the ideal, an external perspective is inevitable. Thus, we use a sociological viewpoint from where a marriage is the official protection for its family members in everyday life and for the inheritance. From biological perspective, family values are expressions of a need for the continuation of species.

All these views are positive and supportive for family values in their ways. Nevertheless, they contribute to the dissociation of personal relations from the evaluation of a family as such. Since the influence of the theory of evolution on shaping of the modern paradigm reduced human beings to the biology, social Darwinism has emerged with its interpretation of family as the shelter from generally hostile society. These kinds of scientific positivism denied earlier theological and philosophical interpretations of biological needs as basic material foundation of culture which requires evolution of emotional and spiritual dimensions of human beings for its development. By reducing culture to the biological feature, the natural science viewpoint asserts that “nature of culture” is only the component of (physical) nature. In that view, particularity of culture is only *ex post* rationalization of the fact that culture is not essentially different from nature. That is how it became possible to simultaneously justify the utilitarian relationship toward nature and critique of its instrumentalization, which is attributed to “anthropocentrism” as it is the source of nature/culture division, while the responsibility for its materialistic interpretation is ignored.

Explaining the inherent contradiction of question: Whether the opposition nature/culture is an “artificial creation” of culture or a “natural disposition” of the human mind? Žarana Papić examined the view of Levy-Strauss according to whom the world is constituted by innate human structures and spiritual functions that are

unconscious (Papić 1997: 183). This anthropological sprout of Kantian teachings on transcendental apperception and schemas of imagination, allows, according to Levy-Strauss, the sense of the world based on human mind instead on “nature of the object itself”. However, if the human mind is an integral part of the “kingdom of nature”, than it is vital to understand a nature of the relationship between unconscious functions of the brain and the “reality” itself (Ibid 184). In other words, it is to understand the relationship between “nature” and the “human nature” that is identified with “culture”. The ultimate solution may mean reduction of human nature (which is the human mind, i.e. the culture) to the nature (i.e. to the biological function of human brain).

However, this naturalistic implication Levy-Strauss was not derived, but rather opted for thesis that “the opposition nature/culture is the artificial creation of the culture” (Ibid 186). This option coincides with the concept of history of Western civilization from pre-modern era to late modernity initiated with Freud’s psychoanalysis. The acceptance of natural origin of human nature should not mean that all creations of human nature are “natural” in the sense of physical nature. This kind of thinking tries to eradicate a meaningful distinction between nature and culture. An inherent sense of human nature is denied, while rationalized gambling with nature is empowered. Examples of this are plentifully present in possibilities of dangerous rapid development of biotechnology.

Reducing human being to the biological mechanism negates its subjectivity and consciousness as decisive aspects of internally experienced values and qualities of life. This is a denial of consciousness in its sublime sphere, which includes human values and emotions, and interpretation of consciousness as the mere rational phenomenon instead. It is also overlooked that it actually allows anti-conscious authoritarianism and discrimination, led by the arrogant and selfish interests to dominate, and leading to the disappearance of human values that incorporate family values as they are perceived with the soul.

Although these different aspects of family values suppress their categorization by the consensus, we intuitively know their sense is based on the soul’s quest for

intimacy (between spouses, parents and children, and siblings). If it could be the rationalization of biological need for procreation of the species, than it is simultaneously the food for the soul and subjectivity. Subjective experiences of family values are internal factors for the stable family environment, which turns out to be an exterior condition for healthy upbringing and childcare. It is known that internally perceived values are true foundations of any successful community. The family has long been regarded as a prototype of the society. Without shared values the institution of marriage is usually dis-functional and become the source of suffering for an individual (Moore 2009).

Materialistically oriented social environment ignores higher dimensions of human abilities. For that reason human values in general and family values in particular are devoid of meaning. As Thomas Moore described, a modern age family is a loose and problematic institution which is difficult to heal because of the worldview that supports domination, greed and selfish individualism. As a contrast to that, the nurture of family values rather involves the values for the soul. Experience of family is precious for the soul even in most cases when it is not ideal at all.³⁵ The notion of family from the perspective of the soul situates us “down to earth where the principle gives way to life in all its beauty and horror” (Moore 2009: 43).

However, it is also truth that the meaning of family values principally depends on ideals that symbolize the Golden Age. As Lawrence Stone said in the lecture *Family Values in Historical Perspective*, somewhere in the past, certain values had been held in high esteem, as a result of which the society as a whole had been prosperous. This discernible idealization points out on crucial relationship between family values and social condition. When the disintegration of society became unbearable because of the crime some people think of “good old days when the family was sacred”, while in reality families have always been both good and bad, offering support and threat.

³⁵ Family life is full of greater or smaller crisis (...) It is related to the places, events and histories. With all this experienced details, life engraves itself in memory and personality. It is hard to imagine anything more nutritious for the soul (Moore 2009: 41).

“Today professional psychologists are very much concerned with the 'dysfunctional family', but all families are dysfunctional to some degree. No family is perfect and most of them have serious problems. The family is a microcosm, reflecting the nature of the world that works on virtue and evil. Sometimes we are tempted to imagine that the family is full of innocence and good will, but the real family life resists such romanticism. It usually has a whole range of human potential, including the evil and hatred, violence, sexual confusion and madness. In other words, the actual dynamics of family life reveals the complexity and unpredictability of the soul (...) (Moore 2009: 41–42).

The issue of personal identity is linked with family values that are transmitted to the child within the family circle. That's why family portrays basic cultural environment and it is the substantial factor of enculturation. Internalization of culture, developing a social identity, providing an ascribed social status and early gender socialization, initially take place in the family. The child socializes by getting used to routines of the family members, receiving signs of their needs and expectations. These signs are directed toward realm of the soul which complex nature is able to transmute most of complications of family life in the path of individuation.

Basically, family is sphere where many different sides of personality and culture, ideas and politics, feelings and myths are interwoven. They are developed from marriage that is not only the social institution but also the symbol of the mysterious quest of the soul. Personal experience of father and mother in their own family lives design the resultant parental influence on the child. That influence proceeds from one generation to another in the long-lasting continuum of the history of humankind.

Remains of pre-modern ways of thinking are mainly absent from modern worldview, and anthropology initially has had its share in it. But eventually even conservative scientist have to admit that for understanding of the symbolical level

of family values it is essential to leave the drive for sociological, biological, political, and other kind of modern rational analysis, and to open stories and myths for meanings that offer space for the imagination and sacredness.

This doesn't mean exclusion of rationality. Ancient principle of macrocosm-microcosm that identifies recurrent patterns everywhere in the cosmos, including human being and the society, was approved rational in political philosophy. It considered family as the model for the state (the *polis* in Socratic/Platonic period). That principle was used for centuries. Monarchists argued that the State mirrors the family, with subjects obeying the king as children obey their father. Obviously they subsumed the notion of patriarchal family that in turn helped them to justify their rule.³⁶

Collapsing history of these values doesn't mean that they completely cease to exist. They are present until the present-day – embedded in the unconsciousness from where they will arise all over again until we make them conscious. Centuries ago Durkheim recognized that family values deeply affect the social and political system, thus announcing that the time for transformation of paternalistic principle is coming.³⁷ Presumably, modern family values challenged that principle as they become means of middle class to obtain self-respect through self-discipline and responsibility for the work, the society, the self and the family while struggling to educate the children and make success available for them. Modern transformation

³⁶ According to Plutarch, a government resemblance of a family is the reason for not establishing democracy in Sparta. Aristotle's schema of authority and subordination that he holds to exist in the whole of nature is based on the principle that "the government of a household is a monarchy since every house is governed by a single ruler". Arius Didymus in Stobaeus, 1st century CE, witnessed that a primary kind of association (*politeia*) is the legal union of a man and woman for begetting children and for sharing life. From the collection of households a village is formed and from villages a city, so, just as the household yields for the city the seeds of its formation, thus it yields the constitution (*politeia*). Further, he claims that "Connected with the house is a pattern of monarchy, of aristocracy and of democracy. The relationship of parents to children is monarchic, of husbands to wives aristocratic, of children to one another democratic" (Boring 1995; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Family_as_a_model_for_the_state, accessed 12 March, 2013).

³⁷ Paternalism is suited to keep rough order in the society, assuming that the domestic arrangements of society are created just as that of the nature or the universe, that is, according to the principle of hierarchy, by which some were more powerful and richer than others, mostly through control of more property.

of cultural worldviews and social policies was innovative indeed together with the conception of modern values. It created new patterns of educational practices, which inescapably commenced to transform identities.

Centuries of modernization extremely changed the world, up to the point from where humanity should find the way to prevent collapse that threatens all by perpetuating feebleness of obsolete system. In the age of global corporatism, it is unknown who would exactly stay behind the rights of humanity, as well as behind other rights that are increasingly degrading – especially those of the environment, but other rights are endangered as well. Knowing that behind every right is some kind of value that has to be respected, we could consider what is of true value for the sustainability of the whole, and recover values of other things that belong to that whole. In the same sense, concerning family values, the problem would be treated in the function of question if the family is a whole (as well as if it is the autonomous whole)? Otherwise, in the light of the global vanishing of human values as such the collision among traditional and modern approach to family values is going to the background.³⁸

Cultural recognition of family values is mainly traditional because of its origins in patrimonial society. With modern family values, as we stressed before, more responsibilities for women were included thus triggering the change of patriarchal principle. That is why societies that are modernized lately as it is case in the society of Serbia, still seem resilient to modernization policy (since the period of socialism with its ‘state feminism’ that promoted women rights as ‘equality in employment’). This is especially the case in the view of modern family values, because they provoke paradox in the issue of women rights. Namely, modern values also assumed a need to harmonize both of women's roles – as industrial and as domestic labor force. Waiting for the idea of that harmonization to spread globally, as the reconciliation of family values and modern identities, we have to keep in mind that mostly women (mother) mediate child's early self – development, and that modern

³⁸ Unless we ascribe to the notion of “modern” (values) something that is indefinable because of its constant change with time, as this is literally the meaning of word “modern”.

emancipation made that task even harder for her, requiring greater engagement of men in the child's care and domestic activities. Basically, it demands both halves of humanity to emancipate as well, just this time maybe not so outwardly, from their traditional and modern roles, but inwardly, from the egocentric drive to dominate. From context of family values that could mean shifting of paradigm from the obsolete age of domination towards the appealing age of partnership.

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III Representation and Acceptance of Gender Roles and Family Issues in Society

BENEVOLENT SEXISM IN FAMILY AND ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS: A SUBTLE AND EFFICIENT MECHANISM OF PERSISTENCE OF MODERN PATRIARCHY

Marija Todorović Tatar

This paper will focus on positive gender stereotypes and prejudices directed toward women, on behaviours that are based on those prejudices and their consequences for gender equality. Benevolent sexism is a term conceived by Susan Fiske and Peter Glick within the ambivalent sexism theory and it refers to “a subjectively positive orientation of protection, idealization, and affection directed toward women that, like hostile sexism, serves to justify women's subordinate status to men” (Glick et al, 2000: 763).

The classic definition of prejudice which was very influential until the nineties is the definition Allport wrote in his famous book *The Nature of Prejudice* in 1954: “Prejudice is an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization” (Allport, 1954: 9). Many prejudice theories were built upon this definition. Scientists Susan Fiske and Peter Glick criticized the idea that “prejudice is an antipathy” and argued that sexism or gender prejudices are not just hostile, but can be benevolent as well.

Benevolent sexism is particularly prevalent in romantic relationships and family life, but as well it is still widely present in what has traditionally been understood as “public sphere”. A lot has been done to improve gender equality in the last century. In Europe and North America starting with the cultural, political and social

movements of the 1960s and 70s, gender relations became more egalitarian. The ideal of egalitarianism which was present in ex-Yugoslav countries from mid-20th century affected gender equality and improved status of women in public sphere (they became more educated, economically more independent, legally equal in many areas of legislation etc.). Expression of negative gender prejudice is not socially acceptable anymore, but when those same prejudices are accompanied with positive tone, they are being interpreted differently and sometimes readily accepted. Furthermore, changes that have occurred regarding gender equality were related mostly to the public sphere domain, and only indirectly to private sphere. Some aspects of private sphere (dating, childbearing, housekeeping) seem to be protected from organized actions for gender equality. Dichotomies female warmth / male competence, breadwinner/homemaker are still part of widespread thinking and there is still not enough political will to condemn traditional gender roles within private sphere. In this paper we try to explain what aspects of romantic relationships and family life still remain very patriarchal and traditional and how benevolent sexism is related to that.

Ambivalent sexism theory

According to ambivalent sexism theory, sexism has two components, two complementary types of sexism - benevolent sexism and hostile sexism - which serve to maintain and reinforce patriarchy. Benevolent sexism is “subjectively favorable, chivalrous ideology that offers protection and affection to women who embrace conventional roles” and hostile sexism is “antipathy toward women who are viewed as usurping men’s power” (Glick & Fiske, 2001: 109). Women like feminists, seductresses or successful, powerful women are usually seen as women who try to usurp men’s status and power and therefore are punished with hostile sexism. Hostile sexism suggests that women are less competent, less intelligent, sexually manipulative, too emotional and generally inferior to men. Women who conform to traditional gender roles are “awarded” with benevolent sexism (attitude that women should be protected, cherished, revered for their virtue, for being a wife

and a mother, the romanticizing of women as objects of heterosexual affection etc.). Benevolent sexism does not insist on hierarchy between sexes, but on their complementarity that means that there are well-defined traits and roles suitable for each gender. Benevolent sexism as well as hostile sexism is a legitimizing ideology that justifies gender hierarchy. Although it is positive in its tone it suggests that women are “weak” (Glick & Fiske, 1996: 492).

Ambivalent sexism theory is based on the assumption that hostile and benevolent sexism are products of three structural factors that are common to every society: male supremacy in status and power, and different social roles in men and women and sexual reproduction. According to this theory, the third structural factor, sexual reproduction (which means reproduction, child bearing, romantic feelings, and intimacy), is the reason for existence of the benevolent sexism. Men depend on women and women have “dyadic power”. Benevolent and hostile sexism have three shared components: paternalism, gender differentiation and heterosexuality. Paternalism refers to the treatment of someone as if he/she was a child and in this case it means that women are not seen as fully competent adults and they need adult male figure. Paternalism can be dominative and protective. *Dominative paternalism* is a component of hostile sexism and it means that men have to govern women. *Protective paternalism* is a component of benevolent sexism and it means that women need protection and that it is men’s duty to protect them. There is a hostile and the benevolent interpretation of gender differences: competitive gender differentiation and complementary gender differentiation. *Competitive gender differentiation* justifies male superiority: men, but not women, have traits necessary to govern important society institutions. *Complementary gender differentiation* means that women and men complete each other with traits that one has and the other doesn’t (e.g. women are sensitive and caring and men are not). Third component - heterosexuality - has two sides as well: heterosexual hostility and heterosexual intimacy. *Heterosexual hostility* means that women use men’s weakness (that they are attracted to women) and want to take over the power. *Heterosexual intimacy*, the only sphere where men feel completely dependant on

women, is the most important source of benevolent sexism toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996: 493).

International research results

Ambivalent sexism inventory was developed in 1996 by Susan Fiske and Peter Glick to measure ambivalent sexism. It is composed of 22 items that are divided in two subscales: benevolent sexism scale and hostile sexism scale. Benevolent sexism items for example are “Women should be cherished and protected by man”, “In a case of disaster women should be saved first”, “Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess”, and the examples of hostile sexism items are: “Feminists are seeking for women to have more power than men”, “Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them” and “Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances” (Glick & Fiske, 1996: 512).

Research conducted on the sample of 15,000 men and women in 19 nations (Glick et al. 2000) showed that benevolent sexism (BS) and hostile sexism (HS) correlate positively across nations which means that BS and HS are mutually supportive sexist ideologies. It was demonstrated that the higher benevolent and hostile sexism are in one country, the lower gender equality is in that country. It was logical that hostile sexism negatively correlates with gender equality, but in this research it was demonstrated that benevolent sexism negatively correlates with gender equality as well. This means that the more benevolent sexism is present in the country, the less power women have in that country.

Across nations women are more likely to reject hostile sexism than benevolent sexism, but the highest benevolent sexism rates among women are in those countries where men show high hostility rates toward women. The authors’ explanation is that BS serves as a defence against HS: “Women adopt BS as a form of self-defence when overall levels of sexism in a culture are high. HS and BS work together as a particularly effective method of system maintenance: When men are

high in HS, women have a strong incentive to accept BS to gain men's protection, admiration, and affection and as a means of avoiding men's hostility" (Glick et al. 2000: 773). The most important finding of this research was that it was proven that at the societal level, BS does not exist without HS and the resulting gender inequality.

Benevolent sexism

Eagly and Mladinic (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994) found that people attribute more positive traits to women than to men. They called this phenomenon "women are wonderful" effect. It was shown that women, although disadvantaged and discriminated in the whole world were characterized more positively. Mladinic and Eagly explained that traits which are usually attributed to women are subjectively positive, but low in status. Women are associated with nurturing, helping others and warmth and this makes them suitable for domestic roles. Although stereotypes about men are less favourable (e.g. ambitious, competitive, independent), they are higher in status and relate men to high status jobs and positions. In short, men are viewed as "bad but bold", and women as "wonderful but weak" (Rudman & Glick, 2008: 82).

This insight motivated Glick and Fiske to pay attention to the relation between interdependence between sexes and positive, benevolent prejudice. Benevolent sexism is subjectively positive, puts women on pedestal, offers help, and characterizes women as wonderful, pure creatures. That may flatter women, but on the other hand it reinforces patriarchy by portraying women as childlike, incompetent, needing men to protect them and therefore as best suited for low status roles. On the individual level benevolent sexism doesn't have to be accompanied with hostile sexism, but on the societal level they go together. Those ideologies are complementary and have the same explanation and bases: women are weaker. It is just different interpretation of the same fact that makes the difference: women are weak, and should be protected, or women are weak, therefore inferior and with less

power.

Ambivalent sexism as a theoretical concept motivated a big number of studies and provided the basis for new insights about gender stereotypes and relations in patriarchal society. Barreto and Ellemers (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005) showed that benevolent sexism is usually not recognized as sexism. People usually don't see anything wrong with benevolent sexist attitudes and behaviours, because of their positive tone. Benevolent sexism is present in majority of spheres of our lives. It starts to influence our perception of gender relations in our early childhood. One study (Jost and Kay, 2005) examined the link between system justification and benevolent sexism and showed that women who score high on benevolent sexism scale show greater desire to maintain the status quo and judge society as more fair.

Rudman and Glick (Rudman & Glick, 2008) explain how and why gender relations are different in children and in adults. We already mentioned that ambivalent sexism is a consequence of interplay of power difference and interdependence between men and women. Boys and girls are not interdependent in the way men and women are (sexuality, reproduction) and there is no well-defined power difference that we can find in men and women. Children, both boys and girls usually have the same role – to be a student. Boys do not have more status or money than girls. They have to obey their mothers and other adult female authorities. “Even in gender-traditional cultures, however, girls are not necessarily encouraged to defer to boys until after they reach puberty” (Rudman & Glick, 2008: 75). Benevolent sexism is not as present in childhood as in adulthood. Children's gender stereotypes tend to be mostly hostile because of in-group favouritism which is a consequence of social identity process. In one study (Powlishta, 1995) children rated various personality traits as associated with boys or associated with girls and also rated the favourability of each trait. Both boys and girls were claiming favourable traits for their own sex and assigning unfavourable traits to the other sex. “Children's stake in gaining positive differentiation (group esteem) for their gender in-group fosters social comparisons in which each sex derogates the other” (Glick & Fiske, 2008: 79). Sexual desire in the puberty changes gender relations and sexism

becomes more ambivalent.

Of course, this doesn't mean that cultural stereotypes are being completely ignored in childhood and that gender socialization in childhood is not important for gender relations in adult age. Family, school and media are very important factors of gender socialization. It is not acceptable to use overtly hostile sexism in schools or in media, but benevolent sexism is used frequently. It is benevolent sexism when men and women are represented in their traditional gender roles in positive tone. The attitude that something is right or wrong for women and that they should be nice or the attitude that men should be strong and competent is benevolent sexism. Every time someone makes the difference between sexes and gives positive explanation that is in accordance with basic patriarchal stereotypes, that person is being benevolent sexist.

Benevolent sexism is present in almost every sphere of our lives, but it is very influential in romantic relationships and family environment. It is very powerful mechanism of support of patriarchy in those spheres of life that are not regulated by law, or by any kind of written rule. The problem is that there are many unwritten rules that support inferior status of women. Especially problematic are those rules that sound "sweet" or "nice" or "romantic", but on the other hand promote traditionally unequal gender roles. Power difference between genders reconfirms through idealization of traditional gender roles and traditional mate preference, through paternalistic chivalry, through traditional courtship rules, through divided roles within family, through teaching children those rules, through spreading those ideals through mass media. Benevolent sexism spills over to work sphere as well, spills over to public sphere in general. Sexism is based on difference between public and traditionally female private sphere. Through the history women were prohibited to participate in the public sphere and that prohibition is no longer acceptable. On the other hand, private sphere continued to be female sphere much more than male sphere. Men don't want to enter the sphere that is less important and degraded.

Benevolent sexism and mate preference

Men and women do not choose their mates according to the same standards. They prefer different traits to be salient in men and women. There are some traits that are desirable for both genders, but patriarchal values still have great influence on mate preference. What is important characteristic for men can be undesirable for women and vice versa. Some characteristics are simply more desirable for women than for men, but are acceptable for both genders.

It was demonstrated (Fletcher et al. 2004) that men in comparison with women, when choosing a mate, place greater importance on attractiveness and that women are less likely than men to trade-off mate's attractiveness for a mate who possess status. One study (Travaglia et al. 2009) showed that particularly hostile sexist men placed greater importance on attractiveness and vitality characteristics of women.

Studies show that women prefer benevolent sexist more than nonsexist, ambivalent sexist or hostile sexist men. Hostile sexist men are the least desirable type of men. Therefore the most popular type of men is the one that idealizes traditional gender roles (Bohner et al. 2010: 575). Women who score high in benevolent sexism show greater preference for powerful men with good earning potential and men who score high in benevolent sexism prefer chaste women (Johannesen-Schmidt & Eagly, 2002). Women high in benevolent sexism are more likely to use cosmetics when preparing for a date (Franzoi, 2001) and the explanation might be that they pay more attention to the importance of their appearance because benevolent sexism promotes such priorities for women. High benevolent sexist women show less interest in personal power, high status jobs and high education (Rudman & Heppen, 2003). Endorsement of benevolent sexism predicts preferences for traditional close relationship partners. Benevolent sexist women want to gain power and status through their partner's achievements and not through their own.

Power difference in romantic and family relations usually begins with mate preference. Those prescriptions how women should be are very influential when

they are positive, benevolent. Hostile sexism, which insists on hierarchy between genders is less efficient way to reconfirm traditional gender roles, because it openly sends the message that women are inferior. Benevolent sexist ideology, on the other hand, sends the message to men and women about their positive specifically masculine or feminine traits, about their complementarity and not about gender hierarchy. If they fulfil those roles, they will be desired and preferred. Research which was conducted in Turkey showed that people high in benevolent sexism evaluated highly negatively women who have had premarital sex (Sakalli-Ugurlu & Glick, 2003).

Women are considered to be more beautiful sex. That is not just descriptive, but it is prescriptive stereotype. It means that women are not just considered more beautiful, they should be more beautiful. This means that women in order to fulfil their feminine role should work hard to improve their appearance, because it is highly valued in women to be beautiful. Women high in benevolent sexism are more likely to use cosmetics when preparing for a date (Franzoi, 2001). Robertson and colleagues (Robertson et al. 2008) have shown that personality variables as social confidence and self-esteem are negatively correlated to cosmetic use. We can conclude that benevolent sexist women pay more attention to the importance of their appearance, because they think that for men is extremely important for women to be beautiful and that conforming to beauty ideals increases their chances of receiving gender-related rewards. Women can be powerful in a certain indirect way if they are attractive, because they have better chance to find a mate who can provide her status and power (desirable male “breadwinner”). On the other hand studies have shown that employed women who wear makeup compared to women who don't wear makeup are seen as less capable (Cox & Glick, 1986; Kyle & Mahler 1996). Benevolent sexism makes beauty norms for women more salient. Study (Shepherd et al. 2011) showed that exposure to benevolent sexism increases body surveillance and body shame.

Benevolent sexism and courtship

Viki and colleagues (Viki et al. 2003) found that chivalrous dating behaviour was related to benevolent sexism but not hostile sexism. Chivalrous behaviours are part of traditional notion of romance. Traditional romantic idealizations are important barrier to gender equality because they discourage people from transcending prescribed traditional gender roles. The more a woman associates male romantic partners with chivalry, the less interest she shows in education, career goals, and earning money (Rudman and Heppen, 2003).

Paternalistic chivalrous men are very polite to women, very considerate; they consider their duty to make the first step, to organize everything on the first date, to pull chairs, to open doors, to pay for dinner etc. We think that this type of behaviour represents benevolent sexism because it is exclusively directed to women, it is not desirable to be directed toward men and it puts women in traditional role which is to be passive, not to show initiative, not to show sexual interest in men openly, to be nice, shy and obedient. These rules restrict freedom, not only women's freedom, but a man's as well. Individuals have to behave according to some rules to fulfil their gender role, and usually they don't see anything wrong with it, but those rules are reflection of power difference between man and women and they are being reconfirmed every day through practice. Chivalrous behaviour spills over to other spheres of life other than romantic relationships. It is widely present in the public sphere. Title of scientific paper "Be Too Kind to a Woman, She'll Feel Incompetent: Benevolent Sexism Shifts Self-construal and Autobiographical Memories toward Incompetence" (Dumont et al. 2010) summarizes research results: when women are exposed to benevolent sexism, they feel less competent, which is not the case with exposure to hostile sexism. Hostile remarks don't have big influence because women can recognize discrimination what facilitates external attribution of blame, and not self-doubt as in case of benevolent sexism. Authors conclude that longer exposure to hostile sexism would have negative consequences.

People mostly don't see how opening doors, paying for dinner, pulling chairs etc. can be problematic and harmful. If we do not consider the context, those

behaviours can be interpreted just as politeness. Those behaviours are usually directed to women and in patriarchal society are not desirable to be directed to men. Those behaviours mean more than simple politeness; they imply some rules, some restrictions. They imply how women and men should or should not behave or be.

Marriage traditions (man should propose; wife should take husband's family name) are viewed as harmless as well. Robnett and Leaper (Robnett & Leaper, 2013) showed that those marriage tradition preferences are linked to benevolent sexism. Majority of respondents preferred marriage traditions, but higher benevolent sexism predicted holding more traditional marriage-tradition preferences. Eaton and Rose (Eaton & Rose, 2011) examined research on heterosexual dating published in scientific journal *Sex Roles* to determine if dating practices have become more egalitarian since the seventies. Research showed that heterosexual dating among young adults in the U. S. is still highly gender-typed and that beliefs, ideals, expectations and interpersonal emotions have not changed much. There have been some changes (occasional initiation of dates by women for example) but those changes are not sufficiently widely used to challenge the dominant script.

Rudman and Glick (Rudman & Glick, 2008) draw a distinction between romantic love and traditional romantic ideologies (i.e. widespread beliefs how love should look like). Those ideologies preserve male dominance. "Traditional romantic ideologies have so deeply influenced our cultural views of romantic love that many people are not free to simply and wholeheartedly experience love, but instead feel constrained to enact love in specific, highly gendered ways" (Rudman & Glick, 2008: 205). Traditional romantic ideologies emphasize the importance of love in women's lives and motivate women to give up their personal ambitions and advancement in exchange for men's love. Women participate in affirmation of their inferior role and they support male dominance in a subtle way.

Benevolent sexism in family

Chen and colleagues (Chen et al. 2009) showed that benevolent sexism predicts initial mate selection (traditional traits preferred for men and women) and that hostile sexism predicts traditional gender norms in marriage. They wanted to investigate how ambivalent sexism was related to power related gender norms in marriage. They investigated attitudes about: dominance and submission in the family, nurturing the children and distribution of housework, career competition or sacrifice and family violence against women. Their hypothesis that particularly hostile sexism would relate positively with those traditionally imbalanced gender role norms was confirmed. This means that hostile sexist men and women are more likely to think that a man should be breadwinner in family and woman should take care of domestic duties which are undervalued and unpaid. Hostile sexist men and women are more likely to think that a husband should be independent decision maker in the family and that wife should be submissive and dependent. Hostile sexism is related to husband-to-wife violence. Hostile sexist men and women are more likely to think that woman should support her husband carrier and sacrifice her own if necessary. What was not predicted is that the benevolent sexism in women is positively related to three of four factors describing gender roles in marriage: “Assist and uphold” (e.g. “It is duty of the wife to actively uphold the husband’s authority”), “Success and housework” (e.g. “If children are not well educated, the mother is the first to be blamed”) and “Male dominance and shame” (e.g. “Listening to his wife shames a man”). Men’s benevolent sexism was only positively related to “Assist and uphold” factor (Chen et al. 2009: 771). These results once more confirm that benevolent and hostile sexism are closely related and that benevolent sexism indirectly promotes gender hierarchy as well.

Power related gender role norms established when choosing a mate and during courtships continue in relationships or in marriage. Hostile sexism promotes gender hierarchy and benevolent sexism promotes complementary roles of a caregiver and a breadwinner. Benevolent ideology implies that women are better stay-at-home parents than men because they are inherently more caring, maternal and

compassionate, and man are there to provide for women and whole family.

Family is important socialization agent. When women are “doing” more deference and men are “doing” more dominance, they influence their children perception of gender roles. Parents represent role models for their children and their attitudes are a central factor influencing how their children learn gender roles. Gender role stereotypes can influence parent’s emotional reactions to their children performance in various activities, the importance parents attach to their children acquiring various skills, the advice parents provide their children regarding involvement in various skills and activities and toys parents provide for their children (Eccles et al. 1990: 198). Montañés and colleagues (Montañés et al. 2012) examined intergenerational transmission of benevolent sexist beliefs from mothers to adolescent daughters. They showed that mother’s and daughter’s benevolent sexism was positively correlated. Another finding was that the more benevolently sexist was the mother, the less interested in academic goals and academic performance was the daughter.

Benevolently sexist ideals of men’s and women’s roles are chivalrous protector and a passive “princess” (beautiful and delicate, but passive woman). “Girls (but not boys) are socialized from an early age, at least in fantasy play, to practice and endorse benevolently sexist romantic ideals. These fantasies promote interdependence and suggest that, eventually, when they are older, girls will find a Prince Charming (a strong and chivalrous man who will protect and provide for them)” (Lemus et al. 2010: 216). Girls who have those ideals see their attractiveness as important tool for future advancement in their life. Very often those ideals go together with girls’ hostile sexism oriented towards women who don’t conform to those “princess” ideals, toward non-traditional women who somehow challenge men’s power, who are perceived to compete with men. Montañés and colleagues (Montañés et al. 2010) have found that Spanish adolescent boys rate girls high in hostile sexism as more likeable and attractive than girls low in hostile sexism. Lemus and colleagues interpret those results and argue that one of the reasons why girls endorse hostile sexism can be to signal that they are different from those

“unattractive” female types (Lemus et al. 2010: 217).

Benevolent sexism influences even the way women see open restrictions their romantic partner impose. Women high in benevolent sexism are more likely to justify those restrictions in benevolently sexist manner (“he loves me and wants to protect me”) (Moya et al., 2007).

Why women do not fight against benevolent sexism?

There are many reasons which can explain persistence of benevolent sexism. It is subtle form of sexism, normally it is not recognized as such and it is not considered harmful. Benevolent sexism may seem appealing to women on micro, individual level, but it is harmful for the category of women because it reconfirms patriarchal value system. That value system negatively influences lives of individual women, but most of people are not aware of that. Therefore, benevolent sexism may seem desirable, but actually has indirect negative influence on women’s lives.

System justification can be another explanation why women don’t fight against sexism in general, so it can be applied to benevolent sexism if it is recognized. Individuals avoid believing that they live in an unjust world because the mere fact that they suffer discrimination and that it is undeserved raises discomfort. System justification is necessary for the advantaged and disadvantaged group: it reduces anxiety, guilt and uncertainty (Jost & Hunyady, 2002). By justifying the system we justify inaction of subordinate group, in this case women (Taylor & Dube, 1986).

Both men and women fear losing their gender identity. Positive traits of both genders are first to be defended. Stereotypical attitudes and behaviour reconfirm gender identity on daily basis. People usually are not aware of the importance of gender identity. That is probably because gender identity is something that is thought to be “natural” and that everyone has one of two available options (male or female). When it is not clear to us what someone’s gender identity is, it creates discomfort and makes communication with that person very difficult (West & Zimmerman, 1987: 133). Research about attitudes of citizens of Serbia about gender

equality (Ignjatović et al. 2010) included question about the importance of gender identity. When asked to say how important gender identity was them, respondents evaluated gender identity as not very important, as less important as national identity, friendship and local identities. Therefore, people may perceive gender identity as not very important, but on the other hand, existing patriarchal relations and emphasizing difference between genders in all spheres of life are not in accordance with these perceptions.

Benevolent sexism and researches in Serbia

There are not many researches of benevolent sexism in Serbia, but it should be mentioned that Mihić (Mihić, 2010) conducted research about gender prejudice in Vojvodina. He used the ambivalent sexism scale and the results showed that benevolent sexism toward women was much more present in men than in women. He concludes that benevolent type of prejudice (chivalrous behaviour and protection of women) is considered to be desirable behaviour for men in Vojvodina. Generally sexism score of people in Vojvodina was much higher than in other European countries. Author explains that those results can be interpreted as a cultural specificity, because the scale was created in different cultural context. Reliability of hostile sexism scale was high, but reliability of benevolent sexism scale on this sample was low (0.48). Author concludes that this term benevolent sexism is still unexplored and insufficiently theoretically grounded.

Research about students' and professors' attitudes about gender equality was conducted on the sample from University of Belgrade (Džamonja et al. 2010). Benevolent sexism scale was not used and authors did not investigate specifically benevolent sexism, but there were some questions that reflect the presence of benevolent sexism. Generally results of this research show that students from University of Belgrade do not support gender inequality, but scores on questions that reveal subtle sexism suggest that there are still some strict norms that are respected and those norms reflect importance of traditional gender difference. For

example, most students agree that “It does not look nice if woman is taller than man” and that “Man should be the woman’s protector”. Absence of open hostility in those statements allows people to express patriarchal values. Today when it is not acceptable to express hostile sexism openly, it is very likely that researches will show that sexism is no longer a big problem. Questions similar to those mentioned above can detect sexist attitudes and spheres of life where improvement of gender equality and value change is needed.

Another study (Ignjatović, 2010) showed that majority of people do not agree with statements which openly support hierarchy between men and women. Majority of respondents answered that girls and boys should be raised equally and that same traits are important in boys and girls. Some questions that can detect more subtle sexism show the presence of patriarchal values. Majority of men and half of women think that it is normal for a woman to change her last name when she is married. Half of respondents (men and women) think that the most optimal situation for children is when mother takes care of them and father earns money and that women’s work in household should be included in length of service. This supports the idea that private sphere is still considered as feminine sphere, that home is where women more “naturally” belong.

Conclusion

It was confirmed through many empirical researches that benevolent sexism is harmful and that it represents the important barrier for gender equality. Benevolent sexism is highly present in our region, but it is still not socially and politically condemned. In the context where it is not allowed to discriminate women openly, benevolent sexism is acceptable way to reconfirm patriarchal gender hierarchy and traditional gender difference. Researches are still to be done, but it is time to use scientific data to confront benevolent sexism in practice (through cultural policy, media, education policy etc.) It is necessary and important for people to understand that even positive stereotypes should not be used because they can be prescriptive

and can restrict someone's freedom. Unless parents, teachers and media stop transmitting those benevolently sexist attitudes to new generations, the same patriarchal matrix will repeat and certain aspects of roles in family and romantic relationships will stay unchanged. Fight for the gender equality made possible hostile sexism to be less socially acceptable and condemned; now we need to make benevolent sexism socially unacceptable as well.

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HOW ARE WOMEN PRESENTED? WHAT MESSAGES DO THEY COMMUNICATE THROUGH THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN ADVERTISEMENTS?

Ioanna Fokou

**“What we narrate really happened. Nothing happened as we
narrate it”.**

Goethe

The ad is almost as old as the civilization itself. In 1890, when it appeared as print ads in conjunction with the second industrial revolution, its dynamics soared. In newspapers and magazines, bicycles and sewing machines were advertised. During 1920 the modern advertising, through radio, opened new roads with creating songs that flanked the product advertised repeating the slogan, called jingles (Noble 2011: 740-743). In 1950, however, with the introduction of television, the power of advertising was consolidated and started to affect, more directly, more people's lives.

But what is advertising? Advertising is a communication tool, which has as its main objective informing the public of the goods, services, opinions or ideas. The presentation and all of the above notification to the public is through some media, which are remunerated by the advertiser (Dyer, Gillian, 1982). Also it can be

considered as an institution, contemporary form of art and a socio-cultural phenomenon (Ζώτος 2000: 21).

In a materialistic, practical and historical level, the ad is a part of particular interest to the placement of market goods. It was established so in modern society as a speech through and towards the objects.

Specifically this dialectical relationship concerns in a particular and, seemingly, ecumenical relationship: the relationship between people and objects (Jhally 1997: 39-45).

If the primary function of advertising is to inform the public about a wide variety of services and products, then the secondary is the involvement in the manipulation of social values and behaviour (Courtney 1984: 35-37). Advertisements play a dominant role in people's lives, not only regarding the configuration of consuming habits but also in the formation of gendered social segregation and stratification.

In a number of studies are demonstrated the ways in which both sexes are presented as stereotypes. Men are shown to work outside the house and deal with the acquisition of expensive goods and services, while women are presented less active and hold more decorative roles (Δουλκέρη, 1992: 87-91).

Historically, ads showed women at home, happy to use cleaning products to serve food, to advertise clothes. Men starred in advertisements for cars, travel, banking, alcohol beverages. The faceless, authoritative voice that describes the product, either on television or on radio, is almost always of a man (Macionis 2010: 332-333).

Throughout the history of advertising, men appear filled with confidence, daring, adventurous, successful, stylish, happy and well-dressed starring in advertisements for cars, travels, banks, alcohol drinks (Δρακοπούλου 1987: 83-94).

They are the experts, they know so many things and their voice provides reliable information and advice to women. In contrast, female voice is rarely heard

in the ad and the picture in almost all ads is given, and when this happens, women play the role of a mother or a housewife, jolly, using cleaning products, serving food, presenting clothes or shoes and only knows how to use the products (Connell 2006: 1-29).

Kathy Myers, in her political analysis on advertising, states that the portrait of women in advertising was used as a political tool for keeping women in their place. Advertising not only influences our consumption needs and expenses. It also affects the perception we have of ourselves and society (Myers, 1986).

So advertising continues, even today, to strengthen and perpetuate certain stereotypical roles for which women are supposedly made.

According to the *Sociology Department of the Aegean University*, a stereotype is defined as: **“The set of beliefs about personal characteristics of a group of people”**.

It should also be noted that as it is known the advertising reflects the current value system of a society and the conclusions are sad first of all for the Greek society that doesn't oppose to the projected messages, but it is rather complacent following the traditional route and indifferent or perhaps unable to realize that things and namely the place and role of women in society, in general, has now changed (Δουλκέρη 2003: 78).

Let's see the most common themes in the representations of women in advertising.

- The representation of woman as a sexual object, i.e. the property that advertisers load on her as her natural obligation to draw the sexual urges of the opposite sex, with her looks and attitude to sell their products better,
- Her permanent representation as the only person responsible for the household and parenting,
- Her supposedly lower spiritual level than a man.

And how?

A) The woman appears in advertising always beautiful, wearing make-up, her hair neatly cut with wonderful proportions and a disarming smile. Advertising enlists charming women who will turn heads, will captivate your attention to ensure full participation in the message. A female explosive presence is the impossible dream of every man and every woman's repressed desire (Κovταξάκη 2010: 25).

That is because they create standards of beauty that the vast majority of women cannot follow and expectations in the minds of men that these women can be found on their way (Kilbourne, 2000: 2nd chapter).

B) Women are often presented in a dehumanized way in mass media images. They are not only turned into a thing, but the thing is broken down into component parts, each of which also represents an ideal form. She is dismembered. Hence we get numerous images of lips, legs, breasts, butts, torsos - female body parts. Frequently in such images the head is missing, emphasizing that females are not valued for their intellect, but for their external form, their curves. Women become objects for consumption (Jhally, 1995).

C) Women are often presented as a product for male pleasure and consumption. A visual correlation can be made between the product such as an alcohol beverage or a car and the female figure. The woman and the product are inextricably linked and promoted as objects of pleasure. Their role is to look after the needs and desires of others and men are persuaded to think that women are the suppliers of pleasure (Brekne, 2009: 15-16).

D) The hands of women in advertising are not used to touching something useful or practical, but usually show the contour of the products, they caress the surface. This soft, sensual touch, conveys the message that the product is valuable and desirable. A variation of this model is to show the woman touching herself. So her body is converted into valuable product and is itself object to the public (Goffman, 1979: 29).

E) How rigged bodies in advertising are, suggest the appropriate social roles for the sexes. Body language expresses virtual social identities and relationships.

Images of women and men together in the ads often reflect these codes. For example, men are almost always taller than women. The height usually symbolizes social grade. Activities can be expressive and symbolic. Who appears to do what and how. Usually the ad men act and women help. The men are the leaders, in charge, decisive, while women assistants, secretaries or just frills (Goffman, 1979: 32). Women appear to be leaning backward subservient to the supremacy of men. He appears to start contact, she passively receives attention. The magazines also convey the idea that sex has to do with male aggression and female submission. These images have the potential to contribute to a situation in which men expect women to subjugate their sexual needs and to misinterpret the refusal with desire.

F) The subjugation or subordination of women to men in ads is displayed in symbolic ways such as (Gornick, 1979: viii):

Lying on the floor or a couch

In many cultures the subjugation is expressed by repentance or kneeling. To be bent on the floor or lying on the bed, puts a person physically lower than others in a social situation, and this can indicate social identity and social relationship. Combined with physical lowering, other body language (expressions of the lips and eyes, positioning of hands and limbs) can also be used to convey a social identity. So beds and floors are appropriate places for women to be. that they can be seen as a game for men or something available for the enjoyment of men's eyes (Goffman, 1979: 34).

Distraction/Withdrawal

Another way women look weak is when women are shown withdrawn, with their head turned elsewhere, distracted, dreamy, silent, with their hand in front of the mouth. The men stereotypically are presented energetic, active and in charge (Goffman, 1979: 65).

A woman seen as a child

Women often appear in the role of child, sitting on men's knees or protected by them. Or men lift them in the air as parents do children. Or they can be shown to lick ice cream or lollipop wearing girly clothes. Older women do not participate in almost any advertising. The message conveyed is that women do not grow, they remain passive, weak and dependent.

Strong gender discrimination is also observed in advertising aimed at children in the extent that they are representation of the dominant paradigm for men and women (Βρύζας 1997: 32).

Significantly, people tend to assert that “boys will be boys” or “girls will be girls” by matching the traditional stereotype about masculinity and femininity—for example, when a boy roughhouses or a girl plays with dolls (AAUW 2001: 18-29).

Also by watching ads about toys appropriate for both sexes. So for girls we have the known “Barbie” doll in all her aspects and forms. Princess, dancer, singer, mermaid... or fairy dolls, kitchen appliances, baby dolls that need changing, feeding, lullabies... etc, which prepare the girls since they are youngsters for their future social role. The same applies for ads addressed to toys destined for boys, like balls, cars, warrior dolls, weapons, swords,... etc, that prepare boys since they are little for their future social role. Little girls never seeing women in some roles and seeing women playing other roles poorly reduces the likelihood that a woman will attempt such roles herself when she grows up. That way ads play an intensively socialization role for boys and girls, respectively, as they provide different role models and behaviour (Fokou 2012: 94-95).

Motherhood and tenderness are praised in the ads. Housekeeping and tidiness are displayed as sole responsibility of the female sex, irrespective of age. The woman emerges as superwoman, which although she has many activities manages to cope without fever. Almost always she appears in the ads merry and happy (Μποταίτη 2004: 66-67).

AND WHAT ABOUT WOMEN AND TECHNOLOGY?

The portraits of men and women in advertising technology products is a useful indicator of the role of gender in terms of their involvement with technology. The women seem confused or grumpy or difficult or as sexual objects. In contrast, men appear dynamic and hardworking. They are usually located in the ads to be taller or larger than females. Boys and dads are in the center, while mothers or sisters have the second role looking at men to deal with the product. The men appear relaxed, confident to do their job with this product or service without looking at the camera because of their devotion to it, while women simply present the product to consumers looking at them in the eyes (Κώνστα 2010: 7-9) .

Women/men and car ads

In the majority of these ads, men appear strong, handsome, in total control to drive the car with the woman by his side or gazing and wanting him or if women star in the ads they don't appear to drive the car. They lean against it, rub themselves on it or wash it wearing sexy outfits or very little clothes.

Women and various appliances

When women are used in these kinds of ads they are shown to use the appliance, kitchen, sewing machine, washing machine.... Whilst men shown are scientists that guarantee the quality of the appliances with their technological experts' status.

Women and computers, know-how of computers, gadgets

The image of the woman who doesn't know how to use applications on a PC or smartphone, the picture of an ignorant woman with the presence of man to help. The computer and its applications are tools that enhance the power of men, while for the women is a machine possessing the skills they are lacking. The message

these advertisements send to the general public is that women are not confident with technology, and have no status or power around computers. The industry is neither advertising nor selling the computers to women, thus asserting that both technological know-how and purchasing power are in the hands of men. It is known that the representations of new technologies in the media reproduce this ideology with images which present women as inferior to men (Clarke, Adele 2005: 203).

The image of women in advertising marginalizes them even more from technology. Even when the ad is addressed to women themselves, again they do not seem to use it.

LET'S TALK NUMBERS

The position of the woman may have improved in Greece, within the last decades, though there is still long way to be covered. The numbers speak for themselves. The percentage of Greek women with highest education has reached 57%, the women consist of the 40% workforce but earn only 68% of what men earn, and unemployment that affects the female population is double than the unemployment in male population. Although the number of women with graduate degrees exceeds that of men (37% vs 34%), participation in managerial posts does not exceed 4.9% and reaches only 22.3% in highly skilled positions. And of course there is a relationship between economic - professional status and participation in political decision-making. Greek women were granted full political rights only in 1952 and after the election of 2000 reached 10.3% of parliament members and 11.6% of government - the lowest representation in the European Union, with which Greece 'won' the 66th position internationally. How could it be otherwise, since men and women in Greece are still bound by stereotypes and prejudices in relation to the role of women? (E I 2004: 130,132).

However, even in such fields as law, medicine, and publishing, where women are relatively well represented among the graduates, they are not as well represented in the higher prestige, higher paying subfields. Furthermore, they are rare in

leadership roles such as upper management (Valian 1998: 187). In fields such as computer science, where women are scarce, the number of women in high -level leadership roles is very small (Mason 2007: 90). This culture has played a large role in keeping women out of computer science and influencing computer usage. The media representations of the field seem to work to perpetuate those stereotypes and influence how women in the field are perceived and dealt with. How then can girls be expected to grow up to study computer science if women are not represented in media images of the field and are constantly discouraged by various means to enter this field and feel comfortable and safe in it? And this is also connected, to a certain extent, to how both sexes are presented in the advertisements.

The advertising industry does not project an inspirational role model for women worthy of imitation, but an unrealistic idea leading to the degradation of females. Using printed ads or via TV or internet is a way to illustrate the concealed social messages that women receive about themselves and their relationship with technological advances.

CONCLUSION - SUGGESTIONS

Summing up what has so far been reported about the relationship of women with advertising, the need for changes in the way marketers are trying to reach the female audience is obvious, but also in the way that they are trying to reach the male audience as well. Mass media reinforce the dominant cultural stereotypes. More importantly, these stereotypes are incorporated into people's thinking about themselves in general. The media imagery and cultural stereotypes are inextricably linked to people's self-perceptions, demonstrating the incredible power the mass media has in our lives. In order ads to change attitudes and promote other standards, the surrounding atmosphere, the structures of the society, the cultural context and the dominant culture should support and demand it.

As a society, we need to acquire the political will to address the issue of equal opportunities for women taking some actions like:

Education oriented in a gendered equal approach from kindergarten to university. It is a matter of genders, both males and females as they grow up to forbid ruthless speculators to turn them into sexual dummies and brainless consumers.

Legislation on advertising that would prohibit both the exploitation of female body and the promotion of sexist messages that reduce dignity of women.

Application to mass media the principle of gender mainstreaming that has been institutionalized in Greece too after the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Member States of the European Union on 05.10.1995 in order to improve the projected stereotypes of men and women according to the principles of gender equality.

Regular inspection and imposition of fines on advertising companies and mass media that display degrading images of women and maintain existing stereotypes.

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Snežana Grujić and Jelena Petrović-Desnica

Introduction

Given that the first female artists exhibition of the 20th century was not held before 1976⁴⁰, which was retrospection of female creation process in the last 400 years in the West, that Serbia did not have her first female artist (Katarina Ivanović) before the 19th century, and that the number of females who attend art and applied art academies has only recently increased, the need to ask gender-related and gender identity questions has arisen in this area as well. Feminist art appeared in the 70s, i.e. 80s of the 20th century, within the so-called radical and conceptual art. Nowadays among Serbian female artists there are those whose creation process may be categorised under feminist art⁴¹. By adopting the National Strategy for the Improvement of Women's Position and Enhancement of Gender Equality, the areas in which this strategic activity is to be implemented were defined in 2009. Those are

³⁹ The study has been supported by the Ministry of Culture, Media and Information Society of the Republic of Serbia through the public competition No 3081 for 2012, and conducted at the NGO agency "Safety Oasis" (*Serb.* Oaza sigurnosti) in Kragujevac.

⁴⁰ "Women artists: 1550-1950", New York, 1976.

⁴¹ Reilly; Nochlin (2007), published on the occasion of the homonymous exhibition, Brooklyn Museum, 2007, includes two Serbian female artists, Tanja Ostojić (b. 1972) and Milica Tomić (b. 1960), among some of the eighty most important in the world.

the fields of decision-making, economics, education, media, and protection against violence. The area of art has been put aside. Does that neglect have any justification, or alternatively put, are women in this area sufficiently aware of the impact of their own gender identity on the manner of their creation process, attitudes towards art and social status which they acquire, are they aware that no intervention of the state as regards their development is needed? This is the question for politicians, as well as for gender-based scholarly disciplines. The specific problem is that gender perspective has been fully ignored and that there is no mention of feminist approach to art in university textbooks of aesthetics and sociology of art. With an aim to provide an answer to the question what female artists themselves think of their gender identity, position, status and creation process, we have chosen part of Central Serbia, Šumadija region and Kragujevac as its capital and university centre.

The aim of the research was to extend scientific knowledge in the field of gender studies, particularly with regard to the definition, evaluation and interpretation of art and the social status of the participants in the project for gendered approach towards art creativity.

The research assignments were intended to explore how much gender awareness influences the concept of art, determination of aesthetic categories and values, interpretation of works of art, social status and success of female artist, i.e. to examine the presence of the feminist approach to the viewpoints and art creativity of female visual artists. Moreover, the study aimed to determine to what extent contemporary concepts of interrelated relations between society and artistic creativity are acceptable to female artists themselves.

Theoretical framework

The starting point of the research includes the theories of feminist aesthetics, sociology and theories of art. Those are: a) philosophy of art, with a particular appreciation of feminist aesthetics, according to which gender identity influences

the idea of art, possibilities and ways of defining art, evaluation, expressive means and interpretation of a work of art; b) contemporary theories of sociology of art, with the conception of “art worlds”, as well as the awareness of female artists of the gendered status and reputation in this field; c) feminist visual art theories.

By the 1990s, aesthetics had defined art as gender-neutral, thus, there were no theoretical reflections which would have been based on gender differentiation. At that time, first feminist aestheticians who opposed this view appeared: “Feminism is the conviction that gender has been, and continues to be, a fundamental category for the organization of culture. Moreover, the pattern of that organization usually favours men over women” (Phelan, 2001: 18). Carolyn Korsmeyer (2004: 84) differentiates few levels of gender inequality. The most profound level is the basis for others, which are socially visible and measurable. Her work provides arguments in favour of the thesis that a conceptual framework lies at the core of aesthetics, as well as entire philosophy, which is represented as neutral, despite being gender-related in its essence. The author names them “deep gender”. Gender concepts have a latent, in addition to a common connotation. For instance, “genius” is a term underlying male gender, whereas “beautiful” underlies female gender, since their meanings presuppose attributes which correspond with ideal man and ideal woman in traditional culture. Aesthetic oppositions sublime – beautiful, art – nature, good taste – bad taste, are also gender-specific. Gender may also be found in other philosophical terms, besides aesthetics. According to Korsmeyer, binary opposition of the basic philosophical concepts: spirit – body, shape – matter, intellect – sense, represents the male–female opposition at its core.

Feminist aestheticians express their disagreement with classical conceptions through their interpretation of the disinterestedness concept, specific to modern-time aesthetics, which is crucial to Kant’s definition of beauty and a piece of art, very influential for subsequent aesthetic theories. According to Kant “disinterested pleasure” is developed upon perceiving a beautiful work of art, and upon an aroused free mental game of the mind and illusion as their consequence. Feminist theoreticians introduce the concept “interested”, purporting that men in patriarchal

culture expect women to accept predefined gender roles, i.e. that art is expected to genuinely convey and perpetuate those roles. Museums and galleries are full of female nudes due to “interested” gaze of men. The entire history has defined the role of woman in a society in accordance with the patriarchal pattern, with art being a tool to maintain the existent asymmetry of power and hierarchically established roles.

With a view to analysing attitudes towards the complex and multilevel relation between society and art, the following conceptions are purported herein: Wendy Griswold on the rhomboid scheme of culture, which illustrates the intersection of the following planes: artistic products, creators, consumers and society, and it suggests that proper understanding of the art–society relation must take into consideration all their mutual links; and Howard Becker on “Art Worlds”, namely “... the network of people whose cooperative activity, organised by their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that the art world is noted for” (1982: x). The fundamental idea according to which art works result from an entire system which produces them, questions the traditional idea purporting that art is something that an artist creates – creative genius – working on their own or else with the help of transcendental inspiration. The feminist approach is most present in visual arts; hence, it is possible to talk about a specific feminist art movement. The focus of interest of feminist visual artists is the revelation of female intimacy and ‘female’ perceptions of the world. What had been inaccessible and invisible to man’s eye before, and very often marginalised as irrelevant, has become the central topic of art works: scenes from female intimacy, female rights, discrimination, motherhood, female friendship. Feminist creativity is most commonly categorised into conceptual art. Aspiring to place an emphasis on their feminist ideas, very rarely do female artists choose classical modes of expression. On the contrary, they most frequently use alternative and innovative modes, such as installations, video-art, performances, body art, experimenting with contemporary materials and techniques.

The preliminary hypothesis was that female artists in Šumadija are more inclined to traditional attitudes, based on patriarchal perception of art and their own creativity, than feminist attitudes on defining art, basic aesthetic categories and values, interpreting art works, then perceiving their social status, which is an indicator of insufficient gender sensitivity. Gender sensitivity is understood as the ability to recognise socially-based construction of gender and gender roles, and rejection of viewpoints purporting that sex differences represent a limiting basis for adopting certain social roles. The preliminary hypothesis has been divided into the following sub-hypotheses: Female artists:

- i. generally consider art to be ideologically neutral and ‘disinterested’,
- ii. refuse to accept straightforward feministic viewpoints
- iii. feel that there is no gender discrimination in art

Sample

The sample of the study comprised female participants from Šumadija region, i.e. the City of Kragujevac. Šumadija, geographically speaking, takes the central position in Serbia, with 289.496 citizens⁴², out of which 60% live in Kragujevac. The target group of the research were female students, teaching staff and female members of art associations of the Faculty of Philology and Art (FILUM) in Kragujevac, Second Engineering School, i.e. its Department of art occupations, and Association of Painters in Kragujevac (LUK). The study included seventy-eight female artists (sixty-eight BA and MA students and ten female artists whose main profession is art), which constitutes a representative sample. The participants aged from 19 to 60, whereas the average age was 25.26. Ten female artists from the sample were subjected to a standardised interview. Five artists working as teachers were interviewed (four at FILUM and one at the Art Secondary School), three unemployed BA artists and two amateur artists. Five of them are painters, two sculptors, one graphic design artist, and two applied artists.

⁴² Based on the 2011 census data.

Research instruments

For the research purposes, a questionnaire measuring preferences for gender sensitivity in twelve key areas was designed: defining art and the work of art, ideological and evaluative art functions, comprehension of beauty, evaluation of aesthetic categories, thematic orientation of works, techniques used in works, acceptability of feminist statements, woman's place in art and the art world, her social status, reasons for potential lack of women's presence in visual arts, existence of gender discrimination in the art world. Within these areas, the participants were able to express the degree of their agreement and disagreement with the attitudes representing traditional, or else contemporary and feminist viewpoints. Degree of agreement with the statements was measured by a five-point Likert scale. Sociodemographic variables used in this research were: age, educational degree of the participants and their parents, participants' occupation, professional achievements (exhibitions, awards) and membership in art associations.

As regards the interview, the basis for conversation was created, including thirteen open-cloze questions which thematically covered the items from the questionnaire, for the purposes of comparison. There were time-slots aimed at asking sub-questions so that the conversation could be changed into a preferable direction and that adequate data could be collected. The conversation was conducted by the authors of this research.

Procedures

The study was conducted in 2012 on a selected sample. Internal validity of the questionnaire was measured by a t-test. The data was analysed in the statistical programme SPSS. Opinions of the participants were shown in descriptive statistics, i.e. their answers in frequencies and per cent. The data from the interview has been analysed by means of qualitative analysis.

The background for the discussion was a structured interview. A single interview lasted approximately from one hour to an hour and a half; they were recorded by a Dictaphone and transcribed after the interview.

Results

a) quantitative analysis

With regard to the sociodemographic data, the most important finding is that the degree of parents' education was quite high. Over a half of the participants' parents had university education.

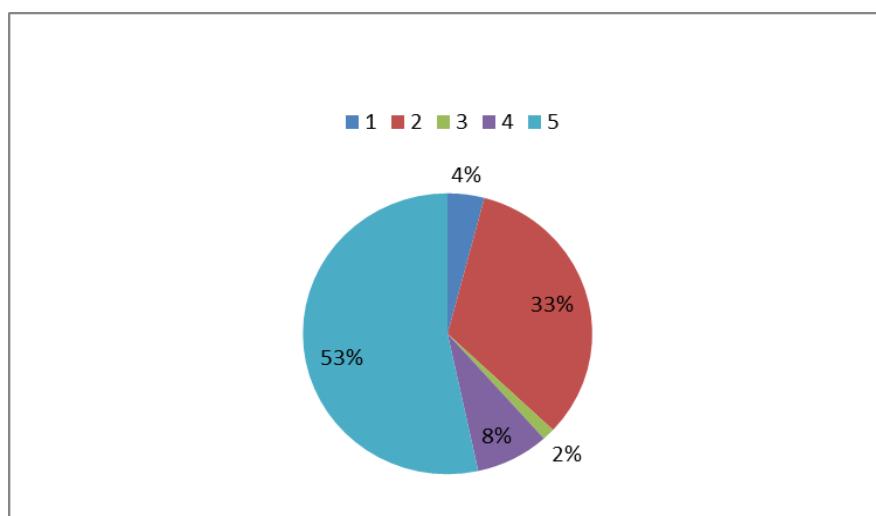


Table 1. Degree of parents' education

1 – 3rd degree (three-year secondary education), 2 – 4th degree (four-year secondary education), 3 – 5th degree, 4 – 6th degree (undergraduate education), 5 – 7th degree (graduate education)

Statements concerning art definition

80% of the participants mostly chose the interpretation that art is intuitively founded, i.e. that its purpose is not in the physical communication with audience. There was a high level of approval with anti-essentialist interpretations of art, by

which it is "elusive" and has no rational explanation – over 60%. At the same time, for 59% of the sample the least acceptable definition of art was that of a conscious intent of an artist to create a work of art in accordance with the existing socio-artistic criteria.

Beauty as aesthetic value

The participants (over 50%) did not maintain that traditional aesthetic qualities of "beauty" and "sublime" have the properties which correspond with female or male traditional traits ("feminised" traits – small, cute, symmetrical, delicate, pleasant; "masculinised" traits – grandiose, charming, unbounded). Anyway, they still regard beauty as the basic aesthetic category (50.8%) and strive for beauty in their works (60.9%). The participants define beauty as a subjective experience caused by the observation of the outer object (75.3%), i.e. as the creation of our mind (69.5%). The most important aesthetic values for the participants were: dynamics (51.7%), expressiveness (49.1%), beauty (48.7%), innovation (47.7%), and authenticity (42.4%). The least significant values as regards quality: tragic strength (29.5%), complexity (28.8%). Opinions about the importance of the authenticity of a piece of art as aesthetic values were at discrepancy, because 44.5% of the sample circled authenticity as irrelevant.

Themes

The most frequent themes of art works were: nudes, abstract themes, self-identity. Somewhat beyond a third of the participants stated that they also often choose urban life (28.2%), still life (26.7%). The least favourite themes were: wars (1.7%), renowned people (3.3%), violence against women (5.3%), homosexual love (6.3%), tradition of people (6.7%)

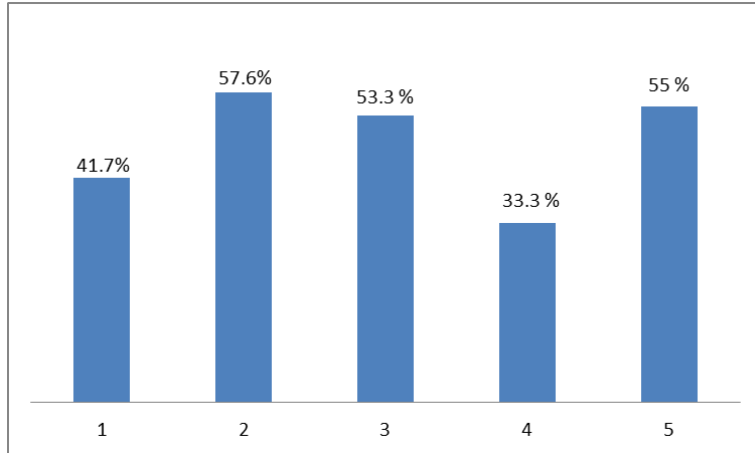


Table 2: Themes of art works: 1 - nature (41.7%), 2 - nudes (57.6%), 3 - self-identity (53.3%), 4 - abstract themes (33.3%), 5 - portraits (55%)

Manners and techniques of expression

Most of the participants chose: drawings, oil on canvas, aquarelle and acrylic. Creative activities least considered: performance (4.9%), video art (4.9%), body art (6.6%), unusual materials (19.7%) and other (6.6%).

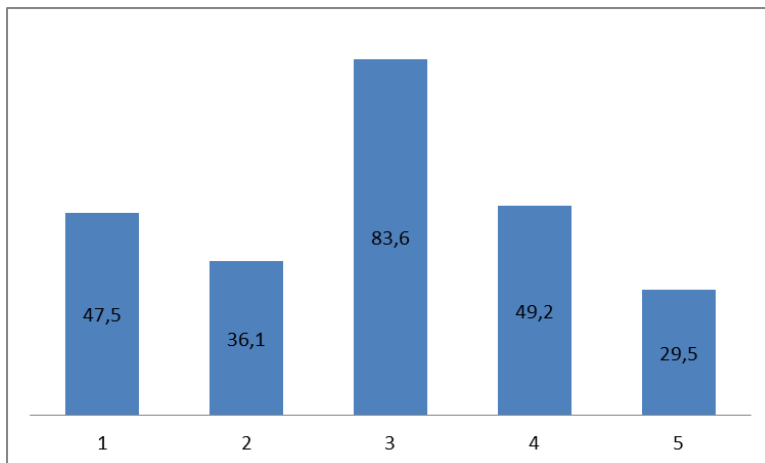


Table 3: Arts technique: 1 – aquarelle, 2 – acrylic, 3 – drawings, 4 – oil on canvas, 5 – graphics. Values are presented in per cent

Feminist attitudes

The greatest number of the participants agreed with the following attitudes:

- there were fewer female artists in the past, because art was considered as public work, and average women were unworthy of it (65%),
- there is no disinterested observation (66.1%),
- patriarchal culture and art have an attitude which shows interest in women, who are the objects of pleasure (55.9%), and
- women are presented according to the male criteria in artwork (52.8%).

A great number disagree as regards the following attitudes:

- in order to become culturally capable, women must learn male normative standards – notions, values, terms (65.9%),
- by the end of the 60s women had been represented as objects in art (43.1%),
- female creativity reflects itself in subjectivism, the unconscious, the intuitive, the emotional (29.3%) ...

It should be mentioned at this point that the greatest number of the artists remained neutral on the subject of open-minded feminist attitudes by circling: "I have no opinion regarding this matter". Thus the following statements were evaluated: "Everything that men have written about women is suspicious" (de Beauvoir, 1989: xxvii) - 33.9%, "Great art works leave a possibility for different potential interpretations, and feminist interpretation is just one of them" - 37.9%, or "women in art have perceived and represented themselves through the eyes of men" - 33.9%.

- a female nude is a frequent theme of art works since it is a desirable decorative ornament to man's eye – this statement had an equal distribution between agreement (44%) and disagreement (41.4%), and similar distribution was that of attitudes towards the statement that feminism is a political movement and has nothing to do with art (equally agree and disagree –34.5% respectively).

Women in the art world

To the question whether there are enough women in positions of power in the art world (proportionally to the number of students applying for art universities and proportionally to the number of female artists), the participants have answered the following:

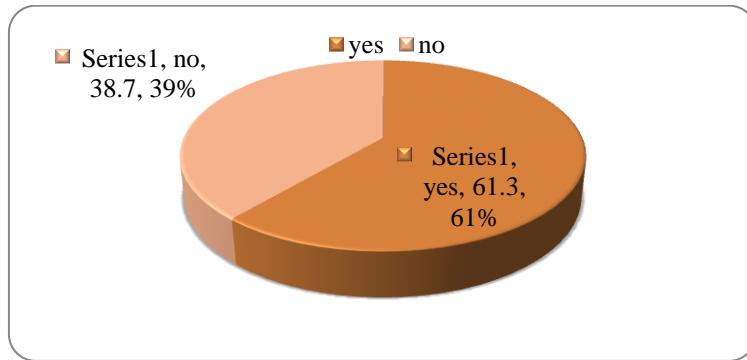


Table 4: Distribution of women in the art world: enough – 61%, insufficiently - 39%

The minority having answered that women are not sufficiently present in the art world, list the reasons as provided in the diagram below.

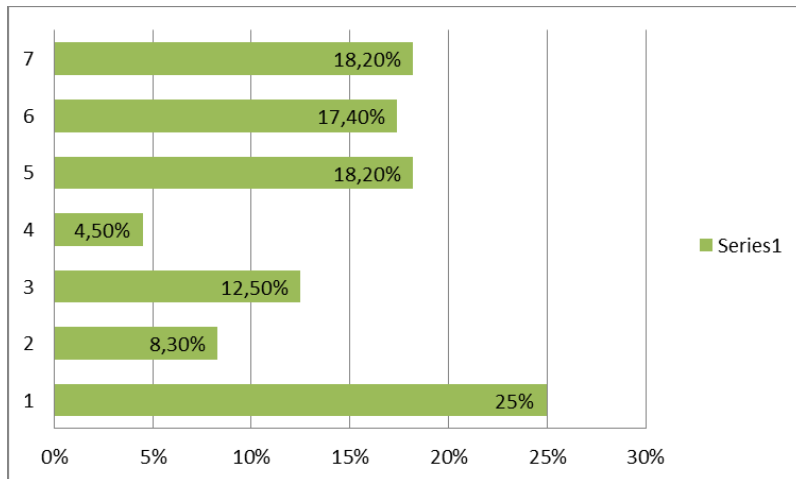


Table 5: Reasons for insufficient presence of women in the art world: 1 – institutional reticence to women, 2 – art work themes (not popular), 3 – other priorities of female artists themselves, 4 – lower quality of works, 5 – non-existence of formal and informal networks of women within the profession, 6 – insufficient production of works due to family duties, 7 – insufficient engagement in art associations

The diagram clearly shows that the majority of the participants have rejected the reason of a lower quality of female works and thematic non-topicality, whereas the institutional reticence to women was identified as the main reason.

Discrimination in visual arts world

At the end, the participants had a chance to directly answer the question whether there is gender discrimination in the fields of visual arts. Their answers are presented in the diagram below.

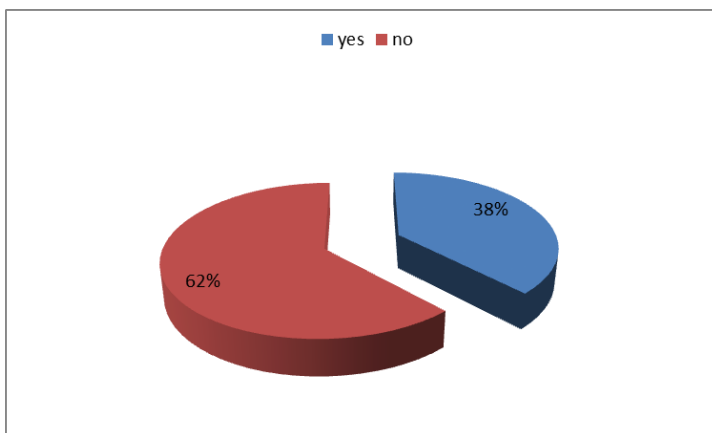


Table 6: Discrimination in visual art world: The question of the existence of gender discrimination in the art world: Yes–37.9% No–62.1%

b) the qualitative analysis of the interview

Upon analysing the interview conducted with ten artists, the following results have been obtained:

To the question whether art should be assessed as value-neutral or socially conditioned and whether society influences artists and their works, a half of the artists took the following stand:

First, society influences art, defining its position and position of artists, prevailing styles, available materials, conditions of display, selection of topics and the market and economic status of artists. On the other hand, artistic creativity plays an active role in shaping social values, in which the interaction with audience is most important. The other half of the artists maintained that society influences art, but artists are somewhat independent in their works. Creativity and talent are innate, but an artist, as a social being, expresses or opposes social values adopted by education and socialisation.

All the participants considered art as an instrument in the service of daily politics.

As regards art definition, the majority believed that art is the embodiment of emotions in a certain medium, acceptable to audience (emotionalist theory of art). However, a considerable number of the participants maintained that the most significant condition for art is the form (formalist theory). Only one artist considered art primarily as a form of cognition (cognitive theory). The participants least agreed with the view that the value of art and a piece of art is time- and space-related, and that it depends on current social attitudes and values that change over time.

The interviewed participants categorised the aesthetic category of beauty, one of the central categories in theory of art, primarily into the domain of subjective experience. They mainly accepted the viewpoint that beauty represents the combination of inherent properties of an object and subjective experience (dispositional notion of beauty). Accordingly, they considered the concept of beauty

to be changeable in the diachronic, but also synchronic cultural sense, as well as that the feel for beauty may be cultivated. Three participants stated that “beautiful” is an essential and universal, unchangeable conception in art.

The interviewed participants stated that they usually express themselves through drawing, oil on canvas and sculpture in their work, while only two of them said to practise performances as well. In addition, the selection of themes was traditional, mostly consisting of landscapes, still lifes, figures (portraits, nudes), whereas abstract, metaphysical and engaged themes were chosen by two female subjects.

Although all the participants expressed the explicit opinion that there is no such a thing as male and female art, there is only good and bad art, six of them stated that they express their female nature through their work, while three remained uncertain. One participant said that a specific “female nature” does not exist.

Furthermore, the participants were quite sceptical about new methods of expressing art, such as performance, video art, body art etc, in which there is a prevailing presence of women, owing to the opinion that they lack in artistic value and are not taken seriously in the art world because of their emphasised feminist attitudes.

Answering the question whether there are enough powerful women in the art world, proportionally to the number of students applying for art universities and the number of female artists, the participants maintained that there may not have been many of them in the past, but their number is increasing nowadays, and women are present in all stages of art. The participants found personal reasons or lack of persistence to be responsible for the cases when there is no sufficient number of female artists. Therefore, there are no social obstacles, only individual. Only two participants said that there are not enough female artists in positions of power.

As regards the answers to the last question, reading: “Do you believe that gender discrimination exists in visual arts?”, four participants considered it to exist,

the same number considered it to have existed before, although the number is much smaller nowadays, whereas two of them believed that discrimination does not exist.

Discussion:

The results of qualitative and quantitative analyses have confirmed the hypothesis in accordance with which the study was conducted.

On answering the questions, the participants mainly decided upon the given options which illustrate a traditional conception of art. Within the area of defining art, the viewpoint on art as elusive, i.e. rationally incomprehensible and non-deductible to the fulfilment of necessary and sufficient conditions, is prevailing. It is intuitively grounded, so is beauty subjectively determined, despite being very frequently conceived as perpetual and intransient. A comparative analysis with aesthetic theories indicates that the participants are inclined to intuitive and cognitive theories within the area of defining art and its purposefulness. Their inconsistency when they were asked straightforward questions about the so-called “female creativity”. They declaratively refused the division of art into “male” and “female”, as well as the traits which have been traditionally attributed to female creativity. Nevertheless, their agreement with the given “female” viewpoints (subjectivity, intuitiveness, unconsciousness, emotionalism) confutes it. The participants’ responses confirm what the majority of them categorically denied: that it is necessary to learn male normative standards in order to be acclaimed and that women in the art world regard themselves “through male spectacles”. The fact that over a half of the participants have educated parents is interesting. Their parents’ education, as well as their own clearly do not impact open-mindedness towards contemporary, innovative conceptions in art and culture in general. The patriarchal traditional model of gendered roles takes a dominant part in family upbringing, and so does the whole education system which has been based on it. Therefore, these seemingly inconsistent results may be explained. By comparing the results of the questionnaire to the results of the interview, some differences in views are evident

related to whether there is discrimination in art or not. The art students replied that there is no gender discrimination, while older artists (in terms of professional experience) when faced with concrete questions about their life and work, stated that discrimination exists in present times as well. The art students' responses have been mainly based on the fact whether university is open to admission of female students to art departments and their increased presence in the art world, which may be interpreted as gender equality.

The selection of topics for works of art, as well as materials, also underpins traditional manners of expression. An inconsiderable number of the participants chose performances, video-art, body-art. The selection of dynamics, expressiveness and innovativeness, as the most important aesthetic values is also in contrast to the chosen techniques, because these traits may be accomplished more expressively with contemporary tools and techniques. Likewise, there is no positive correlation concerning the number of the participants who believed to express their self-identity through their work and those who chose the themes which we have named "experience and the life of woman", in a sense that they connect their own female identity with something else. The presence of classical academic themes and techniques is expectable because a big part of the sample comprised the participants from student population.

Overlapping of values in tables 5 and 6 implies that the same participant responded that women are not sufficiently present in the art world, and that male domination and female discrimination are present. A similar distribution of the responses (around 30%) may be also found in some gender sensitive questions and answers. These results indicate that gender sensitivity is present with that group of the sample, i.e. that they have the ability to observe social conditioning of gender roles in their profession as well.

As it is the case with entire society, in the art world as well modern tendencies make their way very slowly, especially those connected with contemporary feminist theory, which favours anti-essentialist views in art. As integral part of society, the entire educational system slowly incorporates into its curriculum and textbooks

theoretical concepts which question dominant social and cultural values, and as regards our research some of these crucial values are related to the gendered aspect in visual arts.

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REPRESENTATION OF DIVORCE ON SCREEN: TV SERIES AND MOVIES IN 1980s SERBIA

Staša Lučić

Introduction

Time frame and location

The research focuses on the 1980s since this is seen as time when television developed its presence in life of people in Serbia enough to exercise influence. It is also chosen because the ideological pressures were not as strong as in the previous decades. On the other hand, the television in the 1980s was still limited to two channels (both of them state owned)⁴³ so we can speak about certain common places in terms of choice of shows watched, as well as social, family nature of watching TV since there was no differentiation according to age group.

Although the same program was broadcasted in the whole former Yugoslavia, the research focuses on Serbia which is was one of the six republics Yugoslavia consisted of. The interviews made for the purpose of the research were conducted with people living in Serbia, mostly in Belgrade. It is planned for the future research to conduct a set of interviews in the other five republics to see whether there is a significant difference in the way these television shows and the way they

⁴³ JRT started experimental broadcasting in 1958 and regular broadcasting in 1966, while the Channel 2 started broadcasting in 1971. Channel 3 started broadcast in 1989 announcing the emphasis on regional differences and will not be taken as scope of this research.

represented divorce were perceived (and also to see whether this constitutes positive correlation with divorce rates in these republics).

The research will investigate the way the representation of divorce on screen influenced the values previously held on the issue. It will try to read how the most popular shows represent family values and also how these were understood by the audience. So, the aims of the research is firstly to analyse the representations of marriage and divorce on screen, and secondly to determine if there is a correlation between the representation of divorce on screen and acceptance of divorce in society⁴⁴.

Terms, concepts and the basic hypothesis

The paper is based on theoretical concept of *divorce culture*, which is defined as the sets of beliefs that marriage is optional and conditional, so being aware that divorce is an option if the marriage doesn't work (Yodanis, 2005)⁴⁵. Following one of the many possible explanations for rising divorce culture is that in order to have a rise in divorce culture three factors need to be fulfilled. This concept of being ready, willing and able to divorce represents the economic, legal and cultural factors respectively (Simonsson, Sandstrom, 2011)⁴⁶. Furthermore, in order for divorce culture to exist in society, one has to be certain that it is possible to be economically independent, to have access to divorce laws, but also to know that the act of divorce will be accepted by (significant) others and oneself. The paper will seek the connection of what was seen, who saw it and whether this affected the previously held values. Also it will seek the connection between previously held values that pre-existed in society as a kind of a compass showing what might and what might not be filmed and screened.

⁴⁴ In doing so, both the degree to which representation on screen influenced values, and vice versa, values through which commonly held values influenced representation on screen will be assessed and evaluated.

⁴⁵ Concept originates from Hackstaff, 1999.

⁴⁶ Concept originates from Coale, 1975.

The starting hypothesis is that there were some common trends in representation of marriage and divorce (both on regional and global level). From this the hypothesis arises that people accepted some values and were more *willing* to divorce due to a more positive image of divorce on screen, but also that the fact that people were willing to divorce made these representations the way they were.

I will also investigate if the artistic and “brave” movies and to smaller degree TV series functioned as the *switchers* of existing attitudes, radically changing the perspective of the audience concerning the issue of divorce, while the commercial TV soap operas and domestic comedies *followed the mainstream* presented the values shared by audience, sometimes exaggerated and spiced up with glamour. In this manner, it is particularly interesting to observe domestic series as a possible indicator of rising divorce culture.

Method

The research is conducted using qualitative method in two levels/phases. Firstly, movies and series were seen and analysed using subversive reading method. In the second phase 15 in-depth interviews were conducted with random sample to provide insight in different interpretations based on different age, life experience, and gender, socio-economic and cultural background.

While in realistic reading of the movie we learn what is presented, in subversive reading we learn what the representation tells us about what is represented, thus in subversive reading we will analyse minor characters, we will contrast the positions of men, women and children and look at how the film idealizes certain key cultural values, like family, work, religion and love (Denzin, 2000: 240). It is also taken into consideration that interpreter has strong role in the process of the interpretation, so that the final product is interaction between the stimuli and the subject who interprets (the things are not as they are but as we are). For the purpose of this research I set the TV narratives in the context of the trends and interpretations of history of divorce. In this manner I observe the frequency in divorce of minor

characters, the role of cultural differences, extended family, presence of children, employment and education, “bargaining”, and his and hers divorce. I also try to translate connotations related to representations into the conclusion whether the phenomenon of divorce was accepted in society. Besides, I pose the question whether detabooisation of divorce was copied from screen to real life, i.e. whether the fact that divorce is in detail and with no shame presented on screen corresponds to deprivation of divorce euphemism in real life.

The selection of TV series was based on the memories and preferences of the author, which were later modified following the in-depth interviews with random sample, as well as web research (Nostramo, internet) focusing on those movies and series that were most frequently addressed or were very interesting for the research. The foreign and domestic TV series and movies were not treated separately, although some particular aspects were taken into consideration in analysis of foreign TV shows.

In the next phase of the research fifteen in-depth interviews were conducted with random sample (the criterion was simple same workplace). The interviewees were of different age starting from age of birth 1948 until 1978), 2/3 were females, with different family status both at the moment and in the decade that they were interviewed about. They originate from different socioeconomic backgrounds, at the moment living mostly in Belgrade and surroundings. They were asked about their family structure and how they remember the family structure/marital status of their social surroundings in the 1980s. Then they were asked about the habits related to watching television, and about their favourite shows. Finally, they were asked to comment divorce in TV series and movies, both domestic and foreign and how they perceived it. Many of them related their perception to their own experiences of marriage or their general life experience. Some of these interviews lasted for hours in several stages, others were much shorter. The time limit was not set for any of them. All interviews were taken into account when reaching conclusions, while only the selected interviews were quoted in the paper. The tables present some aspects of the sample:

Table 1: Age of the interviewees

Year of birth	Women	Men
1948-1958	2	1
1958-1968	3	1
1968-1978	5	3

Table 2: Place where interviewees were living in the 1980s

Place	Interviewees
Belgrade	10
Mladenovac	1
Pančevo	1
Jagodina	1
Užice	1
Pirot	1

Table 3: Family structure in which interviewees were living in the 1980s

Family structure	Men	Women
Child in a family, parents married	4	5
Child in a family parents divorced		1
First living in family, parents married, during the decade got married	1	2
First living in family, parents divorced, during the decade got married		1
Married		1
Divorced		0

The analysis was done having in mind the legal framework (comparative legal systems, divorce law reforms) and common trends in divorce legislation: secularization of divorce, liberalization of divorce laws – gradual increase in number of grounds for divorce, no-fault divorce, and unilateral divorce. Besides, the divorce trends were observed within the context of marriage patterns (global – the second demographic transition and regional – the Hajnal line). Finally, the historical context of political, economic, social and cultural characteristics of Serbia within SFRY at the eve of the Cold War and communist regime in Eastern Europe was taken into account as well.

Literature Review

Theoretical background as already stated was based on interpretations of divorce culture by Carrie Yodanis (Yodanis, 2005) (originates from Karla Hackstaff) and the concept of ready, willing, able that originates from Coale, but was adopted to issue of divorce by Simonsson and Sandstrom (Simonsson, Sandstrom 2011). For understanding of the importance and role that television had in the first few decades of its existence in Serbia invaluable piece of writing was Šešić (2007). For methodological purposes the companion to qualitative studies, with already explained method of subversive reading, Denzin (2000) was consulted.

In Serbia, the importance of TV series as one of the most influential and most interesting phenomena of contemporary popular culture has been emphasized by Đurković (Đurković, 2005: 381). In his research, which is a pioneer in this topic area in the country, he investigates a set of values that are being propagated and presented to the auditorium, but focuses also on values in general during the period of five years, from 2001 to 2005 (Đurković, 2005: 381). Đurković also argues for the need of a research based on this medium. Research based on movies, focusing on the partisan war campaign movies and socialist Yugoslavian cinematography and assessing the representation of the enemy and its relation to ideological

discourse, but also its consistency with historical facts conducted by Nemanja Zvijer (Zvijer, 2011) was also used as guidelines in terms of methodology.

Small screen – big influence

The very beginnings of watching TV were one of the family (sometimes even the whole neighbourhood) praxis, a collective act, strongly connoted to socializing. In order to understand this we need to have in mind that program was limited to couple of hours, usually late afternoon to evening, and that not everyone had the TV, so the home with TV would be the host to many. Later it became an act of the family, a kind of ritual after work or at the evening. Some of the interviewees who were children state that they remember watching TV alone in the morning and noon when school related educational shows were on (Mandic, 2013), but evenings would be reserved for families all together, often seated in popular L-shaped large sofas that could accommodate even extended families or guests. Towards the end of the decade, the programs were increased both in terms of duration and number of channels and this was followed by increasing phenomenon of getting another TV receiver for the same household. This was often in the children's room when children were becoming teenagers (Mirkovic, 2013). The relevance of the above stated for the research lies in the need to share the experience of watching, to comment and discuss the plot, the characters and general impressions particularly in case of TV series, which led to revival of what was seen. Several interviewees mentioned how each and every episode of *Dynasty* (particularly at the beginning which corresponds to seasons 1 and 2) was later discussed at school or workplace. Due to repetitive nature in case of TV series or to appeal to emotions, more often in case of movies, what was seen on screen exercised influence on people's lives. What was seen and kept in memory was stored and ready to be used in particular instances of life.

Kramer VS Kramer, the wife VS the husband

The movie Kramer VS Kramer marked the paradigm shift in representation of divorce. It was probably the strong artistic impression that made audience empathize with the character in a surprising way.

Interviewees often referred to the movie, particularly female interviewees (7 out of 10 female in relation to 2 out of 5 male). Women particularly evoked strong emotions; it was compared by one interviewee to the effect that Anna Karenina had on teenagers being a first grade secondary school reading (Knezevic, 2013).

The plot is based on desertion by wife without any obvious, common ground for divorce (adultery, maltreatment, drunkenness). The movie poses the question of fulfilment of a woman beyond the frames of a wife and a mother, the question of empty feeling in spite of the fulfilment of family role, and the question of (accepted) unemployment of one of the spouses.

One of the issues presented in the movie is the *no-fault divorce*. The movie followed the divorce liberalization in the US that had to do with grounds for divorce. Namely, there were certain grounds that divorce might be filed for and in case that these grounds were not present the couple, even if both spouses wanted it, could not file for divorce. This led to many suits where grounds, such as adultery were invented and played as a theatre show, which often made a court room look like mockery.

The principle of no-fault is the principle of self-determination, strongly connected to the notion that marriage ceased to exist as an institution that provides shared economy, legal offspring, but becomes pure relationship as defined by Giddens. In legal terms the principle of self-determination of marital status responds to the fact that spouses determine their relations themselves (Kovaček, 2004: 160).

By 1980s all the states in US have adopted no-fault divorce. Serbia, on the other hand had a radical change in divorce legislation with the end of the second world war and communist regime establishment, when marriage and divorce were taken from jurisdiction of church to jurisdiction of state. So, in both cases we have the

able factor present (meaning it is legally possible to file for divorce with no grounds that is no fault divorce). It seems thus that the movie is preparing a terrain for the conquest of the *willing* factor in case everything seems to be alright in a relationship, yet nothing is good. It seems almost like we needed to see Joana (Meryl Streep) to walk on her husband to understand that this is a possible solution for not being satisfied by marriage. Whether this is an ethical justification for no-fault divorce legislation or just a reflection of the phenomenon we cannot really tell.

Another issue seen in the movie is the question of unilateral divorce, meaning that only one side wants to file for divorce. This is a product of completely different interpretations of the very same marriage. In this case it is a woman who perceives it as unsatisfying while a man does not see anything wrong in the relationship. Different interpretations were observed on the perception of Joana's decision to leave her husband varying from impressions such as: "she left for something you were not taught you should leave for, there was no violence, no drinking, no gambling, no adultery" (Knezevic, 2013) but also "there is a strong negative connotation around the character of Joanna (Meryl Streep), she is seen as the reason of all the troubles; she is the one who left, if he was the one who left, no one would care, there would be no movie... All this makes me sick" (Zigic, 2013). Different approaches were interpreted as a consequence of different socioeconomic structures, but also explained by the interviewees themselves as consequences of where they lived. It was not only rural –urban differences but also the city areas that made the difference. Thus, areas of city centre (Vračar for example) were often connected with more liberal view on the issue of divorce while working neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city (Rakovica) were seen as more traditional and with prevalent *marriage culture*. The movie also poses the question of what happens with the child (children) after parents' divorce, as well as the question of gender in relation to determining the right of custody.

What also was seen as a result of the interviews was the variety of interpretations and the selective memory. What was also interesting is what the interviewees remembered about the movie. While some focused on the already

mentioned desertion by wife, one interviewee only remembered the faith of the boy and the way he lived through the divorce (Martinovski, 2013). This selective memory was attributed to the different life experiences of the interviewees, (including ones that followed the first watching of the movie) often connected to selectivity of perception.

The movie was also seen to have a strong, long lasting influence. It was remembered by one of the interviewees at the times of one marriage crisis that followed the movie more than decade and a half (Knezevic 2013). The movie was screened in Serbia almost simultaneously to the US screening.



Picture 1: Movie posters, Kramer VS Kramer, 1979, a) United States, b) Serbia

Dynasty

The American soap opera Dynasty lasted from 1981-1989, and was broadcasted with a year of delay in SFRY. The very first sounds of opening credits would align the family members in their massive comfortable L-shaped sofas and the show could start.

The unique popularity of the serial was referred to by some of interviewees as “This was a family thing. Something you just don’t miss. We would start talking about it a day or two before the screening. It is tonight.” (Mandic, 2013) One interviewee remembered being desperate for being sent to her aunt who had no TV

when the very first episode was about to be broadcasted. “It was like the aliens were coming to Earth. Everyone talked about it and I couldn’t see it!” (Knezevic, 2013)

The shade of the colour “Krystle blue” named after the character dresses also witnesses the immense popularity of *Dynasty*. Several authors also refer to tongue twister inspired by this serial (Šešić, 2007: 755)⁴⁷.

The *Dynasty* was different: oil magnates, campaign, caviar, luxury cars and houses (compared to state own property, with a maxima “if you own a house return the flat”). The splendour hypnotized the crowd, but no strong emotional bond was made with the characters. “Everything they did, it was somewhere else, not applicable to us“ (Mandic, 2013).

It seems that from the very opening credits we can read the characters. Blake Carrington, who made a mistake in his first choice marrying Alexis with she-devil smile at the end of opening credits, divorced and remarried blonde, blue-eyed angel Krystle. The audience identifies with Blake, and the fact that simplified representation of devil–angel characters and their conflict⁴⁸, presents angel as a second choice might imply the idea of acceptance of divorce. It starts with the stereotype of hostile reception of the second wife by stepchildren, but the stereotype is gradually undermined.

Subversive reading results with huge number of divorces, proportional to the rising number of the episodes, both of main and minor characters (Krystle who was also married before, in the third season finds out that her divorce was not really legal and is considered invalid, Steven, Blake’s son and one of the first declared homosexuals in a soap opera, divorced his wife Sami Jo, and his second wife Claudia for his adultery with another man and her adultery with another man, Fallon divorced her husband Jeff, Jeff divorced, remarried and divorced again, Alexis

⁴⁷ “Aleksis, Kristl, Semi Džo, to su žene, o-ho-ho” While reading the text I remembered myself that we were singing this in early childhood, which I later completely forget and was moved when hearing it after more than two decades. Great influence of American series was evident in almost hysterical welcome for the movie stars guests. More about this in: Dragičević, Šešić, 2007.

⁴⁸ The peaks of their conflict were the cat-fights in the second and third season.

divorced her third husband Dex). Does the number of divorce in the soap opera reflect the rise of divorce rate in US society? And if so, was Serbia ready for it? Or it merely reflects the fact that the soap opera lasted too long (although the mentioned divorces were mainly from the first three seasons). The interviewees say that they understood *Dynasty* as origin of Spanish series that have numerous turnovers in characters' relations due to huge number of episodes.

What also seems to be important when analysing family relations and values as represented in *Dynasty* is that characters after divorce do remarry, sometimes they remarry the very same person they divorced, sometimes they marry someone else, sometimes they stay alone, but we can definitely speak about decomposing of the taboo of remarriage, which is one of the characteristics of acceptance of divorce, announcing the divorce culture (or again it has to do with the form of soap opera?).

Bolji život

Bolji život – Better Life was a very popular TV serial⁴⁹ that corresponds to domestic *Dynasty* (it is worth mentioning that family has the same structure in relation to children age and gender). All the interviewees, regardless of gender, age, and place they lived in, mentioned *Bolji život*. They all referred to it as realistic TV show that reflected the society of the time, but the comments that followed included very different interpretations, sometimes even not consistent with the previous argument.

Some interviewees said that they didn't think about the phenomenon of divorce in *Bolji život* as something that could really happen in life, but as a theatre show (Mirkovic, 2013), or they understood it as a part of the plot (Mandic, 2013). Others said that they were horrified by the idea of divorce "It was scary, I was traumatized... It just seemed so impossible that this could happen to them, they seemed just like a dissent family, like my family" (Jovicic 2013). All of the

⁴⁹ To this day the serial had four reruns and the last one broadcasted on public television RTS in 2013 had ratings of almost 40% (Milenkovic, internet).

mentioned interviewees belong to age group with birth date 1968-1978. This group was mostly very traditional in terms of divorce and seemed far from divorce culture.

It is important to notice that none of the interviewees (although they seemed to remember all the characters, names and plot) could remember what really happened with the main character marriage, whether they finally divorced or not.

One of the issues observed in analysis of Bolji Život was the evident cultural difference and the way it affected the marriage. According to *mate selection theory*, the concept of *affiliative ethnic identities* argues that “rather than decreasing the importance of ethnic symbols, people pursue interethnic relationships because of the ethnic differences they include” (Yodanis, 2012: 1021). This concept was perceived in relationship of two main characters not in terms of ethnic, but cultural differences.

We speculate this based on frequent comments such as “you used to love when I ..” that there was a mate selection not in spite of but perhaps because of their cultural difference, however it does not function the same way anymore after the silver anniversary (25 years of marriage). The conflict sparks between the husband Dragiša Giga Moravac with rural background and Emilija coming from respected old style city bourgeoisie family which lost economic but not the cultural capital with communist regime⁵⁰.

Another issue that might be perceived on the same example of attempted divorce (half way between marriage and divorce) is emphasis given on the slow, ineffective procedure, as well as reluctance to divorce evident in often changing decision. Together with perceived shame of characters for getting divorce (they hide the fact that they have a law suit from their daughter’s future father in law), these observations constitute arguments of prevalent marriage culture.

However, the issue of male authority in family was perceived as not a prevalent pattern. None of the families had the strong male authority. There is an idea that not

⁵⁰ It is interesting to notice that this is one of the first characters with positive connotations of this kind of family background.

so long ago this was the case, but none of the male characters acts as a head of the house. On the other hand, the idea of unequal distribution of housework is more persistent. Ironing and sewing seem to be the jobs reserved to female population and when housework is not done properly it implies some problems in family relation and negligence (Dragiša's secretary is wondering how he goes around with missing buttons on his shirt, and offers to do this for him which implies the change in their relation).

Another instance that confirms the non-acceptance of division of housework is when the newlywed couple (Aleksandar, the oldest son and his first wife) after their wedding night, the morning after is faced with the breakfast with wife's parents. The wives (both mother and daughter) are going to work, husbands stay at home. The young bride upon leaving for work tells her husband: "Go to the market, please. At three o'clock take the lunch out of the fridge. Oh, please pick up the dishes, get the laundry out from the washing machine... Bye, kisses... I'm late". The very same day he declares that we will be ruined both morally and psychologically if he doesn't get the job at once! It is clear that the housework, actually the very idea of doing housework while his wife is working is what made him say so. The employment of women in Serbia is still in many empirical studies seen in a positive correlation with marriage instability and divorce (Tošić & Todorović, 2011: 397).

One important factor for the (in)stability of marriage, quite frequent and noticeable in Serbia also present in *Bolji život* is the "leaving under the same roof", i.e. when married couple lives in the extended household (usually with the parents of one of the partners often including brothers and sisters also)⁵¹. This issue is represented in already mentioned newlywed couple, but also in a much older couple with at least twenty year experience living with the wife's mother. The husband, high school teacher, called by his students "Terminator" is later to become a lover of Emilija. He is quarrelling with his mother-in-law for ages. Their dialogs are often funny, but also sadly familiar to the audience. At certain instance, in an attempt to

⁵¹ This was again very common after the first screening of *Bolji život* in the decade of the 1990s when economic, social and political crisis caused many couples to stay with parents (in-law).

save their marriage, the wife, Lela, prepares a romantic dinner for her husband and herself, to spend a night alone, and the husband replies: “We have never been alone, and we shall never be alone. Your mother is always snooping around. I always think that your mother will jump out when I open the door”. He opens the door, and the mother falls in front of them. Two cases in extended household represented here, both end in divorce.

The marriages of the second generation, children of Emilija and Dragiša, Violeta and Aleksandar⁵² are much less stable, much closer to divorce culture. Both marriages are uncertain from the very beginning, they are both made with idea of divorce as a possible outcome. Here the *bargaining theory*⁵³, blackmailing and conditioning the partners with a threat of divorce might apply.

Violeta’s father-in-law three times divorced himself, is complaining over the decision of his son to get divorce. He argues that it is acceptable to get divorced when you are very young (which his son no longer is) but not when you are mature enough.

Some interviewees argued that Bolji život reflected the changes in society very well. “I believe it was obvious that in the 1980s it was not at all unusual to be divorced, and some other phenomena such as children out of wedlock were no longer a taboo. I remember there was a girl who had a child, didn’t marry, she was very nice, everyone treated her well“ (Martinovski, 2013).

Bolji život is far from perfect, yet there is still little or no violence, physical and sexual abuse, substance abuse, which might be due to the form of comedy or some kind of invisible, silent censorship in representing family values.

⁵² The youngest son Slobodan is not married.

⁵³ According to bargaining theory, partners have options both within and outside of marriage, and each partner’s ability to negotiate in the bargaining process is based on the options that are available to him or her (Yodanis, 2005). “Divorce threat point” depends on environmental factors, and here implies high level of divorce culture.

However, we are faced with surprisingly high divorce rate in characters of the show, much higher than the divorce rate in society⁵⁴.

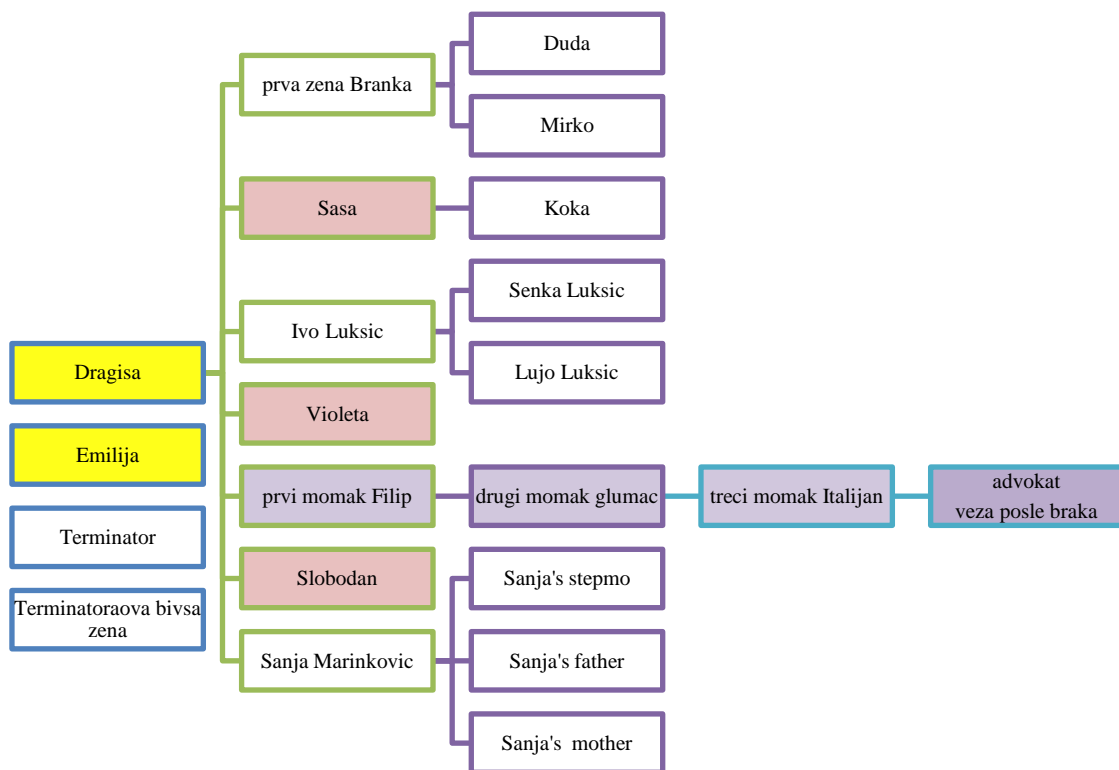


Chart 1: Family tree of divorce

Visual representation of marital status of the main characters and characters usually related to them.

D - divorced, M - married, for Emilija and Dragiša, both symbols present that they filed for divorce but changed their mind and stayed married (8 out of 11 marriages ended in divorce)

⁵⁴ For example: in 1984 in 1000 marriages there were 151 divorces, for divorce rates in major characters and those related to them see Chart 1.

Family myths and horrors

In response to “society in decline” television sets the family myths, portrayed in soap operas and comedies, that are opposite to the realities of family lives of the majority, labelled as “cultural fantasies” (Denzin 1987). TV shows such as Family Ties (1982-1989) and Cosby Show (1984-1992), broadcasted in SFRY, portray this kind of perfect family, both plotted around middle and upper-middle class family with many children.

These might be interpreted as an attempt to react on the rising divorce number, named divorce revolution that in 1974 in the US led to more marriages ended in divorce than death (Popenoe 2008).

The TV show *Sivi dom*, constitutes the opposite of the family myths of Denzin, opposite of situation comedies of the type, domestic *Pozorište u kući* and US Family Ties. It entered the homes of society that already was in period of crisis, but wasn't told so.

It was created with help of UNICEF, in the international year of children, with the initiative of Donka Spicek, editor of the cultural program for young people. It represents the lives of young people from the outskirts of society, dysfunctional families, society which offers no forgiveness, which discriminates, young people who swallow the electrodes, cut their veins, with no censorship. It represents the parade of unconcern, indifference, vices (mostly alcoholism but also drug abuse).

If we can talk about such a thing as a silent censorship it was definitely broken in 1986 with *Sivi dom*. Whatever was kept from the eyes of the public, burst in these 12 episodes. It does not refer directly to divorce, but remarriage was often represented as a grand failure. Emphasis was placed on children who suffered within or because of or for the lack of the family. “His stepfather was a construction entrepreneur... Built a big house, he lived upstairs, kept them in the ground floor, and often abused his mother. Always the same, constantly the same!”

Subversive reading suggests that society (at least part of it that was represented in *Sivi dom*) did not accept remarriage, which did not function well, new husbands

did not accept their wives' children from previous marriage(s). In legal terms there are not many divorces, mostly desertions, more frequently by husband, which leads to both of the partners continuing their lives, including new relationships. Category of formal divorce does not apply here, but marriage breakdown, which (if responds to reality) might imply that official divorce rates do not reflect the real situation of marital status in society.

The interviewees remember the show, found it as revealing in terms they have seen something they didn't know yet they somehow still didn't feel threatened by that. The interviewees with age of birth 1968-1978 particularly those 1976-1978 felt that their families or families of their surrounding could by no means have similar fate (Mirkovic, 2013).

Life after divorce

Light comedy *Dear John*, made in 1988 broadcasted in SFRY, starts with the letter which informs John that his wife is leaving him for his best friend⁵⁵. The very content of the letter is actually a song of opening credits, very cheerful and funny, the one that we hear at the start of each episode, yet deprived of a tragic tone, usually or at least till then connoted to divorce. The emphasis here is on John's life after divorce. Namely, he joins support group for divorced and widows, which actually makes the plot of the show. The group members help each other to deal with the situation, which leads to number of comical situations. This perspective represents life after divorce as different, but also as a new begging. John and his friends are not enthusiastic about the change in their lives, but audience is faced with new, fresh aspect of life after divorce. Emphasis is put on the support group to present that more and more people share the same problem, which makes the

⁵⁵ Dear John letters is a phrase which refers to the letters that wives and girlfriends write in order to say goodbye to their partners, usually for new relationship. It dates back to the letters written to American soldiers overseas by their girlfriends and wives in 1945 to break up the relationship usually for another man.

problem not to be perceived as problem but as a social phenomenon. None of the interviewees firstly mentioned the show, but when reminded those who remembered reacted in line with above stated.

Death after divorce – War of the Roses

“Very funny... Until one point” (Zigic, 2013)

The plot is focused on the struggle for the house in divorce trail. “They fight so much, with such zeal, that in a moment they forget what they are fighting about” (Zigic, 2013). Emphasis is placed on determination to end the marriage at any price, in this case the spouses’ lives. The message that starts the movie is “think well before you decide to get divorced” said by the lawyer Gevon who is a narrator of the story of the failed marriage. The very exact comment was made by one of the interviewees (Martinoviski, 2013).

What starts as a romantic story of two people meant for each other ends after seventeen years of marriage in words of Barbara (Kathleen Turner) giving the reason for getting divorce to Oliver “Because. When I watch you eat. When I see you asleep. When I look at you lately, I just want to smash your face in” (The War of the Roses).

The final scene is what makes this movie unusual in terms of genre. They end their lives becoming the victims of their own traps, in an attempt to kill each other. They sit on the big chandelier, which finally falls and they refuse to help each other to save each other’s lives. What would make this movie winsome to the mainstream audience would probably be the scene of their reconciliation at the end of the movie. However, what we see is a moment where their hands approach one another, but Barbara’s strong movement of repulsing Oliver’s hand does not leave room for second thoughts. Her message is final, irrevocable, and does not subject to bargaining for life. The movie also represented certainty, firmness of decision to end marriage at any price. This arguably might be considered as a sign of divorce

culture. The war of the Roses remains a phrase used as a synonym of tough and toilsome process of divorce.

Conclusion

To conclude, it seems that we can perceive gradual change in representing divorce on screen, particularly in domestic TV shows, which consists of greater number of divorces represented, as well as more complex picture of it, at the same time less stereotyped.

We cannot speak about uniform influence, for it was seen that many people interpreted things differently, so basically we might argue that pre-existed values were only confirmed by what was seen on TV. However this does not apply to movies that were labelled as “switchers” as it was with Kramer VS Kramer, War of the Roses and Sivi dom. Women were in general more aware of the influence that popular culture had on their attitudes and sometimes evoked particular narratives in later periods, such as marriage crisis.

Bolji život and Dynasty might be labelled as “follow the stream” for they probably reflected the society of the moment; however they were *switchers* in some other areas, for example Dynasty in representing homosexuality and Bolji život in representing greater divorce rate or child out of wedlock. In both, number of divorces is huge. While Dynasty was seen as different and not applicable, Bolji život was seen as realistic and similar to real life. Dear John was seen as evidence of rise of divorce culture for the whole plot is based on life after divorce. We also perceived that some movies left their marks in phraseology, which constitutes a strong evidence for their influence (War of the Roses).

What was the unexpected result of the research is the uniform stance of the generation 1976-1978 and memories of strong marriage culture. They either did not know about divorce at that time or they had particularly negative image of it. This might be attributed to the fact that they were children; however it is argued here this

was a product of overprotection both from parents, families and society, all the three striving to be ideal.

Although we can see that there is gradual rise in *willing* factor, the period that follows will open a new chapter of economic crisis that starts at the end of the 1980s and still lasts in Serbia, so once the willing factor emerged, the *ready* factor disappeared, and again we do not have all the three factors needed for the rise in divorce culture.

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IV Gender, Identity and (Political) Confrontations

WOMEN IN NORTHERN KOSOVO – DAILY LIFE IN BETWEEN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DIVISION⁵⁶

Ivana Aritonović

Introduction

The topic of a daily life in Serbian sociology became very important during the last decade of 20th century. The reason for that might be the decay of SFRY, Serbia being a constituent part of it, intensive pauperization, economic sanctions, and the influx of more than half a million of refugees to Serbia from other Yugoslav republics. Such turbulent socio-economic circumstances caused changes in people's everyday life. Impoverished population looked for the ways to survive in a dignified manner. All those changes which were specific for social actors at that time were thoroughly studied by sociologists. During the beginning of 1990s, few collections of works on daily life have been published, and such trend continued in the first decade of the new millennium. That lead to an observation, as Anđelka Milić pointed out: "One specific sociological orientation gained confirmation, which, in our terms, is getting features of a special sociologic school of thought on a research of empirical world of sociality" (Milić, 2004: 8). However, one part of the society (in Kosovo and Metohija) had been neglected, if we take into account significantly

⁵⁶ The paper was written within the Project 178028 – Material and Spiritual Culture of Kosovo and Metohia, financed by the Ministry of Education and Science and Technological Development, Republic of Serbia.

lower number of sociological papers dealing with a daily life of people living in this region. Possible reasons might be related to an increasing interethnic antagonism between demographically bigger Albanian community and the “official” majority of Serbian community, on a part of Serbian territory. At the end of 20th century, this area was specific for ethnic clashes, which were used as an excuse for NATO to initiate the bombing of Serbia. Finally, on June 10th, 1999, Kosovo became a territory under international protectorate, and a post-conflict society. Despite significant opportunities for a daily life research, very few Albanian sociologists and anthropologists were involved in it (Luci 1999, Krasniqi, 2006, 2007). If we take into account Lefebvre’s viewpoint on women as “privileged actors of lifestyle” (Lefebvre, 1959), it remains unclear why sociologists did not start research on specificity of women’ lifestyle in post-conflict environment right after the conflict itself. Unlike them, representatives of civic sector empowered by the support of international organizations, initiated programs of psycho-social help for women immediately after the conflict.

Most often, women are passive victims of wars, which increases their marginalization, and distorts their mental and physical health (Nikolić-Ristanović, 1995: 16). Women in this society are, at the same time, being exposed to a re-traditionalization of social norms and values, and a revitalization of religion and increasing nationalism, enrooted in traditionally patriarchal setup. If we take into consideration the fact it was the least developed territory in SFRY, with strong patriarchal characteristics, it is clear that women, in first couple of years after the war, were exposed to numerous consequences of that war. Since the institutional order came to place after some time, Kosovo was increasingly observed as a developing country, especially after the unilateral declaration of independence in February 2008. However, one part of the territory, which remained post-conflict environment up to day, 14 years after official cease of ethnic clashes, stayed unreachable for the authorities in Priština. It is the northern part of Kosovo, mostly inhabited by ethnic Serbs, and with few representatives of Albanians, Bosniacs, Gorani, Roma and Turks. The town which is the reason for the whole area to be

considered as post-conflict is Kosovska Mitrovica. The city is ethnically divided with river Ibar, which runs through it, mainly representing the division line between those main communities. Southern part of the city is inhabited mainly by Albanians, and small percentage of Roma, Bosniacs and Turks. The northern part is inhabited mainly by Serbs, and small number of Albanians, Roma, Gorani, Bosniacs and Turks. Northern part of the town is the only plural urban area in Kosovo. Due to socio-political specificities, this town is the spatial frame of our research.

Theoretical assumption that “both crisis and war and daily life are gender determined” (Blagojević, 1995: 182), represents the axis of this paper, having in mind our belief that all social changes have direct impact on daily life of an individual. We started the research with the assumption that manifest aggressiveness at war and daily life is “established as condition, like lifestyle, system of rationalizations, explanations, habits, positions, behaviours, as well as consumptions and meeting different needs” (Blagojević, 1995: 182). That means the war is being regenerated in daily life sphere, because social actors adopted behaviour patterns during the war, which helped them to “survive” the war. As long as those patterns of behaviour are not entirely eliminated from their daily life, and as long as the consequences of war remain, the war will “go on”. Circumstances of war showed that slow transformation of a daily life, specific for its trivia and poverty, leads to re-traditionalization. This entangles self-sacrificing of social actors – primarily women – for the sake of survival of the family, lifestyle and society. Although the lifestyle is not self-reflexive, it leaves some room for the reflexion for sociologists. This is especially true for areas in war, having in mind the escape of the individual into privacy and “safety” of the family, which was elaborated by sociologists in the early 1990s.

Hence this paper represents the results of a two-year long empirical research of specificities of daily life of women in post-conflict area of northern Kosovo. Methodological frame for creating of experiential ground of the research is based on multiple case study method. Having in mind the uniqueness of spatial frame of research, case study was the only method we could rely in this kind of research. Use

of case study method required a lot of time for collecting, sorting and analysing results, much more than the other methods with high level of standardization (Bogdanović, 1993: 6). As an instrument for collecting data, we used the questionnaire-basis for conversation. The questionnaire consisted mainly of the questions of the open type. By using such questions, we wanted to hear opinions of interviewees on their own daily lives and all characteristics of the post-conflict environment. Having in mind lack of such kind of research in northern part of Kosovo, those interviewees' opinions represent greatest value of the research. However, this does not diminish the value of secondary data as important source of information on daily life of women, both prior to and right after the ethnic clashes. Our sample consisted of one hundred (100) women: Serbian (35), Albanian (35), Bosniac (15) and Roma (15) community members. Interviewees are members of four demographically most represented ethnicities. The ratio of Serbian and Albanian interviewees in our sample was significantly higher than of Bosniac and Roma, not only because of demographic reasons, but also for long lasting ethnic antagonism of those two communities. Research method we used was the only valid method for a researcher who originates in the area where the research had been done, and who had to gain trust of all interviewees. Interviews were performed in a sincere and open manner. Many of women interviewed pointed out a therapeutical effect of those interviews/conversations. At the same time, through primary experience in the field, we confirmed the statement that "all relevant characteristics of sociological methods are contained in case method" (Bogdanović, 1993: 120), mostly by retaining the researched issue compact, we revealed socio-cultural context and complementary used different sources of information, which we see as one of key elements, because we created grounds for systematic, reliable, thorough and complete study of daily life of women in post-conflict social circumstances.

Post-war family and daily life

Living in a post-conflict context includes disintegration of all social spheres. Having that in mind, it was necessary to determine whether the basic social community – family, disintegrated as well, mostly because of the huge importance

of role family has in disintegrated societies. During the early 1990s disintegration of society happened, due to the unpreparedness of social actors to changes that came in place. Family in Balkans is characteristic for its patriarchal regime and basis in ethnic and religious features. Other features of such regime are patrilinearity and patrilocality, which indirectly indicate to dominance of men in all social spheres (Milić, 1994: 23). Very important characteristic of this regime is slow transformation and inertia to all processes of modernization present in other parts of Europe. In environment of ethnic conflicts in Kosovo, patriarchate got a new form of legitimacy, because of the role of the family and homeland “defender”, given to men. Women, however, got the role of family and a “guardian” of the nation (Jansen, 2005). Hence the need to assess the position that interviewees take on roles they have in post-war family. Based on conversations with the interviewees, we came to impression that family after the war strengthened its central position as a resource from which all members use energy. Family gets the role of social value, but becomes basis again and again of the “old traditional relations of possessiveness masked in over protective paternalistic behaviour of parents and closed family” (Milić, 2004: 319). This can be considered as central strategy of keeping family together and isolating it from the consequences of social clashes that affect other aspects of public and personal lifestyle as well. In this way specific form of re-traditionalization of the family came to life in (post)conflict living conditions of the divided city, which sometimes reflect in daily survival conditioned by economic, and above all, safety and security risks.

Positions of interviewees on relations with their spouse and children indicate a strong affection to family members, clearly stating about family as being the irreplaceable safe haven and a source of “strength” needed for fighting with daily life difficulties present in a divided city. As “private orientation and family ideology that dominate in minds of majority of individuals, completing and supporting accelerating process of radical privatization in social life” (Milić, 2004: 342), the struggle for survival of all social actors based on informal social networks, family and kin relations is obvious. This trend is present in Serbian society, which is also

characterized by weakness of public institutions and crisis of social values, which gets entirely new dimension in post-conflict environment existing in northern part of Kosovo, and leaves social actors on their own.

The crisis of values was the real basis for strengthening the position of women in a family, and indirectly in local community. All interviewees showed a certain level of resistance and non-compliance to current socio-political circumstances and especially social relations in divided city, the spatial frame of our research. Parenthood, or in our case, motherhood, includes spending of many material and non-material resources, which cause forming of “special sacrificing parenthood model, which is in continuity with traditional norm of sacrificing for children” (Tomanović, 2004: 356). This creates “sacrificing micro matriarchate” (Blagojević, 1997, 2013), which is some kind of self-realization of women. They (women) create position of power in private sphere through intensive sacrificing for their family, primarily children. “Women are” – as Marina Blagojević said – “sacrificing themselves, but also are being sacrificed – thus becoming both the subject and the object of their own sacrifice”.⁵⁷ That being said, we saw clearly in answers given by our interviewees, a strong sense of satisfaction for keeping their family and marriage intact after the war. Although they were forced to fight for survival of their family, women became to search for new means of their personal satisfaction. This is especially visible with mothers whose children go to school, who find satisfaction in their children’s education and planning for their “better future.” There is an attitude that the education of female children is imperative, that they must have “guaranteed” existence, because they will get married one day and leave home.⁵⁸ Investing into children through core education and additional activities, was not equally important for all interviewees (having in mind their socio-economic status), but joint characteristic is certainly the wish for self-actualization of their children.

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Please

see:

http://www.danas.rs/dodaci/vikend/patrijarhat_jede_svoju_decu.26.html?news_id=259450

⁵⁸ We did not notice this trend in our previous research (Aritonović 2009, 2010), with internally displaced persons and refugees as interviewees.

More and more women enter professional sphere, gradually taking over additional role of family feeders.⁵⁹ Non-working and free time are turning into important constituents of daily life of women and their frame of traditionally-patriarchal regime. When it comes to assistance networks, interviewees rely mostly on family and friend relations, with “friends being perceived as significant source of help/assistance in finding job, access to health institutions and finance issues” (Tomanović, 2004: 361). In that case, privacy sphere becomes the basis of daily life as a whole, and professional sphere remains instrumental, because of its function in meeting existential needs of the family.

We came to impression that, based on peaceful parts of Serbian society, “the roads for “unblocking” the modernization streams are being opened in private sphere” (Milić, 2004: 343), for which women, already paid the *price* by sacrificing for keeping family together and functional, which was usually accompanied by intimate dissatisfaction, frustrations, and above all, fear for survival in conditions of high safety risks. That leads to conclusion that family (and primarily women within) is under impact of many anomic social changes present in living in post-conflict conditions. This indicates existence of the ambivalence in post-conflict social frame, because women are “at the same time important core actors of system reproduction (...), but also a group with a social position of high risk, being under constant affect of systematic risks, unrelated and objectively non-integrated in the system they give all their resources for re-production” (Miletić-Stepanović, 2004: 404). The atmosphere in post-war Serbian family is burdened with problems common for families in central Serbia, with additional anxieties, and above all with constant abeyance and safety concerns. Women who live in a paternalistic setup, and who take care of children, suppress their anxiety but still strive to protect their children from the risky environment, relying mostly on their own individual and informal strategies.

⁵⁹ Please see: Artonović, Ivana (2011), „Spheres of Work and Consumer Culture as Factors in the Reconstruction of Everyday Life for Women in Northern Kosovo and Metohia“, *Baština*, no. 30, pp. 257-269.

Interviewees consider their family and the role of a mother as the culmination of self-actualization and self-identification, which is in line with similar researches performed over the past few years, whose results show that “whether being employed or unemployed, under paid or under-qualified, or at the top of social hierarchy, women always have need to reiterate their primary connection, identification, satisfaction and feeling of completeness with the fact of being mothers” (Milić, 2008: 195). However, one significant marker of parenthood in a post-conflict environment is a permanent fear for personal and family safety, accompanied by the lack of financial means, which is characteristic for Serbian society in general, as well as the lack of cultural means, indicated by attending cultural events, spending free time in an active manner, or reading books and magazines. “Child’s engagement in extracurricular activities as an indicator of cultural capital invested in children, and cultural capital of children in general, grows in parallel with educational level and material position of parents” (Tomović, 2004: 368), which was also confirmed in our research. Such specific socio-cultural environment strongly determines the roles of parents and transformation of parenthood, where mother becomes new pillar of the family, who protected that family in most difficult times. Hence the claim on self-sacrificing micro matriarchate, with its confirmation in our research, where “self-sacrificing matriarchate is unjust towards women because it exhausts their resources, but is also strongly destabilizing for men, especially in cases with high unemployment rate, i.e. inability to build their position within family from ‘outside’” (Blagojević, 2013).⁶⁰ This is how the living in an environment that is going through the process of post-socialist and post-conflict transformation, re-traditionalization and re-patrialization, at the same time empowers women, and weakens men to some extent.⁶¹

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See:

http://www.danas.rs/dodaci/vikend/patrijarhat_jede_svoju_decu.26.html?news_id=259450

⁶¹ Permanent security risks leave plenty of space for men to recover their role of “defender” of homeland in conditions of repeated conflicts, making gender setup again based on duality: man – public sphere, woman – private sphere.

Future challenges of daily life in north of Kosovo

This research confirms position that “no social system has ever managed to modernize to that extent and to build such institutions, that would allow stopping of use of private sphere as its most important resource” (Miletić-Stepanović, 2004: 407). This is particularly true for lifestyle in post-conflict society, whose institutions are blocked, which makes the return to private sphere – expected. Contemporary society as a whole is based on reproduction of gender inequality, with opinion that women are “the most productive social capitalists, i.e. producers of all kinds of capital (economic, cultural, social and symbolic), but this capital in following social processes is taken away from them, so they are minimally represented as capital distributors and consumers” (Miletić-Stepanović, 2004: 406). However, sacrificing micro-matriarchate is opposing such antagonistic position of women, because if we take into consideration patriarchal heritage of Kosovo, the woman’s strength is obvious in daily life dimension. According to that model, “woman feels like a ‘ruler’ in her home, if she sacrifices herself for the sake of home, family and children” (Milić, 2008: 195). Women, until liberation are going through sacrifice for their family, which family members, primarily children, recognize and *reward* by supporting their mothers through respecting their authority. Repeatedly burdened by work both inside and outside home, women are approaching to become family axis, mostly because men are being less and less exclusive family feeders, who make strategic decisions for their family. Besides, women strengthen their identity through the role of responsible mother, which leads to “domination of traditional positions on level of parental roles, which include striking self-sacrificing (...), specific paternalism and educational permissiveness” (Stanojević, 2009: 111-112). These processes show conservation of traditional values, having in mind the importance family gains in conditions of social and security crises. Hence the lifestyle of women in post-conflict society is featured by strategy for maintaining completeness and functionality of the family, which (necessarily) includes slow changing of family forms and gender roles. The stakes are high – postponed emancipation and dissociation from traditionally-patriarchal value pattern.

However, right those processes could be considered as an argument for keeping family together and the power women use from their families. This is, at the same time, central force for conservation of post-war family within all ethnicities in Kosovo.

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WOMEN IN THE PKK

Özhan Hancılar

Introduction

Women who take up arms “represent a challenge to the social order” (Ness 2008: 12) and in recent decades, females are increasingly taking part in illegal armed activities, including the terrorist ones. Therefore, the role and participation of those in illegal armed organizations is an area which deserves greater scholarly attention.

On January 10, shortly after the Turkish government announced it had started a new round of peace talks with the jailed head of the PKK, three female PKK members, including Sakine Cansiz, a co-founder of the group were shot dead in Paris (BBC, internet). The assassination not just underscored the fragility of the peace talks; but also highlighted women’s role in the PKK.

This paper will take a brief look at women in an illegal armed group in Turkey, the PKK (Kurdistan Workers’ Party), which is classified as a terrorist organization by Turkey, the US and the European Union. The group treats females equally and alleges that its goal is to get rid of misconducts in Kurdish society and improve the social status of women.

The PKK

The PKK is listed as a terrorist organization by the EU, the US and most of the neighbouring countries of Turkey. It is estimated that the group has 4,000 to 5,000 armed militants of which 3,000 to 3,500 are located in northern Iraq (U.S. Department of State 2011, internet).

The PKK was founded by Abdullah Ocalan in the 1970s and began an armed campaign against the Turkish government in 1984, calling for an independent state for the Kurds in Turkey. The conflict reached a peak in the first half of the 1990s. The group suffered heavy losses against the Turkish army in the second half of the 1990s (Criss, 1995; Gunter, 1997; İmset, 1992; Radu, 2001; Marcus, 2007).

The group suffered a severe setback when its leader, Abdullah Ocalan, was captured by Turkey in 1999. The organization gave up its demands for independence, demanding instead more autonomy and rights for the Kurds in Turkey. In the same year, the PKK also temporarily stopped its armed campaign on the orders of its leader (Marcus, 2007: 359-384; Radu, 2001: 58-60). However the PKK did not collapse and resumed its insurgency in 2004 (BBC, internet; Marcus, 2007: 392).

In the last years, the PKK attacks have targeted mostly Turkish security forces, both police and army. In December 2012, Prime Minister Erdogan announced peace talks were taking place with the imprisoned PKK leader, Abdullah Ocalan who later called for a cease-fire and ordered all his fighters off Turkish soil. (Arsu 2013, internet) In May 2013, Kurdish fighters began to withdraw from Turkey for their bases in Northern Iraq. (BBC, internet)

Female Structure of the PKK

In the early years of the PKK, there were very few women in the organization. However, the presence of women in the group dramatically increased over the years. It is estimated that in the early 1990s, about 30 per cent of the overall number

of 17.000 PKK fighters were women (Ozcan, 2007, internet). The current exact number of the female PKK members is unclear; as the estimated figures range from 12 per cent to 22 per cent of the total number of 4.000 - 5.000 armed militants (Cragin and Daly, 2009: 66; Fraser, 2013, internet).

At first, as there were no separate units for women in the PKK, male and female fighters were trained and deployed together in the same military units. The group separated female militants from their male counterparts in order to not just deal with the increased number of female militants, but also to prevent sexual harassment against women within the ranks (Celebi, 2010: 108; Cragin and Daly, 2009: 66).

The PKK body for women, the KJB (Kurdish Women's Movement) serves as an umbrella organization for the PAJK (Free Women's Party of Kurdistan), YJA (Free Women's Union), YJA-Star (Free Women's Union - Star) and an organization for the young Kurdish women. The PAJK is the political and ideological wing of the KJB while the YJA Star is the armed one. The word "Star" is used by the group in reference to the ancient Middle Eastern goddess Ishtar (Dirik, 2013, internet).

The PAJK, whose function is to design women-related policies and propaganda for the benefit of the PKK, has six committees, Leadership, Legitimate Defence, Training, Culture and Arts, The Project of Transformation of Men, and Media (Celebi 2010: 108).

YJA Star, which is described by the PKK as the Kurdish women's self-defence force, is composed of women-only guerrilla units and has engaged in violent clashes with Turkish security forces alongside the HPG, the main armed wing of the PKK. In one of these clashes, on March 23, 2012, 15 female PKK fighters were killed when their women-only unit was attacked by the Turkish army in the rural area of Bitlis province (BBC, internet). It was the highest one day death toll for Kurdish women fighters since the PKK rebellion began in 1984.

Suicide Attacks

Female members have mainly two roles in the organization. While some serve in combat positions, others, like those killed in Paris, work as activists in front groups used by the PKK (Ozcan, 2007, internet). However women in the PKK played a significant role in one particular form of militant activity: suicide attacks. The group has exploited female militants disproportionate as suicide bombers (Cragin and Daly, 2009: 66). The main reason for using female militants seemed to be tactical, based on an assessment that women would be viewed less suspiciously by security services than would be men (Cline, 2004: 329).

Suicide missions carried out by the group began on June 30, 1996, when a female PKK militant, Zeynep Kınacı blew herself up at a Turkish military parade in the Kurdish-dominated city of Tunceli in eastern Turkey, killing nine soldiers and wounding more than thirty people (Milliyet 1 July 1996: 1, 12). Nine of the following twelve PKK suicide attacks were also carried out by female suicide bombers. The latest suicide attack carried out by a PKK female operative occurred on October 29, 2011, when a woman detonated a bomb she was carrying near the provincial headquarters of the ruling AKP party in the eastern city of Bingol. The attacker and two civilians died and more than fifteen people were wounded in the blast (BBC, internet).

Why Women?

There are mainly two reasons why the PKK needs women. First, the introduction of women into combat generally came about in response to logistical demands (Ness, 2008: 16). After suffering heavy losses against the Turkish army, the group tried to expand its recruitment pool by attracting more women into the ranks of the group.

Second, the PKK exploits women as a propaganda tool aimed at both international and Kurdish public opinion. When female operatives conduct terrorist acts, they draw much more media and public attention given to men. Many illegal

armed groups are aware of this fact and exploit female members (Bloom, 2011: 128).

Photos sent to the media by the group generally depict women standing in the front rows. The implicit message to the international community is that “if even women fight, there must be a just cause”. At the same time, the PKK adopted the same tactic that the other revolutionary armed groups in Africa, Asia, and Latin America did (Stiehm, 1988: 96) and began to use female fighters for recruitment purposes. In this context, the message of these images is a form of encouraging Kurdish men to join the rebellion (Celebi, 2010: 108-109).

Women’s Motives for Participating in the PKK

But the question is why does a woman want to be a PKK fighter, and even volunteer to be a suicide bomber? Some scholars argue that the PKK offers women a shelter from the oppression of the male dominant Kurdish society. Indeed, the Kurdish community, especially the rural one is very traditional and the women have not many freedoms in it. Kurdish gender culture consists of two basic components, patriarchy and feminism, of which the former is predominant (Mojab and Hassanpour, 2002: 60). In the Kurdish patriarchal culture, protecting the reputation of the family is more important than the basic rights of women, and sometimes even the right to life.

Many girls are excluded from primary education. Women are confined to the house and do not have social and financial independence. Forced and arranged marriages are common practices of which some of the victims are children. Honour killings are widespread. These gender-related problems, coupled with human rights violations against the Kurds in Turkey “make the lives of Kurdish women particularly difficult” (Gonzalez-Perez, 2008: 86).

According to political scientist Dogu Ergil, “Trapped in a traditional culture, family tyranny, and grinding gender equality, young Kurdish women began to look at the PKK not only as a vehicle of ethnic liberation, but also for their own

emancipation. They have equal status alongside men in the organisation, something that they could not enjoy at any other place or point in time. [...] Young women particularly found PKK ranks as a way of emancipation from traditional bondage and escalation to equality with men. That is why more women took part in the suicide missions” (Ergil, 2000: 48-9, 53).

Another important factor must also be taken into account in assessing the strong presence of women in the PKK is that the group closely examined Kurdish society and developed suitable strategies (Ozcan, 2007, internet). The PKK targeted the tribal system in the region which is considered by the group as a major obstacle to Kurdish independence.

Ocalan “recognized that [the] feudal family and tribal structure had to be dissolved and disbanded” in order to not just become the dominant power among Kurds, but also to recruit young Kurdish men and women (Ozcan, 2007, internet). “While one way to accomplish this was to force the evacuation of villages, the other was to change the social status of women, who were at the bottom of the tribal hierarchy. Through this practice, the traditional tribe and family system dispersed and adherence and loyalty of individuals to those structures ended. As the party substituted the tribe, Ocalan [...] replaced the tribal leaders” (Ozcan, 2007, internet).

Conclusion

It is no doubt that the inequality of genders has led to many young women joining the PKK. Female militants of the group might have sought liberation from a conservative society (Reuter, 2004: 164-65; Crenshaw, 2007: 156). As a Turkish official states “when young girls are being pressured by their families, they see going to the mountains as a way to express themselves” (Marcus, 2007: 174).

However, this is not convincing enough since, in spite of the fact that the status of women in other Muslim societies of the Middle East is even lower, the influence of women in Middle Eastern illegal armed groups is not as strong as that of women in the PKK. By contrast, in Tamil society in Sri Lanka, women did not suffer from

discrimination, which did not, however, prevent their participation in the armed struggle of the rebel group LTTE (Laqueur, 2004: 91).

Kurdish women in Turkey have two struggles: the external one, to defend their ethnic rights, and an internal one, to defend gender equality. These two struggles are tied together in complex ways (Mojab, 2006: 89). The PKK owes its success in politicizing and mobilizing women to its clear understanding of this correlation.

Women in the PKK have been paying a heavy price for their decision to join the Kurdish rebellion. Many of them, alongside their male counterparts, were killed in the clashes with the Turkish security forces, while some others were executed by their own organization, the PKK (Marcus, 2007). In turn, thousands of Turkish citizens, including civilians, have lost their lives in the terrorist attacks carried out by PKK militants, some of whom are women. Therefore, these women, according to most people, are not freedom fighters or female heroes but terrorists who kill innocent people.

In recent months, Turkey has started a new peace initiative, holding talks with imprisoned leader Abdullah Ocalan (BBC, internet). As hopes rise for a deal to end Kurdish conflict in Turkey, the ongoing peace process presents an opportunity for the PKK to alter its terrorist character and prove its interest in improving the rights of Kurdish women.

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LGBT CHILDREN BETWEEN PUBLIC HOMOPHOBIA AND THEIR PARENTAL FAMILIES' DISMISSAL INSTEAD OF SOLIDARITY AND PROTECTION⁶²

Zorica Mršević

Adolescence is a hell. But lesbian adolescence is a special kind of hell. While I was living in that hell, I was the loneliness teenager.

A Slovenian poet and writer Urška Sterle⁶³

Nearly 49% of LGBT people became aware of this before 15. They are vulnerable and dependent and need family support, protection and love, solidarity and protection. There are elements of identity which are not the result of family upbringing, e.g. sexual orientation and gender identity. Other, like values, beliefs,

⁶² This text was written as part of a project in which the author of the text is involved: "Social Transformation in the Process of European Integration - a Multidisciplinary Approach", which is funded by the Ministry of Science and Technological Development in the period of 2011-14. The text was presented at the "Conference Mind the Gap – Family Socialization and Gender", held in Belgrade, Serbia from 18 to 20 April 2013.

⁶³ Barzut 2012: 73.

goals and even thought patterns are rooted in our family experience. Our identities, understandings and behaviour are shaped by the lifelong process of socialization but also by something that we had from the very beginning (Fetoski, 2012: 9). Families are major agent of socialization and are especially significant agent of child socialization (Gelles, 1995: 3, 314). Differences between boys and girls are assumed to be natural, but most of these differences must be taught (Gelles, 1995: 108). We are constantly engaged in re-creating social meaning simply by following our normal daily routines. Morality tales teach about good and evil, but they also carry implicit messages about gender. Although these stories are not presented as true, children take them much more literally than adults do, primarily because young children are less able to distinguish between what is real and what is fantasy (Coltrane, 1997: 108).

The social character of practices of gender, sexuality, parenting and family life, which once appeared to be natural and immutable, became politically charged (Stacey, 1996: 46) and challenged by practice. Statistics regarding divorce rate, remarriage, blended families, single parenthood, joint custody, abortion, domestic partnership, two-career households, and like evidences of decline of modern family system, contributes to the politics of gender, sexuality, reproduction and family here became very polarized and socially divisive (Stacey, 1996: 87, 47).

Some authors stressed the expected role of mothers within patriarchal system. Writing about role of mothers, Adrienne Rich, wrote on motherhood without autonomy, without choice, because they must deliver their children over within a few years of their birth to the patriarchal system of education. Mothers are expected to prepare children to enter the system without rebelliousness or “maladjustment” and to perpetuate it in their own adult lives. Patriarchy depends on the mother to act as a conservative influence, imprinting future adults with patriarchal values even in those early years (Rich, 1995: 61). Fathers appeared in our research as less capable than mothers to accept sexual orientation of their children when it is different of what they perceive as “normal”. They are more ready to put pressure on them, being nostalgic for the “Father Knows Best” world they had lost (Stacey 1996: 87).

Research on situation in parental families of LGBT children and youth

The sources of data used in this research on LGBT children and youth and their parental families in Serbia are: the coming out stories of adult LGBT persons (e.g. Vučaj, 2006 & 2009), parents of the LGBT people's stories (e.g. Fetoski, 2012), literature on LGBT topics (e.g. Barzut, 2012), LGBT organisations' records and reports, the media and case studies.

An example⁶⁴ of the family's forced "changing". Suspecting that Vlada, a seventeen year old student of the third year of grammar school, was "too much" interested in men, Vlada's father thoroughly searched his room while the boy was away on a field trip. On that occasion, he found in a locked suitcase under the bed, whose lock he forced open, the "compelling" evidence in the form of a number of what he considered gay pornographic magazines. Under the influence of popular psychological literature, such as Zoran Milivojevic's on the responsibility of fathers not to let their children become homosexual, and the obligation to "take their boys by the hand and show them the world as seen by men", he decided to take serious steps towards "making his son normal". Since he firstly beat Vlada after the boy had returned from the school trip, the father set a new code of conduct for the boy, under which Vlada had to spend his days locked in his room and think about his "mistakes". At each and every smallest sign of the "unmanly" behaviour on Vlada's part, the father responded by beating him up, while he was forbidden to leave the house, except for going to school. He also forbade him to do training at his handball club and to go to the gym, so that that he wouldn't be able to "pinch his gays" there and look at

⁶⁴ For the sake of confidentiality, the names of all characters in the text are fictional, while the situations are real. All the above examples are a combination of real and recent cases of violence and discrimination against LGBT young people in their families, communities and schools. These real cases have been reported to and documented at the organizations for LGBT people's rights, mainly at Labris, GSA and Gayten, in the period from 2005 to 2013.

the “naked men” in the changing room. Vlada complained to the school psychologist that his father was abusing him, to which the school psychologist promised that he would talk to his father. He also advised Vlada that he should try to give his father fewer reasons to suspect him, that he shouldn't dress himself like a “gay” person, that he shouldn't wear a little comb in his hair, that he should cease to wave his arms as he talks and “giggle like a woman,” and just make sure he behaved as serious as an adult male. He wouldn't even raise the question of Vlada's sexuality, simply believing that a correction of his behaviour was the solution to all his problems. He also advised Vlada to improve his school marks, as that would certainly make his father let him go out, since one of the reasons for Vlada's “house arrest” was certainly his increasingly poor school achievement. After Vlada talked with the psychologist and improved his school marks, his father allowed him to go out once a month, but only with girls. Every time Vlada went out, his father cross-examined him about whether he “did anything” or whether he “started” a girl. If the answers were convincingly positive, the father rewarded him with a piece of some carefully selected “masculine” clothes, such as a jacket, a pair of woollen trousers, a white shirt or weights to be used at home, so that Vlada's body wouldn't remain undeveloped without sports. For Vlada's eighteenth birthday, his father's presented him with a gift of a paid night with a prostitute, so that he could “remove the darkness from his eyes”. He praised himself to his friends and neighbours that he had acted at the right time, due to which his son became a real man. Vlada's suicide attempt after his graduation and his suicide note, in which he wrote that he was gay and that there was no way he would be anything else, was received by Vlada's father as a terrible and unjust blow that was dealt to him by his “ungrateful” son. Upon Vlada's recovery, he told him that he would finance his studies at the University that was in a different city, that he couldn't come back home any more, that he couldn't turn to him on any issue any longer and that he would publicly renounce him (Okuraži se, internet).

Members of national and religious minorities, regardless of how badly they are treated in the majority ambience, are, at least, always and unconditionally accepted in their families and communities, and in a specific way, protected by their language, culture and religion. The micro social acceptance is even more pronounced when and if rejection from the outside increases. The only male and female members of the LGBT community are those who are frequently rejected by their family members, even by those who are the closest to them, by those whose support they must always and necessarily get. That still doesn't mean that their position when compared with other discriminated group is the worst one, but when it comes to discrimination, it is one of the circumstances that you certainly need to keep in mind when analysing the problems that LGBT people face in today's Serbia (GSA, internet). LGBT children lacking caring, nurturing, cherishing – the essential components of good parenting may easily turn into so-called “skinless” persons. The term is coined for children growing up without protective armour that is provided by loving parents and supportive communities (Hewlet & West, 1998: 29).

An example of domestic violence. Anđelka came to Belgrade from a small town in central Serbia to study. She was always attracted to women, but she didn't dare to express such preferences at home. In Belgrade, she finally found women like herself and struck up friendships with them, and also began to pursue long-term relationships. As she was an excellent student, her brother, at whose place she was living, didn't exercise particular control over her, nor did he even think about what kind of relationships she could have with her friends that occasionally visited her, learned together with her, and even spent the night with her in her room. Towards the end of her studies, Anđelka decided to stop hiding, establish a lasting relationship with her partner, leave her brother's apartment and move in with her partner. When he realized what was happening, her brother was terribly angry, because he “hated gays and lesbians” more than anyone else in the world, so that he threatened that he would “beat her black and blue”. While he was at work, his wife advised Anđelka that she would best leave

as soon as possible; knowing that his threats were serious and Anđelka began to move out quickly. However, when she came back to pick up her last things, her brother had already come back. He beat her up and threatened that if she continued seeing “that” woman, he would find them and kill them both, because “such” persons mustn't live and corrupt youth people. He informed their parents that he had to do it, because he didn't want his sister to maintain “perverse and sick relationships,” and added that he would do everything that he could, because “something like that” simply couldn't be allowed, with which the parents totally agreed (Okurazi se, internet).

What do parents when facing with fact that their children are LGBT

First reaction usually is shock, fear and denial (“this is not possible, this simply is not true, this is a mistake”) (Fetoski, 2012: 12). Then bitter questioning follows, “why my child”, and “what was my fault”. Questions are followed by guilt feelings and searching for medical, psychological and sociological theories on how children become like that. All the time parents experience strong emotions such as fear, anger, disappointment, shame (resulting in self-isolation), feeling of lost (Fetoski 2012: 11), self-deluding that this is “just a phase”. In many cases happens the pressure on a child to return to “normality” and “not to be such”, denial of his/her freedom of movement, of having sexual intercourses (Fetoski, 2012: 15), searching for medical treatments, dismissal, total break in communication (Vučaj, 2006: 34).

Reaction of children to their parents' negative reaction

Most frequent LGBT children's response to their parents' negative attitude is search for support from grandparents (Vučaj, 2006: 35), alcohol and drugs misuse, leaving school, increasing conflicts within family, destruction and self-destruction (Fetoski, 2012: 17), serious mental problems, suicidal tries, homelessness, poverty (Barzut, 2012: 87), criminal activities, prostitution and other forms of sex work.

Parental acceptance

Acceptance happens after the denial phase. The first noticed step of acceptance is reorganisation of domestic life in accordance with the fact of having an LGBT child (Fetoski, 2012: 13). It mostly is directed toward child protection. Process of acceptance involves also rejection of own stereotypes, often followed by investigation of new (education, professional, housing) possibilities for their children and families. Second step usually is searching for and meeting with other parents of LGBT children, joining self-help parental groups (Vučaj, 2009: 49), searching for expert assistance in improving communication, finding and meeting own LGBT friends and their children LGBT friends and partners.

Stigmatization of parents

In homophobic social and political environment, parents of LGBT children usually face with negative attitude by their surroundings because their children “are such”. They usually share discrimination and isolation (Barzut, 2012: 133), sometimes violence and wider family rejection. They experience the loss of friends, relatives, colleagues, feeling of loneliness. Although many of them are well aware that silence and hide do not connect people, and do not support self-esteem and self-confidence, they rather choose self-isolation (Fetoski, 2012: 34).

LGBT children are rarely completely accepted by their families

Long after acceptance of their LGBT children many parents continue to believe that in same sex partnership “there is no love”, that such partnerships are “not lasting”, that LGBT people are promiscuous (Fetoski, 2012: 23). They keep advising their children that it is better to “be silent”, meaning, to stay invisible, to pretend in public life they are straight, not to talk on own sexuality or gender identity as long as possible. Complete acceptance sometimes seems as impossible

mission; sometimes it is just shrugging shoulders: this is your choice, your decision (Vučaj, 2009: 75). There is no happy end, having in mind that some of LGBT children's parents never accept to meet their children's partners or to be informed about their problems in partnership.

Public expression of homophobia

Social acceptance of homosexuality in Europe is greatest in the Netherlands, with Sweden and Denmark running very close. In most Southern European countries, but especially in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the situation is substantially less positive (Keuzenkamp & Kuyper, 2013: 13). A majority of the population in Central and above all Eastern Europe, is rejecting the view that gay men and lesbian women should be allowed to live their own lives as they wish (Keuzenkamp & Kuyper, 2013: 10). In Serbia situation is similar to other Eastern European countries: the very existence of LGBT people is perceived in public as a threat to a "healthy" or "natural" family, and that is almost a common content of the public discourse of hate towards them (Istraživanje javnog mnjenja, internet). Attitudes of LGBT children and youth parents are shaped in this social environment, listening to the social theories and psychological studies which are concerned with helping children occupy their "proper" or "natural" places in the family and in society. These theories and studies about gender, like all forms of knowledge, are products of cultural understandings prevalent at the time (Coltrane, 1997: 109). Social support for parents usually is contained within that patriarchal context, creating a set of values that became increasingly unacceptable to progressive sensibilities (Hewlet & West, 1998: 130).

One of the messages is that children need to grow up in families that provide them with a "stable relationship to male authority" (Stacey, 1996: 69). Popular discomfort with same sex marriage in inventory of the family values of "reasonable people", as well as explicit condemnation of lesbian childbearing (Stacey 1996: 69) is widely spread even among tolerant intellectuals.

The attitude of a female activist for LGBT rights, perhaps, in a summarized manner, best expresses the hope for a change:

“The deep-rooted prejudices in society are like a granite rock and it takes a lot of work to get through that armour of granite. Various tools and aids are used, but one should never give up, because at any moment, the wreck may come off as an old shell. Maybe right this year. A pride parade is one of the tools for breaking down prejudices. And when they ask me what the parade is for, I always say ‘It's for the kids, the gay kids in schools, the children growing up in fear and trauma. For the children who lead two parallel lives, the first one, which is false, and which is for families, schools and the public, and another one, which is their own and hidden. For the children who don't live freely and breathe free air as all other male and female citizens do’” (Andjelovski, 2013).

The homophobic discourse is still dominant in Serbian society where the same-sex love is the field of prohibitions and taboos, while national deputies freely animate their electorate by homophobic hate speech, using the fact that they are legally protected by parliamentary immunity (Cvejić, 2013: 3)⁶⁵. The reproduction of homophobia, among other things, is achieved through promotion in the media of the unscientific authoritarian attitudes, prejudices, and efforts to protect the “traditional Serbian values”, both religious and moral ones. The non-discriminatory education is one of the strong points of development, while the current situation slows development down, because it is dominated by the unscientific and discriminatory attitudes towards virtually all "others", in particular towards LGBT people (Kovačević, internet).

Here are some of the key points of the negative public perception that education could certainly reduce or eliminate from the public discourse (Ombudsman's special report, 2011):

⁶⁵ JS (United Serbia Party) Leader, Dragan Marković Palma, is a national deputy that most frequently made negative statements about the LGBT population – as many as 41 times.

Wrong perception 1 Institutions should be always on the side of ordinary people and the majority of the population.

Fact 1 Institutions should equally treat and protect the rights of all who are affected, both of the so-called ordinary citizens or the majority, and of the persons belonging to the minority. By the logic of things, in Serbia, as anywhere else in the world, the rights of various minority groups are far more and very frequently violated, be they ethnic, religious, age or sexual minorities. It is important to understand that the rights of minorities are not inconsistent with the rights of the majority and that their protection doesn't, in any way, reduce the rights of the majority. On the contrary, the respect for minority rights contributes to the quality of the human rights of all, as well as of those of the majority, so that this is the way for the whole society to be in a win-win position.

Wrong perception 2 It all comes from aside, from other cultures, and aggressively imposes itself on us⁶⁶.

Fact 2 LGBT people exist in all nations, including Serbia. Their thus-far relative invisibility in public and private relations doesn't mean that they emerged recently, or that they came from somewhere aside. They are all around us, they are our children, brothers and sisters, our relatives, our neighbours, colleagues and fellow students or work mates, friends with

⁶⁶ *The European Commission exerts a lot of pressure and it announced that it would monitor if the rights of sexual minorities in Serbia were respected. Representatives of the European Commission, who, as part of the Enhanced Permanent Dialogue between Serbia and the EU, were in Belgrade in February 2013, stressed that a great deal of attention, in the coming months, would be paid to the monitoring of the respect for the rights of sexual minorities, which would include the holding of a pride parade this year. In: Stojanović, 2013: 2.*

whom we spend our summer holidays, see New Years in and cheer at football games. We sometimes know about their minority sexual orientation and we sometimes don't. Due to the fear of censure, loss of work, various forms of violence, discrimination, humiliation and insults, they still mostly opt for leading a "double" life, which means keeping their sexuality in discretion. One thing is certain and that is that "these" topics can't be abolished because some people don't agree with the existence of people of different sexual orientations in comparison with their own ones, with their demands to be equal and their rights to be protected.

Wrong perception 3 It can't pass in Serbia.

Fact 3 Right-wing group members and conservatives in many countries say the same thing for their countries, but nowhere in the modern world did they succeed in preventing the existence of lesbians and gays and their struggle for human rights, equality and freedom from discrimination and violence, except, of course, in those tyrannical regimes that punish homosexuality as a criminal offence.

Wrong perception 4 The West is against the Serbian culture.

Fact 4 This is just one aspect of the famous paranoid conspiracy theory against Serbia. But even if it were proven that the "Serbian" authentic culture includes killing, violence, bullying, discrimination or elimination of homosexuals, then under the influence of modern conceptions of human rights (not the West) and the needs of contemporary people, first of all the citizens of Serbia, it would have to change.

Wrong perception 5 There are more important problems.

Fact 5 Everyone thinks that their problems are the most important ones, unemployment to the unemployed, violence to those suffering from it, hunger to the hungry, discrimination to the discriminated against. It is difficult and unfair to rank the problems in order of their importance. That is why there are political liberties and rights, so that all those who believe that their rights were threatened or violated, could publicly express their discontent. It is wrong to think that only popular groups have the right, or that only the problems bothering most or all citizens can be shown in public. The right to publicly express their problems often has to be used by the most unpopular persons, just because they are socially marginalized and rejected and because they are small in terms of numbers or don't have the social power to resolve their problems in a different way.

Wrong perception 6 LGBT people violate the rights of the majority that opposes homosexuality.

Fact 6 No right of the majority is really in any danger unless such a "right" implies the non-existent "right" to a life free from the existence of different persons, the others and minorities.

Wrong perception 7 LGBT people belong to domain of abnormality and immorality ⁶⁷ , according to the generally accepted standards.

Fact 7 Minority sexual orientation isn't a deviation, but it is a normal manifestation of human diversity. The majority,

⁶⁷ LGBT people offend public morality by their very existence. In this case, the question/morality test articulated in Kant's manner isn't what would happen if we were all alike, but what would happen if all the people were free regarding their orientation and identity.

because it includes a great number of people, doesn't necessarily imply normality and the minority, because it includes a smaller number of people, doesn't imply abnormality. The generally accepted criteria, as the measures of the majority, aren't the measures of normality, but only a reflection of the numerousness, and numerousness and normalcy shouldn't be equated. Human diversities should be accepted, tolerated, protected, and they shouldn't be judged, eliminated, fought against or discredited in any way by declaring them less worthy, abnormal or even dangerous.

Wrong perception 8 It is simply not the time for “such people”.

Fact 8 By such attitude, the inevitable reform of the educational system is indefinitely postponed, as “*nextopia*”⁶⁸ (it will be, but not now, when the moment isn't right). Some parts of society are mature, others aren't. When asked in a survey “Do you support homosexuality”, most answers will be negative, but if you ask citizens whether they support human liberties and the right to choose, most of them will respond positively. The Serbian society values human freedoms and the right to choose and that is what non-discriminatory education should be built on, without any indefinite delays. If we were to sit and wait for them to come on their own, we would never see them come.

Political history shows us that marginalized groups always had to fight for the equalization of their rights (GSA, internet 2012). Women and African-American population are good examples of this. The unacceptability of “*nextopia*” or of an

⁶⁸ The term was introduced into the economy by M. Dahlen, a Swedish economist and theorist of marketing strategy, in his book *Nextopia* (2008). It means postponing the realization of the objectives, while constantly waiting for the „right moment“, major news and changes.

indefinite delay, not only fails to bring any changes, but it also fails to maintain the status quo, because the situation, due to the waiting and delays, gets worse.

Security is top priority for LGBT people and without it one can't move forward in the improvement of their position (GSA, internet 2013). The individual has a fundamental right to personal safety, and one of the prime responsibilities of government is to secure those rights (Pleck, 1987: 3). The obligation of the state to protect from violence all its citizens without discrimination hasn't been completely fulfilled, which is a problem that requires more efficient operation of the police, judiciary and prosecution, since they still lack willingness or are unable to effectively combat violence and threats of violence against that population, which has been escalating to the present day. The fact is that LGBT children in their parental families are often exposed to domestic violence. Concerns of domestic violence devastating effects – the physically and sexually abused swell the ranks of homeless; they also make up large share of runaways, violent criminals, prostitutes and even assassins. Some victims of abuse suffer depression, social isolation, and are prone to suicide; others lash out their friends, relatives and even strangers on the streets (Pleck, 1987: 3).

Experience shows that the police certainly became more professional and efficient in the protection of LGBT people against violence, but this is still far from efficient protection. There must be a better solution against those perpetrating violence against LGBT people (and other minority groups) planned and implemented in creating institutional synergies in an organized fashion.

An example of public violence due to the perceived sexual orientation.
The reaction of parents. On the last day of the seminar on programming, a secondary school student, Igor, along with other seminar attendees, went to a local coffee shop to mark the completion of the seminar. Domestic customers expressed a typical local hostility towards the newcomers and the company immediately began to verbally provoke them, occasionally throwing at their group petty cash, boxes of matches and cigarettes, and to publicly call out “Are you LGBT rights activists, who have come to spread

your perversions in Serbia”. The coffee shop staff tried very hard to calm the situation down, and they repeatedly said that the point at issue was computer programming, as well as the promotion of computing literature, after which the provocations temporarily stopped. However, as Igor sat next to his friend Zdenko, with whom he talked all the time, sometimes holding hands, touching his knees, and putting his hand over his shoulder, the group of local young men once again cracked down on their group, this time especially on Igor. “You there, in the green T-shirt, you like men, don't you, you like most in the world to be fucked in the ass, you faggot”? In the general confusion that occurred when the group of attackers started beating Igor, Zdenko, a young man with whom Igor talked, got stabbed in the stomach. One of the attackers pulled out a gun, cocked it, and cried out threateningly “Well, that does it, someone is going to pay”. His friend, thereupon, also pulled out a revolver, the handle of which he used to repeatedly hit Igor on the head, until Igor fell covered in blood. He then said: “Brother, don't waste your ammunition on scum, it's better this way”. It was subsequently determined that Igor had concussion of the brain, so that both he and Zdenko were transferred to the Emergency Treatment Centre in Belgrade, where they were kept for several days. The police intervened at the coffee shop and stopped further fighting. Apart from Igor and Zdenko, who were driven away by an ambulance, everybody else was detained, both the attackers and seminar participants. The local attackers told the police that they had been provoked by the “propagation of a gay pride”, to which they responded verbally, but as Igor had started to “woo” and urge them to have “sex from behind” with them, they “had had enough” and reacted physically. They denied threats with their revolvers and said that the two of them only “showed their uncharged” revolvers to each other. All these statements were confirmed by the staff of the coffee shop, who entirely blamed the group of newcomers for the incident. The police detained all seminar participants and called them propagators of “gay pride and gays”. All of them were beaten up at the police station for the mess that

they had “caused” and they were threatened that if they didn't compensate the damages to the coffee shop, they would be immediately handed over to a magistrate and would get a maximum prison sentence of two months, and that criminal proceedings would be launched against them. Igor's father, who doesn't live with him, because he divorced Igor's mother about ten years ago, blamed her for what had happened to Igor, since she supposedly “ let Igor develop in the wrong direction”. However, she blamed him, because despite sending the money, he didn't care for his son, his education or upbringing, which is primarily the duty of the father when it comes to a male child. Igor's father, thereafter, decided to stop paying child support for him, although he didn't finish school and wasn't yet an adult person. He also initiated legal proceedings for taking custody of Igor from Igor's mother, requesting from the court to assign Igor to him, since he was the father that would “know how” to deal with his son in the “right” way in order to make him a “normal man” before it was “too late”. The major evidence that he submitted to the court included the medical documentation of Igor's injuries received in the fight, as well as the police report in which Igor and other participants in the seminar “publicly promoted gay parade and courted” those gathered in the bar (Okuraži se, internet).

Sports clubs and associations, as well as sports venues, are still the places of unimpeded public expression of high levels of homophobia and transphobia, which appear as “normal” companions of sports fan groups and cheering. Legislative and other policies in this area are still insufficient, because sportsmen are vulnerable to discrimination based on their sexual orientation and gender identity.

An example of discrimination based on sexual orientation in sports. The reaction of parents. Andrija was born in a small town in Vojvodina and, as a child, he started going to Novi Sad for sports. He continued playing sports in Italy, where his parents lived for a few years. Upon changing from the junior to the senior age, he signed his first professional contract with a big sporting club in Belgrade. The first year was the fulfilment of his boyhood

sporting dreams, he immediately gained the trust of the coaches and teammates, so that, although the youngest among them, he became the one who would begin every game of the first team. He was satisfied in every respect, such as with the treatment at the club, his earnings, living in Belgrade and with the support from the audience that he always had. Also, he visibly progressed in sports and his health served him well. The problems began at the start of his second season, when the coach began having doubts about Andrija's same-sex sexual orientation. The coach asked him for a "friendly" talk, during which Andrija, who had confidence in the coach, fully opened up and admitted that he was gay, expecting support and protection from his coach. The coach, however, expressed disappointment over the fact that he was gay and made it clear to him that he had no future at the club. He told him that he could no longer train with the first team, let alone appear in public and "shame" the club. The coach told him to look for another engagement and that he, on his part, would help him get the document on his withdrawal from the club without any problems, as well as that the club, as a gesture of goodwill, wouldn't say anywhere that the real reason for his being expelled was his sexual orientation. Andrija was appalled, saying that it was, after all, a private matter, and called on the Sports Act, which prohibits discrimination. The coach, in turn, replied that it might be a private affair of anyone else, but not when it comes to sports, as "pederasty" was a problem that, in his view, made it essentially impossible for a sportsman to achieve top results, for the alleged "lack of testosterone". "Our team needs extraordinary men, tough men, champions and thugs, and not some feeble persons that are men only in their identification cards," he said literally. He added that homosexuality was like a boil, something that needed to be urgently removed surgically, if it hadn't already been removed during the past medical treatments, that he had already had several cases like Andrija's, who were urgently removed from the club, because "everyone knows" that gays couldn't become top sportsmen and were a "bad influence" to others. As for the Sports Act, the coach said that there

was no mention whatsoever in it of sexual orientation as the basis for protection, and that it was clear why, just for all the above-mentioned reasons of sports needs for the “unimpaired masculinity”. Andrija's parents were very affected by the reasons why he had to leave the club. They said they were naturally anxious about drugs, alcohol and crime, but they had a lot of confidence in him that he wouldn't succumb to the challenges of a bachelor living in a big city. They also said that he had terribly disappointed them, that he had done the worst thing one could imagine and that by having been unserious, he had practically called his sports career into question, since where would he “like” that ever be able to play sports? (Okuraži se, internet)

Constant negative public reaction to the justified demands for an increased protection of the rights of sexual minorities is still present in the dominant public discourse in Serbia and they continue justifying violence as an acceptable means of combating these other undesirable persons. “The acceptability” of violence is a clear political message that we have seen for years, either at meetings and conferences of differently coloured right-wing groups, or at sporting events that are an ideal public booth for presenting such views. Homophobic graffiti, which have been contaminating the public communication space in the cities for months, are written out everywhere, especially around schools and colleges (Mršević, 2012: 9-11). The educational system hasn't, so far, found the right answers and system solutions (Miladinović & Vučković, 2009: 196).

Young people's opinions

It is in the atmosphere of present and unfettered public speech in which LGBT people are openly called sick, crazy people, a disgrace to their country and their families, mistakes in upbringing, immoral, abnormal etc. It is no wonder that due to such attitudes of adults and political leaders, young people follow such attitudes as

examples. The attitude of young people that violence against them is justified has been expressed many times (What kind of children, internet).

Over the past five years, according to the results of a recent research, youth and children were increasingly supporting the idea of an ethnically pure state and were intolerant towards the gay community and willing to commit violence against them⁶⁹. A significant proportion of children and young people have a negative attitude towards non-believers, HIV positive persons and excellent students. The first place on the negative ranking list is held by people of different sexual orientation, towards which 36 per cent of responders has a negative attitude, the second place is held by atheists (23.0%), the third by members of other ethnic groups (21.8%), followed by HIV-positive persons (19.0%) and excellent students (18.9%). Negatively evaluated are men who are not football fans - 15.3 per cent of children and young people have a negative attitude towards them, those who think differently from the majority (15.2), students of NGO programs (14.5%), persons with disabilities (14.0%), compatriots of different faiths (11.8%), members of other races (11.2%) and women (10.5%) (Redovan godišnji izveštaj Poverenika, internet). The research shows, among other things, that the situation has deteriorated in terms of relations of children and young people's human rights, because the idea is now even less familiar to them than it was to earlier generations (What kind of kids, internet).

The attitude of society towards those who are different is best illustrated by their attitude towards the LGBT population: 80 per cent of secondary school students believe that discrimination against them is justified, while 38 per cent of young men support violence against gays. Members of the Roma community in Serbia are in a similar situation, who, in addition to being exposed to violence, have difficulty with studying and struggle to find work (Human Rights in Serbia 2013: 94). Adult citizens express a high degree of social distance towards the LGBT community, because they want such persons in their environment (Agencies, internet) the least.

⁶⁹ The Young Justify Violence against the LGBT Community, Danas 2013: 4.

Education system failures

There are young lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people sitting in every classroom and every school in our society. They are mostly invisible, the laws governing education, curricula, teachers and schools ignore them, while their peers, if they noticed their departure from the “normal”, stigmatize, ridicule and insult them, and expose them to peer violence (Savić, 2009). This results, most frequently, in isolation, depression, low self-esteem, victimization and premature withdrawal and dropout from school (A 14 - year old boy: „If they only connect you with something that is considered wrong or disgusting, you're dead, you have to deal with it yourself, only yourself, no one else can help you with it.“ Fetoski, 2012: 18).

LGBT youth is the group which attempts suicide two to three times more frequently than any other group. The suicides of gay/lesbian youth represent 30% of suicides among young people. The suicide rate among LGBT youth is higher than the rate of suicide among the elderly aged 75 and sick people suffering from incurable diseases (Puača, 2009: 49). The position that no child or young person should fear for their physical safety in their own family, or while in an educational institution, was adopted a long time ago. However, this doesn't seem to be true for LGBT kids and youth, so that postponement of things for who knows when, is not a solution of the present problem.

And whenever intention is to talk generally about intolerance and discrimination of the educational system, and not particularly about LGBT rights, it is always necessary to pay most attention exactly to them, maybe because they are exposed to various forms discrimination more than other discriminated groups of citizen (Agencije, internet). It is necessary to talk about safety, because when we talk about discrimination, it is of such level and intensity that it is literally a threat to one's life. The discrimination suffered by LGBT children consists literally of domestic violence, which includes beatings, denial of the freedom of movement, forced medical treatment and removal from their homes. Violence against LGBT

children is not a way of discipline but act of domination (Pleck, 1987: 185). This is then followed by bullying at school, street violence and violence in public places, which is motivated by the hatred of LGBT youth, which is a constant threat.

The present fear of "otherness" is noticed in the contents of the public debate about the LGBT population, which, due to its mere ("brutal") existence⁷⁰, is perceived as a provocation and a threat to the Serbian society, or even the main cause of violence against them. There is a reproduction of negative attitudes in the educational system. In the field of education, there is a lack of understanding regarding LGBT persons, thus new generations coming out of school are ready to perpetrate violence against various groups, including LGBT people (Redovan godišnji izveštaj, 2012).

An example of peer violence that school failed to prevent. Reaction of parents.

At elementary school, Nikola's certain physical effeminacy was rather obvious, but it didn't create any problems for him, because everyone knew each other well, both the students and the teachers, all of whom generally accepted him as he was. There was, indeed, some teasing, they openly called him Nikolina or Lina (female names), for short, but Nikola wasn't bothered by any of it. Upon completion of primary school, he enrolled in the secondary technical school, and the problems began immediately. However, his classmates didn't mistreat him, but the word spread quickly around the school that the first class enrolled in a "faggot", and the older students showed openly their intention "to educate him," which, on several occasions, ended badly for Nikola. In the beginning, they "only" shouted threats and curses at him, then they repeatedly slapped, punched, ripped and soiled his clothes etc. Nikola duly reported every single attack to his class

⁷⁰ A reputable journalist Teofil Pančić, being a victim of hooligans by himself, coined ironical term "brutal existence". It indicates an innocent (a victim who didn't anyhow provoke) but unfortunately unpopular victim who is perceived as deserving violence (Pančić 2012: 1108).

teacher but, in spite of all that, nothing changed. His class teacher advised him to “calm down” and that it would all “go” by itself. He told Nikola's parents that the alleged incidents occurred outside the school, for which the school couldn't be held responsible. When asked by Nikola's parents whether the school had an anti-violence team, he told them that that wasn't a legal obligation, that that was a small school and that few schools had it, as well as that he himself wasn't aware that any secondary technical schools had something like that. “Let's face it, we don't have the time or the talent for some psychodrama, this is a secondary technical school and not a ballet school,” he literally said. Due to this situation, Nikola's parents often, or whenever they could because of their work, started to bring him to school and back from school by car, because the attacks usually occurred outside the school yard or on the streets near the school. In the school, Nikola didn't get out of his class during the breaks, so as not to meet with older students who attacked him in the hallways and on the stairs. Realizing that Nikola escaped them successfully, a group of attackers decided to take the initiative. During one of the long breaks between the classes, while chanting “Kill, kill the faggot,” they burst into his classroom, threw a few students out of his classroom with the threats, “Friends of the faggot, your turn will come, too”. They beat him up, dragged his bloody body down the hall, as an example to other “faggots”, and threw him from the first floor into the school yard. Nikola got a concussion, several broken ribs, a shoulder dislocation, a number of abrasions and haematomas, and following the first intervention at the Emergency Treatment Centre, he spent another month recovering. After that, the school principal advised Nikola's parents that, for the sake of the school's reputation, Nikola's safety, and the safety of other students, it was best for Nikola to drop out of that school and either enrol in another similar school, or maybe, which was the best solution, since he “didn't fit” among other students, prepare the exams privately and thus pass the grade, which they accepted, “recognizing that the problem was actually caused by their son” (Okuraži se, internet).

By some sort of inertia or negligence of education system, “true” values are incorrectly considered to be the denial of existence of sexual minorities or the covering up of the problem, in accordance with the principle of what isn't mentioned, it doesn't exist. Parents weren't taught anywhere (RTS 2013: news), and often don't know (or won't know) that if their children are LGBT, that doesn't mean that they are sick, or that it is the result of an error in their upbringing or a bad influence of some dangerous people in their children's surroundings. As things stand, no one in any school told the parents, during the education of their children, that “it” wasn't a disease and that it wasn't transferable, that about 10% of people were born “like that”, that “it” was in-born though not hereditary, that “it” had nothing to do with the fact that no family member remembers that there were any “such persons” on the mother's or father's side of the family, that “it” was neither fashionable nor the copying of others, that no one can be forced to or “tricked” into becoming homosexual or heterosexual, that no public scenes of gay life can change their heterosexual children, just as no hiding of the fact that “such persons” do exist can prevent their homosexual children from being what they are.

Schools are missing the chance to open the door to a better world to new generations. No measures were taken to raise the awareness of and provide information to people, institutions, youth, the media, public figures, decision makers, all levels of the educational system, etc. that homosexuality isn't a contagious disease but a minority variety of normal human sexuality, and that there is no danger of the spread of homosexuality by speaking about the topic openly and without prejudice, that pride parades or other public events would occur and that the same-sex unions would get legal recognition. One of the recommendations of the Commissioner for Equality that was sent to the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia, the National Council of Education and the Department of Improving the Quality of Education (649/2011), is related to taking the necessary measures to ensure the implementation of affirmative and accurate display of the same-sex sexual and emotional orientation, transgender, trans-sexuality and inter-

sexuality in all textbooks (both natural and social sciences), including the examples of LGBT individuals as part of historical and modern democratic societies.

What is dangerous for children and youth is the prevention of their normal development and innate sexuality, as well as rejection, harassment, violence and discrimination from family members, peers and at school, which makes it really difficult for them to become mature and causes psychological crisis, despair, depression and suicidal moods. Because of such attitude of the family, the problem of an increased risk of homelessness of LGBT people is being frequently stressed, especially of young people, who were rejected by their families, which is even more dramatic in times of high unemployment and the general crisis (GSA, internet 2013).

It is important to examine the possibility of non-discriminatory education as an increasingly necessary means against intolerance and discrimination and the willingness to use violence against those who are perceived as “others” or “different”, all of which are clearly manifested attitudes of young people, acquired and supported in the educational system (Mršević, 2013: 78-80).

Necessary changes in the institutional educational system, a utopia today, the reality tomorrow

Children are 100 per cent of our collective future (Stacey, 1996: 28). Rigid and polarized stereotypes prohibited boys and girls from developing their full human potential (Coltrane, 1997: 109). Therefore measures are needed to combat these negative and false perceptions about the alleged "threat" that LGBT people, by their very existence, pose to their surroundings. The example of the Netherlands may be seen as a good one: much attention being devoted to the suggestion of lower acceptance of homosexuality in schools and the consequences of this for young LGBTs. Attempts have been made in recent years to promote acceptance of homosexuality in schools, and since December 1st 2012 it has been mandatory to

provide information on LGBT issues in Dutch primary and secondary schools (Keuzenkamp & Kuyper, 2013: 23).

There must be some effective measures against hate speech, especially those aimed at the efficient identification, prosecution and punishment of the offenders that cause, spread, promote and incite hatred and other forms of intolerance towards the LGBT community, whether they are made at public meetings, in the media, on the Internet, in street, or hate graffiti. It is very important to encourage government officials and prominent political figures to publicly advocate for the human rights of LGBT persons and tolerance. The inflammatory speech of public figures has the effect of cancellation of several years' long efforts of institutions and civil society towards minimizing the negative social perception of LGBT people, contributing to the creation and maintenance of negative publicity towards LGBT people, whereas, in the international context, it creates a negative image of Serbia in general.

Today, Fukuyama's rhetoric question of whether we are poor because the economic situation is bad, or because we have "dysfunctional social habits" is topical more than ever. Those are deeply rooted habits that would be at work even if the economic benefits existed, and that would still lead us, instead to progress, in the opposite direction. Such dysfunctional social habits certainly include intolerance and acceptance of discriminatory behaviour as normal, which atomize society, prevent wider social connections and permanent establishment of social solidarity and cooperation (Fukuyama, 1997:20).

For parent families to become the shelter and protection from homophobia to their LGBT children, and not an extended hand of homophobia, some institutional changes are needed, especially in the educational system. It is necessary to identify the ways of establishing a value system in which otherness and diversity aren't seen as a threat, regardless of how much their realization, from today's perspective, seemed utopian. For the sake of the future development, it is necessary to dismantle a retrograde matrix, according to which the majority can't be better off if the minority isn't in a worse position. No matter how much it still seems utopian, even if we are supporters of the, so-called "policy of limited action" (Badiju, 2008: 67-

74), the educational system has to change, either faster or slower. It must denounce the negative effects of discrimination, violence and intolerance towards others who are different, instead of supporting them, because, in that way, a chance to open the door to a better world to new generations would be missed. An analysis of the discriminatory contents of the current system of education is needed, as well as of the school that currently openly opposes the display of intolerance, peer violence and research. Also needed are institutional and even utopian proposals to change this situation. Recommended as appropriate (Preporuke, 2011) is the following:

1. That the contents of the teaching materials, male and female teachers, through their teaching practices and the ways of working with students, foster the awareness of diversity, promote non-violent culture, equality and non-discriminatory practices, as the postulates of a democratic society based on the respect for human rights;

2. Raising the awareness of diversity, intercultural and shared values through the presentations of famous people from different ethnic and religious groups and cultures, etc.;

3. That the teaching contents and teaching materials present to the young different models of families in contemporary society (single parents, foster families, families without children, the right of the same-sex partners to have families etc.);

4. The removal of stereotyped presentations of gender roles/ professions and encouragement of varieties; the insistence on multiplicity and complexity of human identity, the considering of individuality, solidarity and creativity as valuable, regardless of gender;

5. Improving the curriculum of Civic Education to include specific workshops on the prevention of discrimination and the alleviating of prejudice towards children from vulnerable and marginalized groups (children with disabilities, learning disabilities, children who are socially deprived) in all grades, but in accordance with the principles of inclusive education with the use of modern and appropriate terminology;

6. Including the contents and programs of Civic Education into other subjects, too;

7. A greater visibility of children from disadvantaged groups in textbooks, curricula (texts, workshops, photographs), in accordance with the principles of inclusive education;

8. The introduction of affirmative and accurate presentations of the same-sex sexual and emotional orientation, transgender, trans-sex and inter-sexuality into all textbooks (both natural and social sciences), including the examples of LGBTTIAQ⁷¹ male and female individuals, as part of both historical and modern democratic societies;

9. The removal from textbooks and curricula of the terminology that is outdated, obsolete and offensive, especially of the contents which abound in medical approaches and diagnoses and prejudices in relation to the capacity of children, especially children with disabilities;

10. The usage and putting an emphasis on the standardization and legal regulation of the gender-sensitive language and language of non-discrimination (children and youth with disabilities and special needs, and not children with special needs, a person that suffers/commits violence, not a victim/abuser, a person who uses psychoactive substances, and not a male or female drug addict, etc.;

11. That male and female teachers, through the appropriate professional development, improve their knowledge and skills in the field of children's and human rights, equality and non-discrimination, gender equality, non-violence, that they overcome their own particular prejudices and stereotypes and increase sensitivity to the gender contents of the teaching materials and teaching practices.

The legislation is relatively good, but the implementation in practice is another story (GSA, internet 2013). For the time being, LGBT issues are generally not recognized by the institutions, aren't considered as important, and are considered

⁷¹ A wider version of the LGBT acronym, which includes various categories, such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, intersex, asexual and queer people.

even less as a priority. The existence of individual cases of an alarming degree of misunderstanding and intolerance towards the LGBT community by some responsible persons in the institutions was pointed out. State institutions are expected, as with every other marginalized group, to support project activities of LGBT organizations, for instance, to advocate human rights of LGBT people and to enable the operation of the SOS hotline. The state needs to focus on the maintenance of the existing services of non-governmental organizations by well-trained and competent persons. No institution can do it by itself and there must be cooperation between institutions, independent bodies and the non-governmental sector. The institutional synergies against extremism are necessary. The institutions still don't recognize crimes against LGBT people or cases of discrimination against them, so that no appropriate records on the issues are kept, while the relevant statistics and information on that are completely missing. Cases of violence and discrimination must be monitored and adequately documented. It is necessary to educate the staff working in the institutions. Institutional procedures are underused due to a high level of distrust of LGBT persons in their work, their effectiveness, willingness to act, the understanding of the specifics of LGBT existence and discretion. Similarities in children's gender schemes will help lessen inequalities in the society at large. There are likely to be more room for more individual choices about what to do in the family and how to relate to other family members. New family rituals and practices will undoubtedly emerge. Men and women are slowly moved toward more similarity in the things that they can do both inside and outside families (Coltrane 1997: 133 & 177).

Changes in the educational system should be accompanied by (and caused, initiated) changes in the family's perception of LGBT children, too. Family members must jointly find a way to deal with discrimination and prejudices. The question of how to make it easier for parents to accept the minority sexual orientation of their children and how their relationship could be more tolerant or honest (Fetoski, 2012: 23) hasn't yet been answered in Serbia. Dealing with the fact that their children are of LGBT affiliation is a difficult and stressful process in

which it is necessary to jointly break the silence. Parents are the only ones who can devote themselves unreservedly to the care, love, and understanding of their LGBT children, whereas the educational system is the one that should provide answers and solutions. It takes time and support to understand that silence and hiding don't link people, don't encourage self-confidence and self-esteem. The goal is that different people don't see any longer their difference in Serbia as their bad fate, due to which they choose isolation and loneliness, but to see it as a bridge between the infinite variety and richness of the world in which they live. The role of the family is to help, accept and support, together with the institutional system of education, their children, young people and all other and different persons, so that they could find the other way.

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CASE ANALYSIS OF AN ADULT HOMOSEXUAL MALE FROM BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN CONTEXT OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION

Džanan Berberović

Introduction

One of the most important developmental tasks during adolescence and young adulthood is identity formation. Cohesive identity formation is basic for human development throughout the lifespan (Halpin & Allen, 2004). This task would be even more challenging for homosexual individuals, as they are exposed to social stigma, prejudice and negative attitudes because of their homosexual identity even from very early ages (Ryan & Futterman, 2001). Identity development in homosexual individuals is known as the “coming out” process, which implies the process of acceptance of the emerging homosexual identity through several identity formation stages (Cass, 1979, 1984, 1996). Homosexual individuals have numerous feelings toward homosexuality, which need to be overcome (Carroll, 2007). The first awarenesses of sexual orientation emerge in school ages, but they are not admitted to others until the adolescence period (Savin-Williams and Diamond, 2000)

Cass (1979, 1984, 1996) proposed six stage model of homosexual identity formation: Confusion, Comparison, Tolerance, Acceptance, Pride and Synthesis. The Identity Confusion stage occurs when a person develops a consciousness that homosexuality becomes relevant to the behavior. Since an individual realizes that

there are discrepancies between her/his own perceptions of sexual identity and the heterosexual self-image, internal conflicts and emotional disturbance may emerge. In the Identity Comparison stage, an individual sees her/himself as homosexual, but other can perceive her/him as heterosexual and this discrepancy results in feelings of isolation and unbelongingness. In the Identity Tolerance stage, homosexual self-perception increases, resulting in tendency to seek out other homosexual people, and in tolerance of homosexual identity. However, in the third stage, homosexual identity is not yet accepted, but the acceptance might occur in the Identity Acceptance stage, resulting in more positive evaluation of homosexual identity and homosexuality in general. In the Identity Pride stage, there are new incongruities between positive self-perceptions and negative perceptions of the society toward homosexuality and homosexual identity, resulting in devaluation of heterosexuality. Gradually, an individual's perception of heterosexuality becomes less negative, meaning that the Identity Synthesis stage emerges.

Homosexual identity formation is a process that implies reciprocal interaction between individuals and environments they live in (Cass, 1996). It is a gradual process and a person may start resolving developmental tasks of subsequent stages before completing those from previous ones (Cass, 1996). Halpin and Allen (2004) argue that emotional, social and psychological characteristics may differ across these stages. There are even researches indicating that the lower homosexual identity formation stages are related to elevated distress levels (i.e. Brady & Busse, 1996; Dempsey, 1994), and there are authors (see Halpin & Allen, 2004) who claim that the middle stages of Identity Tolerance and Acceptance represent the most testing phases of homosexual identity development as individuals are disclosing their homosexual identities to others and may face more social stigma, prejudices, negative judgements and attitudes. On the other hand, sexual identity is a process prone to changes throughout life and no final stage of homosexual identity formation exists (Horowitz & Newcomb, 2001).

Homosexual individuals can have different experiences in their own homosexual identity acceptance. Positive experiences are related to a better self-

image, lower depression levels and better psychological well-being (Armesto, 2001; LaSala, 2000; Ryan & Futterman, 2001). Those homosexuals, who were rejected by the anti-homosexual environments, especially when they were rejected by their parents, were more inclined to social isolation, depression, loneliness, homelessness, prostitution and STD (Armesto, 2001). These negative experiences with an anti-homosexual environment can lead to a negative self-image in homosexual individuals, resulting in negative homosexual identity formation, due to the wrong and unhealthy view of homosexuality by the society they live in (Cass, 1984). Coming out process can be very vulnerable for developing depressive symptoms, which sometimes can lead to suicidal behaviour, and one of the reasons can be found in the conflict with heterosexism, which may place homosexual individuals at greater risk for developing negative psychological consequences (Fenaughty & Harré, 2003). Profound sense of difference experienced by homosexual people can cause higher depression rates and some developmental problems (Olson & King, 1995). Therefore, sexual and other personality experiences in homosexual individuals must be taken into consideration when analysing, assessing and counselling these individuals (Horowitz & Newcomb, 2001).

Homosexuality is generally seen as a social problem and there are tendencies to find factors contributing to the same-sex orientation and sexual preferences, but these factors are poorly understood (Sheldon, Pfeffer, Epstein Jayaratne, Feldbaum & Petty, 2007). Sexual prejudices and negative attitudes toward homosexual people are due to gender, conservative religious and political affiliations and lack of contact with homosexuals (Ellis, Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 2002; Herek, 1984; Stoeber & Morera, 2007; Wils & Crawford, 2000). Negative attitudes toward homosexuals can be related to the view that its origin is personal choice (Sheldon et al., 2007). Some societies, in which machismo plays a very important role, are even less tolerant of homosexuality (Chilen, 2006; Lemelle & Battle, 2004). There are also developed societies, in which there are a very large percentage of people who reflect negative attitudes toward homosexuality (Cotten-Huston & Waite, 2000;

Herek, 1991). Some authors claim that homosexual men are less acceptable than homosexual women (Berberovic, 2012; Conley, Evitt & Devine, 2007; Ellis et al., 2002; Herek, 1984; Hinchris & Rosenberg, 2002; Whitley & Kite, 1995), but Oliver and Hyde (1993) found no sex differences regarding negative attitudes toward homosexual males and females.

Homosexual males experience a broad range of negative reactions from some heterosexuals (Conley et al., 2007), due to highly developed homophobia. Homophobia and discrimination problems are especially serious for homosexual young people, who experience rejection by the society they live in and are likely to have concerns about their sexual identity (Wils & Crawford, 2000). Sexual identity disclosure may reduce internalized homonegativity, but the deepest homonegativity occurs prior to the coming out process (Murray & McClintock, 2005). Stronger negative convictions are related to stronger negative attitudes toward homosexuality expression (Cotten-Huston & Waite, 2000). Society discriminates homosexual individuals, demonstrating hostile behaviour toward them, despite the existence of homosexuality since the written history (Wils & Crawford, 2000). People tend to have more negative attitudes toward homosexual people if they do not know someone who is homosexual. Their attitudes become more positive as they have more direct experiences with homosexual people (Altemeyer, 2001; Guth, Lopez. Rojas, Clements & Tyler, 2004), and even some sex differences may emerge, at least in the social groups which are less tolerant of homosexuality (Lemelle & Battle, 2004). Due to the negative attitudes of homosexual individuals' anti-homosexual environments, these individuals can develop internalized homophobia and negative attitudes toward their own homosexuality, resulting in depressive moods, maybe even suicidal thoughts and risky sexual behaviour (Berberovic, 2012).

Homosexuality in Bosnia and Herzegovina is still very unacceptable phenomenon among lay people, as well as among professionals, making this society anti-homosexual in its attitudes and behaviours toward homosexual people. Research about homosexual identity in former Yugoslavian republics is very poor.

In an unpublished Croatian study, it was found that young people generally have negative attitudes toward homosexual people and that attitudes toward homosexual males are even more negative (Parmac, 2005). Analysing attitudes of young people from Serbia and BiH toward sexual minority groups, Berberovic (2012) found that young people from these two ex-Yugoslavian countries showed more negative attitudes toward transsexuals, than toward homosexual males and then toward homosexual females. No research has been done about the coming out process and psychological aspects of homosexual individuals in the Balkans.

Homosexual individuals with internal homosexual conflicts in Bosnian society very rarely decide to seek out psychological help, since they become aware of the anti-homosexual attitudes of the environment they live in. The result of this situation can be that homosexual identity formation becomes a harder process and the emerging homosexual identity is less acceptable or completely unacceptable. Homosexual individuals in anti-homosexual environments can develop a sense of incompetence, helplessness or even depressive mood with suicidal tendencies, since they face high levels of distress related to their sexual orientation. Because of so strong social unacceptability by others in anti-homosexual environments, homosexuals might not succeed in accepting their own sexual identity. This might result in internalized homophobia or negative attitudes toward one's own homosexual identity.

The other side of the problem is that homosexual people in anti-homosexual environments are rarely open to express their feelings and psychological changes. They might remain "in the closet" because of internalized homophobia or because they know they are going to be rejected by the society, even by some mental health professionals, especially those with stronger religious believes.

The main purpose of this case analysis is to present, in as many details as possible, the psychological development of a homosexual adult male, whose internal homosexual conflicts led him not only to non-acceptance of his own homosexual identity, but also to developing some psychopathological personality traits – such as high levels of depression and anxiety. The participant will be named

Mr A throughout this article. His development, cognitive functioning, personality traits, unconscious and internal conflicts are discussed.

Method

This study presents a case analysis of an adult homosexual male (Mr. A), who sought out psychological help because of severely developed depressive symptoms (sometimes accompanied by suicidal thoughts). During the counselling process, it was revealed that Mr. A suffered from severe depression because of an unaccepted homosexual identity. He was asked to participate in a deeper assessment of his psychological functioning and he agreed. He signed a written consent to participate in this study, since it was explained to him that results of this evaluation and psychological exploration would be used only for scientific purposes. This is the first deep analysis of the case of a male homosexuality in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

For psychological assessment and evaluation, a semi-structured interview - the List of Basic Biographical Information (LBBI, Berger, 2004) - was performed. This interview consists of the following data: basic information; early childhood, preschool development, school age, puberty and adolescence; young adulthood and adulthood; school and academic performance; work experience; military experience; sexual development and homosexual experiences.

Intelligence was measured by the Wechsler Individual Test of Intelligence (WITI, Berger, Markovic & Mitic, 1995), which is a standardized form of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale for the Serbian population. This version of the test is widely used in Bosnian clinics for Intelligence assessment, since Serbia and Bosnia are considered as not significantly different in cultural terms, since they were part of the same country before 1992 (former Yugoslavia). This test consists of the two parts or scales – verbal and non-verbal or the performance scale. The verbal scale of intelligence consists of 6 subtests (Information, Digit Span, Vocabulary, Arithmetic, Comprehension and Similarities). The non-verbal or performance scale of intelligence consists of 5 subtests (Picture Completion, Picture

Arrangement, Block Design, Object Assembly and Digit Symbol). Subtests are given interchangeably (verbal – performance), so the first given subtest is verbal and the last one is the performance subtest. Internal consistency of the whole test, as for individual subtests (except Digit Symbol which requires test-retest reliability check) was found to be very high (ranging from .809 to .951); Cronbach's alpha for the verbal scale is .911, for the performance scale .860 and for the whole test .934 (Berger et al., 1995). The results on the verbal and performance scales are demonstrated in terms of Verbal Intelligence Quotient (VIQ) and Performance Intelligence Quotient (PIQ). The result on the whole scale represents the total intelligence quotient (IQ).

Personality traits were assessed by the MMPI-202, which is a standardized and abbreviated version of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory-2 (MMPI-2) form, consisting of 210 questions with Yes/No answers (Biro, 2002). This version of the test consists of two boxes and 210 questions written on cards. The two boxes represent affirmative (yes) or negative (no) answers on the questions on the cards. The subject reads each question on the card and when answering, he puts the card into one of the two boxes (yes or no box). The MMPI-202 has three control scales (L-, F- and K-scale) which show if personality profile is valid or not. There are 8 pathological scales: Hypochondriasis (Hs); Depression (D); Hysteria (Hy); Psychopathic deviation (Pd); Psychastenia (Pt); Schizophrenia (Sc) and Mania (Ma). In the MMPI-202 form there are four additional scales: Social introversion (Si); Anxiety (An), Latent Aggression (Ag) and Critical items (Ci). Clinically significant scores on the pathological and additional scales are those above the T score of 70 (Biro, 2002).

Machover's Draw-a-Person test is used as a projective technique to reveal some inner and unconscious personality conflicts. The subject is told to draw a person, without saying anything about the sex of that person. When the subject is done with her/his first drawing, she/he is told to draw another person of opposite sex. After drawings, a psychologist can perform a semi-structured interview, asking the subject to tell stories about the drawn figures. Mean criterion validity correlations of

personality description among psychologist are .67 for the impressionistic, .68 for descriptive and .70 for synthetic approach (Kostic & Divac, 1998).

Another two instruments were performed as projective techniques to assess several life themes in objective way (Berger & Vukobrat, 1998): the Sentence Completion Test (SCT) and the Personality Attitudes Inventory-110 (PAI-110). The Sentence Completion Test (SCT) consists of 80 incomplete sentences and a respondent's task is to complete the sentences in a meaningful way to her/him. The Personality Attitudes Inventory-110 (PAI – 110) consists of 110 items, scored on a 5-point Likert scale. The answers on both instruments are analysed simultaneously, since they are grouped in the 16 life themes: Mother; Father; Family; Heterosexual relationships; Friends; Authority; Competence; Work; Cooperativeness; Fear and insecurity; Feeling of guilt; Stress apperception; Past; Future; Goals and Identity. There are four additional life themes on the PAI-110, which are not included in the SCT: Self-Esteem; Changes; Affects, and Control. On the PAI-110, there are also two control scales (the Absence of Criticism and the Lie-scale). Every life theme implies five items on the tests. Results indicate personality conflicts in different life areas (Berger & Vukobrat, 1998).

Results – Case analysis

History of development

Mr. A is an adult male, 30 years old, living in a rural area. He possesses higher education degree and is currently employed. He lives with his mother and younger brother, while his father died when he was 20 years old. Family relationships are characterized by closeness and intimacy, as it is a core traditional value in the rural area Mr. A comes from.

As a first-born child, he was favoured within the family. There were no problems in his physical, psychomotor and cognitive development. Problems with

enuresis were present until he was 11. Emotional and social aspects of development were damaged by several stressful life events.

In late preschool years and at the beginning of his school period of development, he used to play sexual games with other playmates. He preferred playing “wife and husband” game, taking the role of a wife. In puberty (when the war in Bosnia occurred), he was temporarily separated from his father, living only with his mother (whom he describes as “dominating”) and younger brother.

He always had excellent school and academic achievements. He started working and earning money already in puberty, having a role of “helping” member of the family. After graduating from high school, he went to the army force (which was obligatory at the time). After completing his army duties, he went to the university and graduated after five years of study. He is currently involved in postgraduate studies. He changed work environments several times at the beginning of his work career, but last three years has been working at the same job position. He does not mention any problems at work place and he seems to be able to adapt adequately to new working environments.

He began masturbating when he was 13. He practiced masturbation activities during sexual fantasizing and/or watching pornographic materials (usually magazines). First sexual relationship with a same-sex partner occurred when he was 23. He has never had sex with female partner. In homosexual sexual encounters, he prefers the “bottom” role, choosing mainly partners who would like to dominate him and make him submissive to them. However, he seeks out partners who are gentle and even effeminate, but wants them to be aggressive toward him. He feels excited when performing masochistic role during sexual encounter, but has extreme sense of guilt afterwards.

Relationships with other guys were usually only sexual in nature. He had also several long term relationships, but was constantly under the fear of being “discovered”, since he denied being homosexual to himself and others (on the question “Do you consider yourself homosexual”, his answer is: “No, I am

heterosexual”, then sometimes he considers himself “bisexual”, but he never uses word “homosexual” in his vocabulary). He suffers from much social pressure to get married as soon as possible. He considers himself capable for heterosexual marriage; even though he has never had a heterosexual relationship. He doubts being sexually attracted to women, but he feels women are sexually attracted to him. However, he always develops non-sexual relationships with other women, showing no sexual preferences for them. Regarding the age of homosexual partners, he prefers them to be younger than him, sometimes a lot younger and he is mostly attracted to males in puberty (16-18 years of age).

The general clinical picture of Mr. A’s personality is depressive. He has gradually developed feelings of guilt, sadness, loneliness, helplessness, hopelessness and even suicidal thoughts. Several life events would be crucial for his negative self-concept and negative attitudes toward his own homosexual identity: proneness to take female roles in games with other children during preschool and school ages; enuresis problems; separation from the father during puberty; loss of father; transferring feelings toward his younger brother; dominating mother; development of sexual submissiveness; repressing sexuality; late start of sexual encounters; negative attitudes of the anti-homosexual environment he has lived in toward homosexuality in general; gradually internalized homophobia; inadequate short term sexual relationships with same-sex partners.

Results of the intelligence test

The total IQ score on the WITI was 125, allowing the classification of Mr. A’s result into the superior intelligence group. His score on the verbal scale was 123 IQ, and on the non-verbal scale 125 IQ, indicating superior intelligence in both scales of the test. No mental deterioration was found. The highest score was achieved in the Arithmetic subtest within the verbal scale and Object Assembly within the performance scale.

A scatter analysis for both scales was performed to analyse whether there were discrepancies among results in individual subtests or between subtests on the whole scales, as well as to identify whether mental deterioration developed. A scatter analysis for the verbal scale is shown in Table 1, and for the non-verbal or performance scale in Table 2.

Personality profile

On the MMPI-202, two peaks (T scores above 70) were demonstrated on two pathological scales: D (Depression) and Pt (Psychastenia), as well as in one additional scale: Anxiety (An). The control scales showed that the personality profile was valid and interpretable. Results on this test are shown in Picture 1.

The MMPI-202 profile is not a typical D-Pt profile, as other conditions for the D-Pt profile were not fulfilled (i.e. the Ma scale is not below the T score of 50, some clinical scales, such as scales Pa and Sc, are not 15 T scores below the D and Pt scales). Scales Hs, Hy and Pd are below the T score of 50. Below the T score of 60 are additional scales Si and Ag, while the Ci scale is below T score of 70. Control scales L and F are below the T score of 60, while the K scale is below the T score of 50.

Results on projective tests

Machover's Draw-a-Person

Drawings on the Machover's Draw-a-Person (DAP) test indicated same-sex identification (the first drawn figure was the one on the left – the figure's sex is obviously male). The male figure is younger than the female one, indicating potential fear in relations with women. The following elements in both drawings were included in the analysis: adequate head size; messy and scattered hair; empty eyes – circles without irises and eyelashes; thicker lips in male figure; small nose;

prominent chin in female figure; proportionally drawn neck; open arms in the male figure and short arms in the female figure; transparent skirt in the female figure; rectangular hull forms; dapper belt with styling; outlined drawing buttons; male figure in movement; weak pen pressure and thin lines. Drawings are shown in Picture 2.

Sentence Completion Test (SCT) and Personality Attitudes Inventory-110 (PAI-110)

The participant's scores and ranks of life themes on the SCT and the PAI-110 are shown in Table 3. The first number indicates a sum of five item values of every life theme. The second number is a mean rank of the individual life theme scale. The four life themes (Self-esteem; Changes; Affects and Control) are only included in the PAI-110, therefore no such results are presented for these life themes in the SCT. The two control scales (Absence of criticism and Lie-scale) are also included in the PAI-110 and not in the SCT. The third number in the table represents the rank of every life theme in both instruments. These ranks additionally apostrophize the differences between life themes, as they indicate conflicts in main life themes (i.e. if the life themes are significantly differently scored in two tests).

Rank scores indicate which life themes on both instruments are the highest and which the lowest ranked. Hence, there are three types of data derived from the results shown in Table 3: 1) scores on life theme scales that have positive connotation; 2) scores on the Fear and Insecurity, Guilt and Stress Apperception scales which imply neurotic symptoms and therefore have negative connotation; 3) scales included only in the PAI-110 and not in the SCT (Self-esteem, Affects, Control, and Changes). Two control scales on the PAI-110 do not imply life themes.

The lowest values are demonstrated in the following life themes: Stress Apperception (!), Fear and Insecurity (!), Mother (?), Heterosexual relationships (?), Goals, Guilt (! ?), and Competences. Exclamation points in parentheses imply negatively connoted symptomatic scales. Interrogative signs imply incongruences

with the scores on the other instrument (diversely scored life themes on the SCT and the PAI-110).

The highest values on the SCT were found for the following life themes: Father, Friends (?), Work (?), Cooperativeness, Family, Future, and Identity (?). Evident discrepancies were found in ranks of the three life themes (Friends, Work and Identity) on the other instrument.

The highest values on the PAI-110 were found for the following life themes: Father; Family; Guilt (!), and Changes. Comparing to the scores on the SCT, the only life theme which was found to be congruent to the scores on that instrument was Father. Clinical and idiographic analysis and interpretation of the obtained data are discussed below.

Discussion

Interpretation of semi-structured interview data

Mr.A is in the period of adulthood and has passed previous developmental stages transferring conflicts into the next stages of development, which resulted in a state of severe depression. Living in rural area, he was confronted with permanent anti-homosexual attitudes, gradually internalizing negative attitudes toward homosexuality in general, as well as toward his own sexual identity, claiming that he was bisexual and/or heterosexual, but never homosexual. In the rural area he has lived, people are likely to belong to the Muslim religion. During his development, he accepted religious (Islamic) beliefs, which are anti-homosexual and homophobic in nature. Previous research has demonstrated strong correlation between religious beliefs and negative attitudes toward homosexuality (Ellis et al., 2002; Herek, 1984; Stoever & Morera, 2007; Wils & Crawford, 2000). On the other hand, people's attitudes toward homosexuality in the environment where a homosexual individual lives are very important, because homosexual identity formation implies reciprocal interaction between the individual and his/her environment (Cass, 1996). In the environment Mr. A lives, a strong sense of masculinity is apostrophized within the

family context. In such environment, negative attitudes toward homosexuals are very common (Chilen, 2006; Lemelle & Battle, 2004), especially regarding homosexual males (Conley et al., 2007; Ellis et al., 2002; Evitt & Devine, 2007; Herek, 1984; Hinchris & Rosenberg, 2002; Whitley & Kite, 1995). Mr. A did not face direct challenges with homophobic attitudes, but throughout his development he became aware of strong negative attitudes people around him had toward homosexuality, causing him to develop a strong sense of guilt because of being homosexual. Relations with other family members are very strong, as it is typical for the rural area he lives in. All other family members have always expressed overt negative attitudes toward homosexuality, making Mr. A continue living “in the closet”.

Losing his father in late adolescence was very a stressful life event for him, as he described his father in positive way, while claiming his mother was more dominant within the primary family context. This is not typical for Bosnian rural areas (for mothers to be more dominant than fathers), but this was the case because Mr. A’s mother had higher education level than other women in the village, and after her husband died, she took on the role of a father simultaneously with her mother’s role. Mr. A sometimes thought that his mother was to blame because of his father’s death. Negative emotions toward his mother emerged. After his father’s death, Mr. A transferred positive emotions toward his younger brother. This is also a crucial moment in his homosexual behaviour, since he developed unconscious erotic thoughts toward his brother. These thoughts are considered as sinful, and Mr. A started seeking out younger males, who would punish him because of that.

This led him to develop masochistic personality traits regarding sexual behaviour. However, after being masochistic in sexual encounters with male sex partners who used sadistic sexual practices toward him (such as urinating on his face or body; spitting on him; beating him up and torturing him in different ways, especially expressing dirty talk – calling him vulgar names and the like), he felt strong guilt, wishing to be punished over and over again. Strong religious beliefs contributed to this sense of guilt, as he saw his homosexual behaviour as something

unhealthy and sinful. It is very possible that homosexual individuals will develop negative homosexual identity due to the wrong and unhealthy view of homosexuality by the environment they live in (Cass, 1984). This was the case with Mr. A's homosexual identity formation. On the other hand, his enuresis experiences, which lasted very long, were actually the expressions of fear he felt about himself being homosexual and the possibility to be punished because of that "sin". Playing with other children, while in preschool and school age, taking always female roles in those plays, he wanted to express his homosexuality, but then developed fears of being discovered about taking female roles to other members of the environment he lived in. As he used to listen about strong punishments for people who are homosexual, he developed a strong fear, putting it inside of him and manifesting it only unconsciously, through the enuresis experiences. This led him to develop preferences for urethral erotism – expressing strong erotic desires toward urethral sexual activities.

Mr. A shows very high cognitive abilities. He used this superior intelligence in positive way, achieving excellent results in school and at work. However, at the beginning of his professional career, he used to change jobs several times, as he had fears of being asked why he was not married or that his homosexual preferences might be discovered. Sometimes it seems as if he had paranoid thoughts about his homosexuality – there is a constantly present fear of being discovered or coming "out of the closet". Strong internalized homophobia makes the process of homosexual identity formation more difficult. He has always had fears about expressing his homosexuality.

He started masturbating in puberty, usually consuming pornographic materials. He continues to consume pornography, sometimes in compulsive manner, masturbating also very compulsively (several times a day), but feeling guilty afterwards, as he consumes pornographic contents which are related to same-sex sexual encounters with a lot of sadistic and brutal pornographic scenes (rape, urinating, beating up, torturing, humiliating, etc.), while identifying with the raped, humiliated, tortured and submissive pornographic actors, fantasizing of being

punished and humiliated by several guys (younger than him) at the same time. He admits never having sex with multiple partners at the same time, despite his strong desire for it. Exploring the relation between internalized homophobia and sexual compulsive behaviour, authors (Dew & Chaney, 2005) revealed that internalized homophobia was strongly predictive for sexual compulsivity.

During his stay in the army forces (one year in army forces was previously mandatory for all adult males in BiH), he had no sexual experiences, but he admits fantasizing about it. He liked the most when taking shower together with other soldiers, but was never “brave” enough to initiate direct sexual contact. Repressing his sexuality and hiding his sexual identity, Mr. A started with sexual encounters when he was 23. It is not common for an adult male in his environment to start so “late” with sexual practices, as many of his friends are married and have one or two kids at that age. When he compares his sexual identity with others’ sexual identities, he seems to be going from the Identity Confusion to the Identity Comparison stage and vice versa. Sometimes even the Identity Tolerance stage emerges, but since he cannot accept his homosexual identity as a whole, he always goes back to the previous stages, developing permanent feelings of confusion and constantly refusing to accept his homosexual identity. This is congruent with the argument of Cass (1996) that in the process of homosexual identity formation, an individual may want to resolve some developmental tasks of subsequent stages, without completing those from previous ones.

Mr. A has had only two long term relationships with same-sex partners. His sexual behaviour can be characterized as very promiscuous – sometimes having multiple partners a day (not at the same time). When he discovered same-sex sexual encounters, he began to be involved in many sexual encounters, usually finding partners through various internet sites. He had many sexual encounters, but only two of them resulted in long term relationships (more than a year). Having multiple partners is typical for adult males who have sex with males and this finding was very well documented in other researches (Chaney & Chang, 2005; Chaney & Dew,

2003; Cooper, Delmonico & Burg, 2000). This is maybe due to the fear of being discovered if the relationship with one partner lasts longer.

Mr. A's main complaints are concentrated around his feelings of helplessness, loneliness, hopelessness, and sadness. He admitted that these feelings lasted very long and he did not know how to manage them. No medication therapy has he ever wanted to use, nor does he have a history of alcohol or drug abuse. He does not smoke and is prone to drink alcohol in social situations, but it seems that alcohol is only used as a temporary flight from painful reality. After periods of alcohol consumption, a feeling of guilt emerges due to his religious beliefs. Religion is used to overcome everyday difficulties and negative thoughts, but so far has been counterproductive toward the Mr. A's self-image. The only benefit from religion, Mr. A experienced when suicidal thoughts emerged. Religious believes strongly forbid suicidal attempts and thoughts, so he has never tried to commit suicide, despite his frequent thinking about it.

Since Mr. A perceives himself as less worthy, sad, hopeless, helpless, sometimes even suicidal, he engages in sexual risky behaviour to be punished, humiliated and degraded. However, due to superior intellectual abilities, sense of guilt becomes stronger and the depressive cycle re-emerges. Some coping strategies to overcome these inner conflicts, based on his homosexual identity "malformation", were developed, but the Identity Confusion stage was still in charge. One of the main conflicts of Mr. A's personality is whether to accept his own homosexual identity or to live as heterosexual in an anti-homosexual environment, since being a heterosexual in such an environment is more "socially acceptable" than being a homosexual. He admits having many difficulties in satisfying masochistic sexual interests and desires, especially because of his insecurity, guilt and unhappiness after practicing sadomasochistic sex. He faces permanent judgements of homosexual behaviour by the society he lives in. However, he has never suffered from judgements directed toward him regarding his homosexuality, as his homosexual orientation cannot be realized from his physical appearance, making him a non-obvious homosexual for the environment he lives in.

Further exploration of the Mr. A's personality included his scores on the intelligence test, personality assessment and his results in projective techniques.

Results on the Wechsler Individual Intelligence Scale

Mr. A demonstrated high interests and high motivation levels for the intelligence test. No problems were identified in understanding of the instructions for individual subtests. The exploration lasted about two hours and no concentration problems were detected. Extremely high interests and competences in solving tasks were demonstrated in the following subtests: Picture Completion; Block Design and Object Assembly (receiving some extra points on this subtest). The raw score of the verbal scale was 85, and of the non-verbal scale 71. When these scores were converted to the IQ units, the verbal IQ was 123 and the non-verbal or performance IQ was 125, giving the total IQ of 125. The results on the total intelligence test as a whole and on the verbal and performance scales individually indicate the possibility of classifying the subject into the superior intelligence group. This means that Mr. A performed high on the both scales of the test individually, as on the test as a whole. His result is above the mean scores of general population his age in verbal IQ (M=99.58; SD=14.98), performance IQ (M=99.37; SD=14.66) and total IQ (M=99.19; SD=15.23) (Berger et al. 1995).

The intelligence test results of Mr. A are accepted as credible, taking into account subject's education level (graduated from higher school, currently involved in postgraduate studies), professional career (employed and having had excellent results in job performance so far); general efficiency of coping with everyday life situations; motivation during the assessment (especially his motivation for arithmetic tasks and performance subtests); and contact with the assessor. Cognitive style is reflected in giving quick and correct answers and solving the given problems – in a testing situation, as in general life situations. The only obstacle in solving everyday life problems is a lack of motivation.

Test results indicate subject's high level of general information, highly developed arithmetic competences and abilities in performance tasks (Object Assembly and Block Design). He demonstrated high levels of psychomotor speed and coordination. The speech is clear, grammatically correct, no unknown words are used.

A scatter analysis was performed to determine significant differences in individual subtests. The analysis showed significant discrepancy on the subtest Picture Arrangement, because the subject had the highest possible score. Slight discrepancies were found on the subtests Similarities and Information within the verbal scale, and on the subtest Object Assembly within the performance scale. No mental deterioration was found.

When solving problems, the subject uses direct and systematic manner. Interests and analysis of the problem are implied. Thinking is flexible and rational. Hypothetical-deductive reasoning is in charge. The problem is approached as a whole; the solution anticipation and thinking planning are present. The process of thinking is not rigid; there is a constant need for seeking out another solution. The experience is congruently and functionally used. The subject is able to learn during problem solving. He demonstrates high level of self-confidence in cognitive functioning (which is not the case with the emotional functioning). The problems are understood integrally, not partially. Motivation is good, no fears were identified, and concentration on tasks was satisfying. He shows more satisfaction with the efficient method than with the result of problem solving tasks.

Formal behaviour in the assessment situation indicates: high interests for individual subtests; constancy; motivation for success, good mood, self-confidence, excellent perception, attention and concentration. No fatigue was detected. The subject is cognitively adapted to the reality. He is critical and self-critical. No amnesia, tics or speech disturbances were detected.

Research about the connections between sexual orientation and cognitive functioning is not very frequent. In a meta-analysis, Weinrich (1978) found that

homosexual people were more intelligent than heterosexuals in general. This result was criticized in Le-Vay's (2010) work, stating that only homosexuals who were more intelligent, actually wanted to participate. Willmott and Brierley (1984) used WAIS to explore the relationships between cognitive characteristics and sexual orientation. They found no significant differences between homosexuals and heterosexuals in general IQ, but differences were significant regarding verbal IQ, because homosexual individuals had clearly the highest verbal IQ scores. Regarding non-verbal IQ, heterosexual males were significantly more intelligent than homosexual males and heterosexual females (Willmott & Brierley, 1984). Some newer studies (i.e. Coaller, Reimers, & Manning, 2007; Rahman & Koerting, 2008; Rahman & Wilson, 2003) demonstrated better performance of heterosexual men in non-verbal cognitive tasks comparing to their homosexual counterparts. Congruently with Willmott's and Brierley's (1984) finding, Hassan and Rahman (2007) found that homosexual males performed better than heterosexual males on verbal fluency and object location memory. Kanazawa (2012) found that: 1) more intelligent children were more likely to grow up identifying their sexual orientation in adult age as homosexual than less intelligent children; 2) more intelligent individuals had more homosexual partners throughout their lives than less intelligent individuals, and 3) more intelligent children had significantly more same-sex cohabitation partners in adulthood than less intelligent children. Some studies (i.e. Rahman et al., 2012; Tuttle & Pillard, 1991) showed no differences in intelligence between heterosexual and homosexual people.

Studies demonstrated mixed results regarding the association between intelligence and homosexuality. Mr. A's results on intelligence test demonstrate his superior intelligence in both verbal and non-verbal tasks, comparing to the mean scores of general population (Berger et al., 1995). Even the result of this study cannot be generalized to the homosexual population in Bosnia in general, it is congruent with some researches (Kanazawa, 2012; Weinrich, 1978), but not with others (Coaller et al, 2007; Rahman & Koerting, 2008; Rahman & Willson, 2003; Hassan & Rahman, 2007; Rahman et al., 2012, Willmott & Brierley, 1984). This

result suggests that intelligence performance should be addressed individually and that some differences in intelligence performance could be expected in future research, as new findings in Kanazawa's studies (2012) indicate.

Interpretation of the MMPI-202 personality profile

Two peaks on the pathological MMPI-202 scales were identified in the D (Depression) and Pt (Psychastenia) scales. This means that the subject scored above the T score of 70, indicating psychopathology in the domain of depression and anxiety. There was another score above the T score of 70, but on the additional scale – An (anxiety). However, the obtained MMPI-202 personality profile is not a typical D-Pt profile, because not all necessary requirements were fulfilled.

Results on the L and F control scales indicate usefulness of the obtained personality profile, as well as the tendency to extremely sincere responding. The low K-scale score (below the T score 40) might indicate inadequate personality defences. According to the results on the three control scales, the obtained personality profile indicates poor self-concept; exaggerate self-criticism, and criticism of others.

Results on the MMPI-202 indicate that Mr. A is realistic and introspective, without exaggerating worries toward his body and physical health. The subject is withdrawn, overwhelmed with problems, with the feelings of hopelessness, guilt, worthlessness, and inadequacy. Sometimes suicidal thoughts may occur (high score on the D scale). However, the participant is not slow in thinking and general functioning (low score on the Hy scale). He shows personality traits such as confidentiality, consistency, kindness, and responsibility (low score on the Pd scale). Sometimes, the personality shows rigidity and stubbornness, which can especially be noted within the social domain of functioning. Therefore, erroneous interpretation of social situations can emerge (slightly higher Pa score, but not indicating psychopathology). This could be highly related to the coming out process and his paranoid thinking of “being discovered” as homosexual within the anti-

homosexual environment or familial context. High score on the Pt scale indicates Mr. A's sense of insecurity and anxiety. He is worried and upset, demonstrating high indecision and proneness to moralizing. This might be highly related to his religious beliefs. These personality traits and religious thoughts make him be tensed and imaginative. He is friendly and highly responsible (low scores on the Ma and Si scales). Personality traits do not imply latent or manifest aggression, but the additional An scale indicates high level of anxiety in relation to the depressive mood. This finding indicates Mr. A's preoccupations for the existing depressive state, which is positive, because it indicates that the subject is directed toward solving problems related to his depressive mood.

Hence, the subject's MMPI-202 profile indicates depressive personality with high anxiety levels, which are related to the depressive mood. Existing anxiety feelings in this case are helpful, as they are directed toward solving the problem of depressive symptomatology. There is evident emotional energy decrease, with also decreased levels of intentionality and spontaneity. No decreases in work performance were detected. He is prone to self-accusations, has feelings of hopelessness, worthlessness, and guilt. Depressive moods are sometimes as high as to produce suicidal thoughts, but no realization or ideation of suicide has ever emerged. Anxiety is also very evident, but it is not manifested in the somatic form.

The personality profile of Mr. A indicates that the main problem of his personality structure is depression. His depression is presumably induced by the coming out process and his homosexual identity formation, since he was exposed to negative attitudes toward homosexuality, and therefore internalized homophobia – negative attitudes toward his own homosexual identity. Negative self-image results in negative identity formation, due to the negative views of homosexuality by the environment in which a homosexual individual lives (Cass, 1984). This kind of coming out process is very vulnerable for developing depressive symptoms (Fenaughty & Harré, 2003). The existence of high depression and/or anxiety levels in homosexual people is well documented in other research (Bozkurt et al., 2006; Coleman, 1982; Herrell et al., 1999; Guarnero & Flaskerud, 2008; Jackson,

Telingator, Pleak, and Polack, 2005; Olson & King, 1995; Ridge & Ziebland, 2012; Rosario, Hunter, Maguen, Gwadz, and Smith, 2001; Zietsch et al., 2012). Depression in homosexual people can be generally viewed within the context of the coming out process (Ridge & Ziebland, 2012). Mr. A developed depressive symptoms as his homosexual identity is refused by his own personality. Inner conflicts and emotional disbalance may then occur.

Interpretation of results on projective tests

Interpretation of the Draw-a-person test data

Studies analysing homosexual conflicts and behavioural patterns from projective techniques are not very common. However, projective techniques can be very helpful in detecting inner conflicts and unconscious thoughts (Dubey, Pandey, Tiwari & Mishra, 2012). The Draw-a-Person (DAP) test is not sufficient in interpreting data relevant to homosexual identity (Von Ornsteiner, 1999), therefore the data interpretation of another two projective tests (the Sentence Completion Test – SCT and the Personality Attitudes Inventory-110, PAI-110) is discussed below the interpretation of the data obtained from the DAP. The DAP interpretation was developed by the instructions of Kostic and Divas (1998), but in relation to the biographical data and the MMPI-202 profile.

Mr. A drew the male figure first, and then the female one. The former has infant and/or female characteristics, while the latter is older and presumably more dominant than the former (projections of dominating mother with whom he developed interpersonal conflicts; or it could be based in his general fear of being unsuccessful with women, wishing to stay in the childhood period of life forever). The heads on both drawings were adequately drawn. No intellectual authority is given to one or the other gender. Untidy and scattered haircut on both figures indicates existence of strong and immature sexual tendencies. Empty eyes (without irises or eyelashes) imply emotional immaturity and an infantile behavioural pattern

(Mr. A shows emotional disbalance reflected in depressive moods and anxiety preoccupations without somatic symptoms).

Absence of ears on both figures does not represent any relevant diagnostic indicator. Slightly “thicker” lips on the male figure could point out the presence of homosexual tendencies. If this information is interpreted as more shading on lips, it is documented as a sign of homosexuality in previous research (Grands & Ridner, 1958). There is no need to document homosexuality on the test results, since it is recognized by the subject’s life story. The nose is drawn as a small short line, which could be a sign of infantile sexuality. Rational impulse control is indicated by proportionally drawn necks (on both figures).

Open arms of the male figure might mean potential search for love that is not received. The subject is constantly looking for love, but the love he receives is only in the form of diverse sexual relationships. As the male figure is drawn as younger than the subject himself, this search for love is based on the lack of father’s love in childhood and youth and on the fear of mother’s dominating role in giving the parenting love. Obsession with infant sexual fantasies could be indicated from the skirt of the female figure, since it is transparent and therefore her legs can be seen. If the skirt is seen as transparent, it could mean that the subject is prone to wrong interpretations and evaluations of women’s sexual behaviour (due to his homosexual conflicts).

Rectangular hull forms indicate masculinity or, in the case of Mr. A tendency for acquiring masculinity. He tries to look as a “typical” male in his environment – he watches football, dresses clothes without colours, drinks too much alcohol when he is with other people (drinking even hard drinks) – attempting to show that he has no conflicts with his own sexual identity. Rectangular shape of the hull does not mean that the subject himself possesses masculine behavioural patterns, but that he tends to do so. Dapper belt with styling indicates an effort for the sexual impulse control.

Emotional immaturity and dependence are demonstrated through the buttons, which are prominent in both figures. His regressive wish to go back to the childhood is indicated by the age of the male figure. The older female figure could indicate the subject's attempt to identify with the opposite-sex parent (during childhood and adolescence, he used to take female roles in social or sexual plays with his peers, during adulthood he internalized a female submissive sexual role in sexual relationships with other males).

After drawing the two figures, the subject was asked to tell stories about both of them. The male figure is an electrician by profession (which was the subject's father's profession in the real life). He is 21 years old. This age is very indicative, since it represents the age when the subject lost his father. He therefore wishes to go back to that age, but separation anxiety, dependence and fears of social pressures regarding heterosexual marriage can emerge. He is afraid of being separated from his family, as he unconsciously believes that his heterosexual marriage would not be successful, because of his homosexual identity. The story goes on in the direction of a marriage. The male figure's ambitions are directed toward a "marriage to the wife of his dreams", indicating again constantly present pressures of anti-homosexual environment on the participant to get married and have children. This is contrary to the acceptance of his own homosexual identity, so the inner personality conflict emerges. The male figure is described as strong, dynamic, healthy, sexy, and of a strong character. The main disadvantages of the male figure are rashness and proneness to trust people. With these characteristics, the subject begins to identify himself with the figure. During the interview sessions, Mr. A emphasized that he was disappointed in people so many times, simultaneously blaming himself for having trusted them. The male figure is not nervous, but has some problems with the boss (indicating possible problems with the work environment). The drawn male figure has fears of being abandoned by his girlfriend (projection of his distorted thinking about his own homosexual identity as unhealthy – through the fear of being separated from his mother, as he would be then able to express his homosexual tendencies which would be discovered by others; this feeling is also related to his

numerous experiences of being abandoned by various male partners after having sexual intercourse; search for love and fear of being abandoned are dominating in his emotional personality structure). When thinking about it, he feels sad. The male figure is angry because he did not study something else. He (the figure) wants to have a good job and a house, and to marry a girl he is in love with (giving socially acceptable answers, because of high social pressures in his anti-homosexual environment to marry someone and to have his own family, this is actually a wish of his environment not himself). The male figure's advantages are diligence, trustworthiness, and proneness to joking, but as the advantage of his personality, Mr. A emphasizes "that it is good that he is not homosexual" (meaning that the subject blames himself for being homosexual, and he developed negative attitudes toward his own homosexual identity – these attitudes are internalized projection of the anti-homosexual environment's attitudes toward homosexuality in general). At the end of the story about the male figure, he argues that he has no wife and no parents (possible projection of unconscious wishes – no parents, no wife, meaning if he had never had parents, he would have not been so ashamed of his homosexual identity). The figure lives alone and very often feels lonely. However, he has so many friends and they like him a lot. He negates any sexual relationships with same-sex partners, but confirms masturbating every day fantasizing about men. Mr. A said that the male figure reminds him on his first same-sex sexual partner and that he wants to be like this personality.

The female figure is a salesgirl. She is 21 years old, just like the male figure (possible projection of himself into the female figure). She is not married, has one younger brother who goes to school (just to remind: Mr. A has a younger brother who goes to college). She has ambitions to get married for the love of her dreams (same as the male figure). She is dynamic, happy, and attractive, but the bad side of her is that she trusts others too much and has had many experiences in which she was disappointed (this is an evident projection of Mr. A's inner feelings). She is not anxious, but suffers from haemorrhoids (this is possible projection of his own problems – haemorrhoids develop as a consequence of anal sexual intercourse, for

which Mr. A confirmed he had been engaged in). Therefore, this female figure has fears of being abandoned by her love partner. Her biggest wish is to be with the male figure. However, the sense of shame and guilt dominate her personality (these feelings can be associated to feelings of homosexual identity). She lives with her parents, but does not go out, as she is a virgin and wants to stay one virgin until she gets married (strong projection of religious beliefs and attitudes, intricated with the sense of guilt and shame because of homosexual tendencies). She had no sexual experiences with other females. She masturbates rarely and feels guilty and scared after that (castration anxiety). Even though Mr. A claims he has no wishes to be like this female figure and that this figure is actually his ideal female marriage partner, it was evident from several aspects of the story that he was likely to project unconsciously his homosexual preferences. Not only that Mr. A believes he is not homosexual, he is also convinced he will become heterosexual one day, if he continues to believe in God and practice religion.

Comparative analysis of results on the SCT and PAI-110

A comparative analysis of the results on the SCT and PAI-110 was performed using two criteria: interpretation of the extreme answers and the distance between scores on both instruments. The comparative analysis was necessary to detect possible conflicts in various life themes.

The Mother life theme, which was expected to have high ranks on both instruments, was ranked very low, indicating confused and ambivalent relations with mother, as well as conflicts in the relationship with her. Therefore, this life theme can be considered as problematic. On the other side, the Father life theme had the highest scores on both instruments. However, since he suffered from father loss and was obliged by life circumstances to live with the dominant mother, negative emotions toward female gender emerged, and homosexual feelings became stronger. However, his strong feelings of responsibility make him put the family to the highest place of his priorities. This may also be due to the religious beliefs.

In the Heterosexual relationships life theme, big discrepancy was found, because these relationships were low ranked on the SCT and high on the PAI-110. Analysing psychological development and past sexual experiences, it is very clear that Mr. A feels insecure and less confident in heterosexual relationships. He had no sexual experiences with females, even though he strongly tries to express heterosexual feelings, as he does not accept his homosexual identity, and feels guilt about being homosexual.

Very high discrepancy in the life theme scores was found for the Friends life theme, indicating problems in this area of everyday functioning. Addressing this to the life experiences of Mr. A, he admitted to be disappointed in people he considered his friends.

High discrepancies were found in the scores of the Work life theme, indicating rather problems with the work environment of unconscious fear of being discovered as having homosexual tendencies, and the fear of social pressure (even within the work environment) to get married and have children, than these scores indicate problems with work competences or job performance itself. However, some discrepancies were discovered within the Competence life theme, meaning that Mr. A doubted his competences and possibilities, but ranked cooperativeness highly. That indicates his readiness to communicate and to change. No extreme feelings of fear and insecurity were identified in the SCT, but they were fair enough present in another instrument. One of the biggest problems of the emotional personality structure of Mr. A is his feeling of guilt, but the biggest discrepancy was found in the Identity life theme, which had high score on the SCT, but the lowest score on the PAI. This result indicates inner conflicts within his identity, and if it addresses to the conflicts in heterosexual relationships, it becomes clear that even on the projective tests, when analysed comparatively, it is clear that problems in sexual identity are characteristic for Mr. A's personality.

It is very challenging for homosexual individuals to achieve cohesive identity formation, since they are exposed to social stigma, prejudices and negative attitudes from very early ages (Ryan & Futterman, 2001). This study indicates that Mr. A

also revealed his first awareness of sexual orientation in his school ages, which is congruent with the Savin-Williams' and Diamond's (2000) argument, but he never admitted having this awareness to anybody, which suggests confusion in identity formation. Since it was revealed that in context of developmental stages of homosexual identity formation, the participant only sometimes comes to the considerations typical for the third stage of Identity Tolerance, the findings are more congruent with the results of Brady and Busse (1996) or Dempsey (1994) who found elevated distress levels related to the lower homosexual identity formation stages, than with the findings of other authors (i.e. Halpin & Allen, 2004), since identity confusion by the participant results in depressive symptomatology. Negative homosexual identity formation by Mr. A is a manifestation of the views of the society toward homosexuality. As those views are negative and they depict homosexuality as something unhealthy and sinful, internalized homophobia and negative homosexual identity formation emerge. This is congruent with the Cass' (1984, 1996), who emphasized reciprocal interaction between an environment and a homosexual individual, as being of big importance for homosexual identity formation. The participant's own religious believes negatively contributed to his homosexuality identity formation. Negative influence of religious believes on attitudes toward homosexuality in general is well documented (Chilen, 2006; Ellis et al., 2002; Herek, 1984; Lemelle & Battle, 2004; Parmac, 2005; Stoever & Morera, 2007; Wils & Crawford, 2000). Since negative attitudes toward homosexuality are more expressed toward homosexual males (Berberovic, 2012; Conley et al., 2007; Ellis et al., 2002; Herek, 1984; Hinchris & Rosenberg, 2002; Lewis, Derlega, Berndt, Morris, & Rose, 2001; Whitley & Kite, 1995), it is then expected that a homosexual males would have more problems with homosexual identity formation regarding acceptance of their own homosexual identity, especially in anti-homosexual societies where masculinity among males plays an important role, such as indicated by the findings of Chilen (2006) and Lemelle and Battle (2004). Being "out" however does not mean that a homosexual individual will not have problems with acceptance of gay people by the society he lives in, but those who are "out" report less conflict about sexual orientation (Lewis et al.,

2001). This means that being “out” does not solve all problems within reciprocal interaction between an environment and homosexual individuals, but it decreases conflict levels inside the personality.

Conclusion

Mr. A comes from a rural anti-homosexual environment. In his adolescence he suffered a loss of his father and continued to live with his young brother and dominating mother. Erotic feelings toward his brother were transferred to younger boys with whom he engaged in sexual intercourse, demanding them to behave sadistically toward him. He prefers submissive, almost masochistic roles within sexual relationships, and so far he had no heterosexual sexual intercourse. When he was young, he used to play games where he practiced taking the role of a woman. Problems with enuresis were present until he was 11 years old. The enuresis was actually the expression of fears related to homosexual desires and childhood fantasies. Family members and other people around him were likely to overtly express negative attitudes toward homosexuals and homosexual behaviour, which led him to internalize negative attitudes toward his own homosexual identity. This led further to negative self-concept, emotional instability and other depressive symptoms, sometimes even suicidal thoughts. His first sexual experience, when he was 23, led him to numerous sexual experiences with other males, but only few emotional attachments and long-term relationships did occur during his life course. Strong social pressures about marriage and family make him feel strong guilt because he is not able to accomplish these anti-homosexual environment’s desires and goals. Strong religious beliefs contribute to blaming himself for having homosexual desires.

Mr. A’s behaviour during the assessment procedure and interview questioning was adequate. He scored high on the Wechsler Individual Test of Intelligence, being classified into the superior intelligence group. Personality profile showed higher scores (above the T score of 70) in two pathological scales (Depression and

Psychastenia), indicating proneness to depressive symptoms, as well as higher anxiety level, which is actually related to the depression in sense that the subject is worried about his depressive mood and therefore wants to change something about it. Analysis of projective techniques revealed various unconscious conflicts. The main problems were found in distorted self-concept, negative attitudes toward his own identity, feelings of guilt because of homosexual tendencies, problems with acceptance of his own homosexual identity.

Observing Mr. A through the prism of Vivienne Cass' (1979, 1984, 1996) stages of homosexual identity formation, it can be concluded that the subject is still in the first stage – Identity Confusion. Sometimes, it seems like subsequent stage emerges – Identity Comparison, since the subject compares his identity to others', but no tolerance and no acceptance for his homosexual identity has ever occurred. As the identity of Mr. A became confused in the adolescence period, no solution has he ever found for his inner sexual conflicts. Instead, he developed sexual risky behavioural patterns on one side to punish himself for having homosexual tendencies, and on the other side to punish himself for not accepting his homosexual identity.

General conclusion is that living in an anti-homosexual environment for a Bosnian homosexual male is complicated by the overt negative attitudes toward homosexuality, homosexuals and homosexual behaviour. Through the process of homosexual identity formation, a Bosnian homosexual male internalizes negative attitudes of his anti-homosexual environment, which results in not accepting homosexual identity. Furthermore, homosexual identity formation is not processed to subsequent developmental stages, resulting in Identity Confusion or Identity Comparison (without having solved developmental tasks of the previous stage); emotional instability (depression and anxiety), despite superior intelligence levels. In the context of homosexual identity, superior intelligence is only used in sense of hiding homosexual tendencies and behaviours from others, living “double” life (pretending to be a heterosexual in an anti-homosexual environment, but having inner homosexual desires and fantasies). Religious beliefs and adopted traditional

values from the anti-homosexual environment complicate even more the homosexual identity formation process. This is especially reflected throughout sexual behavioural patterns, resulting in masochistic tendencies. It leads to sexual compulsive behaviour expressed internally as “vicious cycle”: homosexual desires – internalized negative attitudes toward his own homosexual identity in combination with religious beliefs – masochistic desires to be punished because of homosexual desires – feelings of guilt because of masochistic homosexual desires – new homosexual (masochistic) desires.

It must be noted that these conclusions can be derived only for the case which was analysed throughout this paper. More research needs to be done to observe whether these behavioural patterns and personality profiles are common for the homosexual population in Bosnia. However, this is a very difficult task, since the majority of homosexual males in Bosnia do not usually “come out of the closet”, since they are aware of the extremely negative attitudes of the Bosnian society members in general toward homosexuality.

Homosexual behaviour was decriminalized in one part of Bosnia in 1996 and in the other part in 1998. In 2003, the Law against Discrimination (in general, not particularly related to sexual orientation) and the Law on Gender Equality were adopted, but it is difficult to say how much they are applied in the Bosnian judicial system or whether they are applied at all.

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Tables

Table 1: Scatter analysis for the verbal scale of the WITI

Verbal subtests	Raw score	Scaled score	Difference	Scatter
Information	29	16	1,83	+
Digit Span	20	13	-1,17	0
Vocabulary	69	14	0,17	0
Arithmetic	17	15	0,83	0
Comprehenti	27	15	0,83	0
on Similarities	21	12	-2,17	-
Total		85	M = 14,17	

Table 2: Scatter analysis for the non-verbal performance part of the WITI

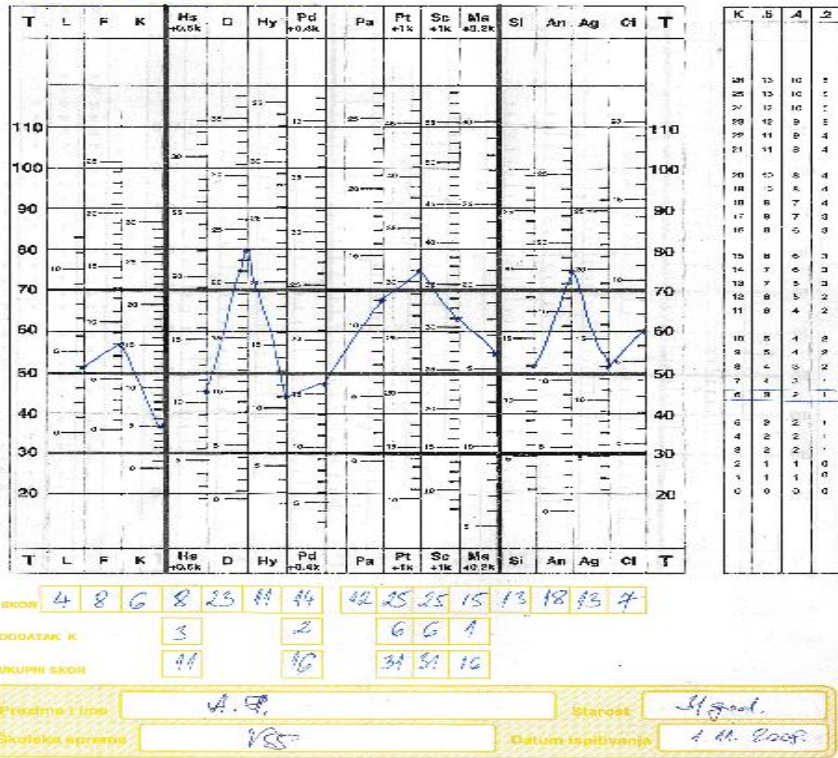
Non-verbal subtests	Raw score	Scaled score	Differenc e	Scatter
Picture Completion	17	14	-0,2	0
Picture Arrangement	18	19	4,8	++
Block Design	44	13	-1,2	0
Object Assembly	33	12	-2,2	-
Digit Symbol	65	13	-1,2	0
Total		71	M=14,2	

Table 3: Mr. A's scores and ranges of life themes on the SCT and the PAI-110

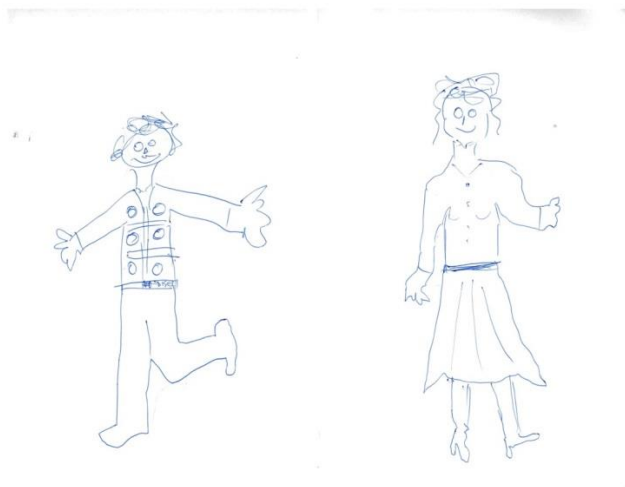
Life theme	SCT	PAI-110
	(Score/Mean rank/Rank)	(Score/Mean rank/Rank)
Mother	8/1,6/7	11/2,2/4
Father	15/3/1	15/3/1
Family	14/2,8/2	15/3/1
Heterosexual relationships	9/1,8/6	13/2,6/2
Friends	15/3/1	9/1,8/5
Authority	15/3/1	13/2,6/2
Competence	11/2,2/5	9/1,8/5
Work	15/3/1	9/1,8/5
Cooperativeness	15/3/1	13/2,6/2
Fear and insecurity	8/1,6/7	11/2,2/4
Guilt	11/2,2/5	15/3/1
Stress apperception	5/1/8	13/2,6/2
Past	12/2,4/4	11/2,2/4
Future	13/2,6/3	12/2,4/3
Goals	11/2,2/5	11/2,2/4
Identity	13/2,6/3	6/1,2/5
Self-respect		9/1,8/5
Changes		15/3/1
Affects		11/2,2/4
Control		13/2,6/2
Absence of criticism		13/2,6/2
Lie-scale		11/2,2/4

MMPI-202

M



Picture 1: Mr. A's MMPI-202 profile



Picture 2: Mr A's drawings on the Machover's Draw-a-Person

IV Gendering Family Policy

FRAMING THE GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN SERBIA: THE CASE OF FAMILY POLICY

Zorana Antonijević

From defining feminist agenda to public policies

Feminist movement in Serbia, with more or less influence on the creation of public policies was active in Serbia since the seventies. It has built the foundations for different feminist interventions important for the improvement of the situation of women in Serbia: from fighting against male violence against women, peace initiatives to ecofeminist ideas (Blagojević Hjuson 2012b). Ever since, feminist organizations, both as grass-root formally or informally organized groups, or think tanks, were initiators of important feminist issues. These issues were political requests that will enable participation of women in politics (party programmes, quota system for less represented sex in election laws), the demands to change or adopt new laws that regulates family relationships (Family Law, Criminal Code with changes related to combating violence against women) to the Gender Equality Law and Anti-discrimination Law adopted in 2009 (Pajvančić 2006; 2010). Back in the nineties, the feminist movement in Serbia had already formulated its demands in the text “Minimum of Women's Requests” with six points’ policy agenda. Among issues that were formulate as requests, such as combating violence against women, gender balance in political representation and “Ministry for Women” was also the

reconciliation of work and family life. The feminist organizations had proposed shortening working hours per day (from eight to six hours), for both men and women enabling them to share household and care work (Ćetković, 1998:20). However, formulation and adoption of the gender equality policies and gender mainstreaming as a part of the public policy agenda are relatively new notions for both the political elite and the bureaucracy in Serbia. Since the beginning of 2000 and onward first institutions responsible for mainstreaming gender policies were established as well as legal and strategic framework of gender equality. Nevertheless, despite legal, strategic and institutional framework in place, gender mainstreaming as a term remained poorly accepted and recognized, both at the level of University programmes of gender studies and in policy making. Literature about gender mainstreaming is lacking in Serbian and gender studies are more orientated toward theoretical knowledge than practical application of feminist theories in public policies making processes (Milić, 2002, Milić, 2011, Blagojević 2009).

The creation of gender equality policies⁷² in Serbia is influenced by several key factors: the building democratic institutions, which started with the end of the political power of Slobodan Milošević, the opening of the processes of European integration, discourse of human rights and gender equality in public polices (Serbia becomes a member of the Council of Europe in 2003) and the process of reconciliation with the neighbours. After a period of marginalization of the impact of women's movement on the political arena and its work in the legal and institutional vacuum during the nineties, Law on Associations was finally adopted in 2009, following a long process of negotiation with the state authorities. This enabled transparency in the cooperation and financing of non-governmental organizations and open up window of opportunity for CSOs to influence the

72 The gender equality policy is understood as policy that addresses problems of gender inequality and discrimination. "The starting point for "traditional" forms of equality policy is a specific problem resulting from gender inequality. A specific policy for that problem is then developed by equality machinery" (Council of Europe 2004:12).

creation, implementation and monitoring of public policies. (Građanske inicijative, 2009) In addition to that, a number of activists and women politicians entered into the institutions: as experts, civil servants and/or decision makers. This enabled the first institutions for the creation of gender policy and gender mainstreaming to be formed, starting from 2002, from regional to national and local level of administration. The intensive work on gender equality analysis and lobbying for legal changes has started in line with the international human rights and the European Union standards. Between 2002 and 2009 the gender equality machineries were established at all levels of administration (Pajvančić 2006; 2010). Also, amendments to the Family Law and the Labour Law were introduced. These changes pioneered new instruments in the legal system of Serbia: restrain-order measures against perpetrators, rape in marriage, and domestic violence as criminal offence. The Labour Law for the first time defined concept of direct and indirect discrimination and introduced sexual orientation as ground for discrimination at work place. The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia incorporates the principles of equality between women and men in political life. Affirmative action became a constitutional category, which allows for the adoption of a series of measures and policies aimed at equal opportunities for women and men in public and private sphere (Pajvančić 2008a, 2008b).

Unfortunately, very often, the dynamics of adoption and implementation of legal and policy changes depend on political elite in power and its understanding of gender equality. It is usually marginalized topic which is not an integral part of other reforms and less important than the accession to the European Union, reconciliation after the conflicts and the economic transition. Gender equality is understood as something that could be added to the policies once other “problems” are solved. This attitude gradually evolved at the stage when gender equality and non-discrimination were recognized as issues important for the process of European integrations itself. That was clear when the first steps towards visa liberalisation started, and when one of the preconditions to award Serbia the non-visa regime to the Schengen agreement countries, was adoption of two key legal acts: Gender

Equality Law and Law on the Prohibition of Discrimination. (The European Commission, Internet) Before that, the discussions, negotiations and adoption of the Gender Equality Law and Law on the Prohibition of Discrimination had lasted for more than seven years, going back and forth into the parliamentary procedures, governmental working groups and public discussions with NGOs and expert community. After a long and exhausting process of negotiations, both laws were adopted with strong opposition from the Orthodox Church (Blic, Internet). Thanks to the joint efforts from the EU and local NGOs both laws were adopted in 2009 and very soon after Serbian citizens were granted visa free travels into the EU countries. Interestingly enough, both laws were seen as adopted under the pressure of the EU, especially from the point of view of conservative parties and Euro-sceptics, not as a necessary step to achieve equality of all citizens and to combat discrimination. Again, neither gender equality nor discrimination was seen as goals in themselves, but the box that should be tickled on the road to the EU (Pajvančić2012).

The pragmatism and legal optimism of the government continued well after 2009. Until 2011 the Government of Serbia adopted the National Strategy for the Improvement of the position of Women and Gender Equality, National Strategy for Prevention and Elimination of Violence against Women in the Family and in Intimate Partner Relationship, National Action Plan for Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 Women, Peace and Security (Uprava, 2013). The National Strategy to Combat Discrimination was adopted in 2013 (Kancelarija za ljudska i manjinska prava, Internet).

Since 2003, institutions for monitoring implementation of the human rights standards and for the protection against discrimination were formed. The institution of Citizens' Protector that monitors public administration work and access to services was established in 2005 by the Law on Citizens' Protector. Also, the institution of the Commissioner for Equality responsible for monitoring cases of discrimination and implementation of the Law on Non-Discrimination was introduced in 2010 by the same Law. At the regional level and local level

Ombudsman Offices exists, established in 2002. All these independent monitoring bodies have mandate and authority that is complementary to those having gender equality mechanisms. (Ignjatović and Bosković 2013, Uprava 2013)

From 2002 to 2013, all necessary institutions for the implementation of laws and strategies were established at the national, regional and local levels. The Gender Equality Directorate has a mandate to implement and monitor the National Strategy for the improvement of the position of women and gender equality, and other policies and laws related to gender equality. One of the explicit tasks of the GED that is established by the Law on Ministries is to analyse the position of women in the Serbian society and to propose measures and policies to improve it. Also, the GED is responsible for gender mainstreaming within the Government of Serbia by “integrating gender equality principles into all areas of responsibility of the institutions.” (Uprava, Internet). In addition, the GED is providing administrative support to the Gender Equality Council, which is the highest political body of the Government of Serbia responsible for implementing and monitoring gender mainstreaming into the policies and regulations. The Council consists of representatives of line ministries, gender equality experts from academia and civil society. (Gej strejt alijansa, Internet) Theoretically in ideal circumstances, the Council and the GED are bodies that would have authority and power to implement gender mainstreaming into the state policies in Serbia, having all elements needed for the successful gender mainstreaming in place: “Equal opportunities legislation and anti-discriminatory laws; Equality ombudsmen/commissions/councils for protection against discrimination; Strong national equality machinery (administrative organisation); Specific equality policies and actions; Equality divisions or focal points within each ministry; Research and training on gender equality issues and awareness-raising regarding gender equality.” (Council of Europe, 2004:16-17, Walby 2011, Verloo 2001) However, experiences of the states of the former Eastern socialist block from the last EU enlargement in 2004 showed that political support to gender equality policies are primarily declaratory. Apart from the normative and strategic optimism in adopting laws and strategies in a large

numbers, women and men at decision making position of political power, in general, do not have substantial expertise, knowledge and will to implement already adopted strategies and laws. (von Wahl 2008) Also, the analysis of the administrative organization of the implementation of the gender equality policies showed that they are usually placed lower in the hierarchy of bureaucratic power, without substantial human resources, dependent from the external financial support, and consequently endowed with insecure and insufficient funds. They are more oriented towards “small scale project” implementation instead of strategic and sustainable change. Being project and not strategically oriented the public administration competes with civil society for resources, driven not by “demand” from the policy agenda, but with “supply” by the donor community (Kakucs and Peto 2008; Groves et al. 2009; Krizsán and Zentai 2004; Spehar, 2012; Wahl, 2008; Ignjatović i Bošković, 2013).

An additional problem is the view on gender mainstreaming as demanding from the perspective of financial resources, time and expertise on the one hand, and as unwanted “pressure” from the international community, on the other. Also, the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming is a process that requires changes in the way how institutions work, administration operates and how policies are created. It requires the new agenda to be set that “implies the transformation and reorientation of existing policy paradigms, changing decision-making processes, prioritising gender equality objectives and re-thinking policy ends. In this approach, it is the mainstream that changes” (Walby, 2011: 82). Therefore, the understanding of the gender mainstreaming transformative potential is lacking and remains at the level of integrationist approach, meaning to “introduce a gender perspective without challenging the existing policy paradigm, 'selling' instead gender mainstreaming as a way of achieving more effectively existing policy goals” (Walby, 2011:82-83).

Family policies: between re-traditionalization and modernity

The strong influence and activities of the women's movement, the creation of an institutional, legislative and strategic framework created the necessary preconditions for the state administration to apply gender mainstreaming in all public policies. Family policies are a good tool to explore how gender mainstreaming is applied, because they are utilising different measures: parental leaves, financial benefits and other incentives for working parents that can enable work – family reconciliation. However, apart for achieving gender equality and transformation of the traditional gender roles towards more egalitarian family models, these measures can have different (sometimes even opposite) goals: protection of maternal and child health, increase of the fertility rate and/or employment prospective for women (Ciccina and Verloo, 2012). Although “policies designed to support the reconciliation of work and family life have the potential to produce a transformation of gender relations, generating equality in the domains of both care and employment, but some interpretations of these policies may merely integrate women into the paid economy, without brining many changes elsewhere” (Walby 2011:84). In the very heart of parental leave policies are discussions that hash out values between paid work and care work, distribution of the household responsibilities within the family, norms of motherhood and fatherhood, as well as social construction of parenthood and gender roles. Parental leave policies also represent a sort of policy measures that enable state interventions in the intimate sphere of family and personal choices (employment and professional career versus care for children, disabled or elderly). It can be therefore, (mis)used for both purposes of conservative, anti-feminist policies, pro gender equality or liberal “job efficiency” ideology (Hjusun Blagojević 2013, Vilenica 2013, Ciccina and Verloo 2013; Meier et al 2007).

The paid and unpaid work has been changed by the influences from the economic transition, horizontal and vertical job mobility, job “uncertainty” and changes in the demographic structure of the state. In Serbia, the additional factor that has influenced on the creation and adoption of parental leave policies is also the

EU accession that effected policy changes as a result of “EU harmonisation”. The transition towards open market economy was followed by deterioration of all state provided services for citizens and stronger pressure to the family as the sole care supplier. Low fertility rate and high migration of young, educated people caused “a crisis of care” with more elderly living alone that are not capable to take care of themselves. This produced “a huge gap in the needs and ways of meeting the needs for care” (Hjusion Blagojević 2013:200). Also, the structure of the family has been changed, with more young people living out of wedlock relationships or homosexual partnerships, with or without children, and more single parent families due to the high divorce rate (women are the majority among single parents) (Hjusion Blagojević, 2012; 2013). Due to the post-conflict reconstruction and the conservative discourse of nation building which is still present, women's role as mothers and care providers are highly valued⁷³. In public discourse, but also in women's own perspective, care work is still seen as women's work and duty (Hjusion Blagojević, 2013, Vilenica 2013). In public sphere the trend of further “feminisation” of paid reproductive and care work in employment programmes is evident (e.g. ”gerontology housewife^{74c}). Due to the socialist past and high level of educational and working opportunities for women, the prevailing model in Serbia is the dual earner model of family. However, surveys show that women still work ca. two hours per day more than men due to the housework and care work for children

73 The Parliamentary Speaker in the National Assembly of Serbia recently launched his own campaign under the title “Preference for children and pregnant women” with the aim to increase public awareness for the special care and attention which must be given to pregnant women and mothers with children. In the explanation of the campaign, the Parliamentary Speaker said that preferential treatment will enable higher fertility rate and secure the future of the Serbian nation. Studio B, Internet

74 The work of gerontology housewives is primarily related to household work (cleaning, cooking, paying bills, purchase of necessary things to maintain household). From 2008 to 2012, the National Employment Office, within the Labour Market Training Programme, trained more than 500 gerontology housewives and more than 200 caregivers of the elderly that can provide medical services as well. Telegraf, Internet; Nacionalna služba za zapošljavanje 2011, Internet; Nacionalna služba za zapošljavanje 2012, Internet.

and elderly (Statistički zavod Srbije 2012, Hjuson Blagojević 2013). Motherhood is highly valued in public discourse, but remains an obstacle for higher female employment rate due to the high rate of gender based discrimination on the labour market. Gender discrimination (especially pregnant women and women with children) on the labour market is one of the most common forms of discrimination in terms of job finding, retaining and advancing (Poverenica za zaštitu ravnopravnosti 2012; Nikolić-Ristanović et al 2012; Zorić et al 2010; Uprava za rodnu ravnopravnost 2013).

However, despite transition and privatisation, parental leave went through small changes compared to the socialist times, and it is still one year long with possibility of extension. However, the one year of leave, according to the Labour Law, includes mandatory maternity leave 28 days before childbirth, to which only pregnant women are entitled, a three month maternity leave for working mothers only, combined with the nine-month care for the child that can be used by both parents (Zakon o radu 2009). The three months of maternity leave can be used by fathers as well, but only in the circumstances when mother died, or she is absent, or when she is not able to take care of the child for other reasons (mother is in prison, sick) (Labour Law, Art 94). There is no official statistical data on how many fathers used parental leave, but according to the media, these entitlements are used primarily by mothers and the number of fathers does not exceed ten. (Novosti, Internet) Also, working mothers are entitled to up to two years for the care of the child if they have two or more children in the first or second birth. The same entitlements belong to the father of the child (Zakon o radu 2009).

In 2013 the Government of Serbia announced the new changes of the Labour Law. According to the Parliamentary Speaker the modifications will also include articles that regulate parental leave and the rights of pregnant and working women. The Parliamentary Committee of the Rights of the Child which president is Parliamentary Speaker, introduced measures to ensure job security for pregnant women and working mothers. The new changes include the right of pregnant women employed part-time to extend her employment contract (and all financial

benefits from the employer) until the expiration of the parental leave. The amendments to the law foresee that mothers that return to work are entitled to take two hour breastfeeding breaks during the working day. The proposal of the Parliamentary Speaker was supported by 181 out of 250 deputies and amendments were adopted in June 2013 under the expedited procedure. (Naslovi, Internet)

The amendments on the Labour Law are submitted also by Citizens' Protector Office. These amendments are related to the right of the working parents' to flexible working hours when the child needs special care due to illness or disability (Narodna skupština Srbije, Internet). These proposed changes are still in the parliamentary procedure.

Concerning the financial benefits for the families in the Law on Financial Support for the Families with Children, it is interesting that the family is defined in a way that reflects the modern understanding of family, as “a broad range of social relationships, whereby the main common characteristic might be the presence of minor dependants” (Meier et al 2007:109). Definition of family in the Serbian law is following this trend, including in the family those “members (that) are related to another by different or no form of a formal contract and not necessarily by blood-ties.” (Meier et al 2007:109) The goal of the law is to provide for financial support to the families with children, but also to improve the conditions to fulfil the basic need of children, to encourage childbirth and to give support to those families that are in financial and social need (Official Gazette 2009a). Until the beginning of 1990s, “child support” was available to any family with children. However, since 1991, due to the financial crisis, the child support has been provided only for the families with very low or no income (Drezgić 2008). The Article 9 of the Law regulates what is included in the financial support for families: “1) salary compensation during maternity leave, leave for child care and leave for child care of the children with disability; 2) parental allowance; 3) child support; 4) reimbursement of pre-school costs for children without parental care; 5) reimbursement of pre-school costs for children with disabilities; 6) reimbursement of the pre-school costs children from financially vulnerable families” (Official

Gazette 2009a). For the purpose of this paper, I will focus on Article 14 of the Law on Financial Support for the Families with Children which regulate Parental allowance. Parental allowances, despite the title of Article 14, are provided for mothers only. Fathers are entitled to financial support only if the child's mother has died, if she is absent or if she abandoned the child or the children. (Official Gazette 2009a) It is obvious that parental allowances are linked to the rights that mothers are entitled to through maternity leave and to the three months absence from work. However, these financial benefits cannot be used by fathers. The entitlements by the law were challenged by the Provincial Ombudsman Office, which submitted constitutional appeal to review the constitutionality of that particular article of the law. In the explanation of the appeal, the Provincial Ombudsman stated that parents are equal in enjoying their rights of parenthood and that fathers cannot be discriminated against in enjoying these rights. The Ombudsman suggested that these entitlements be transferred so that the child or the children are the holders of the rights. The decision is still waiting to enter into the procedure of the Constitutional Court (Pokrajinski ombudsman, Internet).

The Law is complementary with the Labour Law and foresees paid absence from work (Labour Law) and financial support for working parents of ill or disabled children that need everyday care until the child's age of five. However, in 2013, more than 30000 citizens submitted a petition to the Citizens' Protector for the changes of the Law on Social Services, pledging to introduce the special status of the "caring parent". That right will be given to the parents that had a paid leave of up to five years to provide for daily care for an ill or disabled child. After the period of five years the caring parent has to either leave the job or return to it, and search for other options for child care (institutions or private care workers). The proposition concerns changes in the status of the parent who is at the same time a care worker for the child (B92, Internet).

None of these laws, strategies or changes that have been introduced was a subject of gender impact assessment. The consequences of the laws on gender relations, and in particular on family relations are not evidence based. However,

having in mind the social construction of motherhood, gender roles and male breadwinner model of the family (Ciccia and Verloo 2012; Hjuson Blagojević 2013), one can claim that most of the changes introduced will have negative affect on the employment rate of women, particularly young women that are in fertility age and seeking employment for the first time. Changes of the Labour Law and the entitlement of pregnant women put an extra financial burden on employers, and free the state of any responsibility to support working parents and pregnant workers. The fact that these particular changes were accepted by the majority of MPs shows the predominant traditional perspective on the desirable family roles of women and men (Naslovi, Internet). Also, the division of the parental leave into those types that is available to mothers only (3 months) and those that both parents are equally entitled to, disregards the possibility for both parents to take active part in the life of the new-born and to negotiate division of gender roles within the family. This is especially policy-blind towards young fathers that increasingly demonstrate an interest to take care of small children and take an active part in care work and the reproduction of family life.

The measures aiming to support the reconciliation of family and work life exist both in the specific gender equality policy (National Strategy) and in sectorial policy in employment (National Employment Strategy). The National Strategy for the Advancement of Women and Gender Equality with its Action Plan (National Strategy) recognizes as a goal in its second priority area (Economic Empowerment of Women) “the eradication of economic inequality between men and women, the introduction of the policy of equal opportunities and better use of resources for women's development”. (National Strategy 2011:14). Within that goal several activities were defined, among which three are aiming to reconcile family and work life. The first of these three activities is: “the promotion of employment and labour contribution to the harmonization of working conditions and family life (European model “of the balance between career and family”)“ (National Strategy 2011:14). This is primarily related to the improvement of the state services aiming to support families with small and school children, or elderly family members and public

awareness campaigns to encourage men to take active part in care work. The second activity is aiming to influence policies related to work and employment in promoting a choice of flexible forms of work, but accompanied by measures to ensure that these forms of employment are regulated to allow equal access to higher paid jobs and guarantee equal treatment in payment, benefits and advancement. In addition to that, the state should encourage the establishment of private welfare services for elderly, sick or disabled family members and provide self-employment and employment for a number of women in these services. The third set of activities aims to influence the concept of parenthood by applying the model of “joint exercise of parental rights” that will enable equal share of parental rights and obligations by both parents regardless of their sex. This is especially important in the case of single parents, three-quarters of which are (National Strategy 2011:13-15). The Employment Strategy repeats many of the measures and activities stated in the National Strategy for the Advancement of Women. However, within the goal to increase the employment of women particular attention will be given to the flexible forms of employment (part time employment and work outside the employer's premises), “which are particularly suitable for women who care for dependent household members (children and elderly)”. (Employment Strategy 2011:45) In the Strategy, it is envisaged that these measures “should provide for increased employment of women in particular, and the possible increase in the birth rate due to a better compliance demands of work and family life” (Employment Strategy 2011:45).

Challenge of the “Three-legged stool” in the “Velvet Triangle”

The main characteristics of policy and legal documents adopted in Serbia are that all three perspectives (“equal opportunities perspective”, “women's perspective” and “gender perspective”) exists simultaneously, very often in the same policy document (Booth and Bennett 2002). Another important characteristic is that implementation, especially the implementation of the “gender perspective” is lacking. So far, any of the provisions and policy measures foreseen by the gender

equality policy in the areas explored by this paper has not been tested. The Gender Equality Directorate conducted a pilot study on the access to social services at local level for the purposes of the reconciliation of private and work life, but concrete policy measures and activities are still to be implemented (Sekulić 2012). Also, the GED has no expertise to conduct gender impact assessment analysis (Verloo 2001) of the proposed changes of the laws and strategies. Most of the legal and policy documents were adopted under time constraints and pressure to fulfil obligations from the EU accession agenda. However, institutions and administration lack capacities, both financially and in terms of human resources, to proceed with the implementation. In addition to that, the in-depth understanding of the “European standards and models” is still quite deficient, as well as the practical knowledge to implement gender mainstreaming.

For example, the National Strategy refers to the “European model “of the balance between career and family” (National Strategy 2011:14) without any further explanation what is considered to be “European model”. The literature shows that there is no unique European model of policies aiming to reconcile career and family life. On the contrary, as is shown in Ciccina and Verloo (2012), apart from the minimum standards set by the EU in Pregnant Worker Directive and Parental Leave Directive, the characteristics of parental leave policies in the EU are classified in four types with regard to leave provisions, pregnant women protection and incentives for parents. According to them all four models exist at the same time, without clearly established territorial differences (South – North, or East – West). Also, some authors pointed out to the gap that exist between societal changes in gender regimes and family patterns, and policy measures that remain blind to the changes that are taking place in the sphere of intimate and family life (Hjusion Blagojević 2003, Ciccina and Verloo 2012). Hjusion Blagojević (2013), Ciccina and Verloo (2012) show that the prevailing male breadwinner model of policies in most of the EU member states and Serbia, continues to provide the normative reference point for parental leave policies, in spite massive changes in both policy rhetoric and women's preferences and behaviours (Ciccina and Verloo, 2012:524). In a

comprehensive study of everyday life of women and men in Serbia, Blagojević concludes that “there is often a gap between the daily rationalization, explanation and understanding of gender equality and the program or the legal principles that regulate gender regimes” (Hjusek Blagojević 2013: 136). Ignjatović and Bošković (2013) also found that gender equality measures are not highly prioritized among the citizens of Serbia. Among priorities that should be resolved by the government in the gender equality policies the regulations of family life, particularly equal sharing of household and care work between men and women were rated five out of six. Economic transition and high unemployment rate for both men and women brought changes in the perspective of women themselves about their roles, and put activities around reproduction of family and children high on individual agendas, producing high costs for women in terms of health, individual developments and social realization. However, some transformations in gender roles within the families are visible among younger population (Hjusek Blagojević 2013). Therefore, for the future policy interventions, young fathers should be the priority.

The debate over paid (productive) and unpaid (reproductive) work is still ongoing and is more topical than ever. The dual earner and dual career model of the family is the prevailing model of the family in most of the Europe, particularly in those countries that belongs to the former socialist block, but also in Sweden. (Meier et al 2007) Some policy makers and theorists consider solutions in different programmes and measures provided by the state which will enable women to work in the paid economy and market valuation of care work in paid economy. This is present in the employment measures that encourage “feminisation of care” by introducing labour market trainings for elderly care, legalisation of parental care for disabled children and household work by immigrants. However, radical feminists see the latter as market liberalization of reproduction that has to be subsidised through the state services, private business initiatives, exploiting the work of other, less privileged women, that will not bring transformation in reproduction, nor in production work. On the contrary, these measures seek to maintain the existing

gender roles and division of labour, both in private and in public sphere (Vilenica 2012).

Having all that in mind, the role of gender mainstreaming as a strategic tool in policy making that have potential to deliver the paradigm shift is growing. However, “doing gender mainstreaming in a way that is successful is a major challenge for feminism.” (Walby, 2011:80) The three principles of gender equality: the perspective of equal treatment, women's perspective and gender perspective (Booth and Bennett 2002) correspond to three strategies for achieving gender equality: equal treatment, specific gender equality policies and gender mainstreaming (Verloo, 2001). Most authors agree that these strategies and principles often exist and operate synchronously, and without actually applying all three at the same time it is not possible to fully achieve the goal of gender equality and egalitarian society (Walby 2011; Booth and Bennett 2002; Verloo 2005). The idea of gender equality that depends on complementary and synchronized application of all three principles and strategies is known as “three-legged stool” strategy. Each of these strategies requires full engagement of all relevant stakeholders, particularly at the national level. Alison Woodward (2004) argues that only by engaging all stakeholders, that is, not only the national government and the bureaucracy, but also the civil society (local feminist and other organizations that support them) and the University (especially gender studies), the gender equality can be successfully implemented. She refers to it as “velvet triangle” (Woodward 2004). This makes the process of gender mainstreaming even more complex, not only in terms of the goals to be achieved, but also with respect to the process of implementation, the institutions and actors involved. This means that only the mutual and synchronized activities of several factors (external influence of globalization and EU integration, the pressure from the feminist experts in the institutions and civil society, and the political momentum that reflects political will of decision makers) can lead to a substantial change of the gender relations both in private and in public sphere. The family policies are a good start, but a complex and

demanding task for those who are seeking change in power relations and gender roles in transition times in Serbia.

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CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији - Народна библиотека Србије, Београд
316.356.2(082)
305-055.1/.2(082)

MIND the Gap(s): family, socialization and gender / edited by Tamara Petrović-Trifunović, Sanja Milutinović Bojanić, Gazela Pudar Draško. - Belgrade: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University : Center for Ethics, Law and Applied Philosophy, 2014 (Beograd : Colorgrafx). - 423 str.: graf. prikazi; 25 cm

"Prepared within the framework of the Regional Research Promotion Programme in the Western Balkans (RRPP), which is run by the University of Fribourg ..." --> kolofon. - Tiraž 100. - Str. 11-23: Mind the gap(s) - from socialization to gender in family and beyond / Tamara Petrović-Trifunović, Sanja Milutinović Bojanić, Gazela Pudar Draško. - Napomene i bibliografske reference uz radove. - Bibliografija uz svaki rad.

ISBN 978-86-82417-81-1 (IFST)

a) Родни односи - Зборници b) Родни идентитет - Зборници c) Породица - Родна равноправност - Зборници

COBISS.SR-ID 212324620