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POLITICS OF PARENTHOOD:
EXPERIENCES, DISCOURSES
AND INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES
CONFERENCE

KONFERENCIJA

**POLITIKE RODITELJSTVA:
ISKUSTVA, DISKURSI
I INSTITUCIONALNE PRAKSE**

БЕОГРАД, 12. И 13. СЕПТЕМБРА 2014.





INSTITUT ZA SOCIOLOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA
FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET
UNIVERZITET U BEOGRADU

Konferencija

***Politike roditeljstva: iskustva,
diskursi i institucionalne prakse***

Beograd, 12. i 13. septembar 2014.

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Institut za sociološka istraživanja
Filozofski fakultet
Univerziteta Beogradu

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Politike roditeljstva: Iskustva, diskursi i institucionalne prakse

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Program skupa

Petak 12.09.2014

- 9.15-9.45h Registracija učesnika**
- 9.45h-10.00h Otvaranje Konferencije i pozdravna reč**
- I 10h-12h Reprodukcija kao društveni, politički i ekonomski resurs**
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 2. **10.15h-10.30h Branka Galić, Ksenija Klasnić i Ivana Jurković Kuruc**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Zagrebu: Društveni odnosi moći i ženska reproduktivna samodeterminacija
 3. **10.30h-10.45h Majda Černič Istenič**, Sociomedicinski institut ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana: Undeveloped conceptualisation of parenthood in demographic research
 4. **10.45h-11h Duška Knežević Hočevar**, Sociomedicinski institut ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana: What 'Kind' of People Should Reproduce the Slovenian Population?
 5. **11.15h-11.30h Valentina Sokolovska**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu: Porodice u Srbiji kao faktor regionalnog ekonomskog razvoja
- 11.30-12h Diskusija**
- 12h-12.30 Kafe pauza**

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1. **12.30h-12.45h Mirjana Bobić i Milena Stanojević**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Prelaz iz (bračnog) partnerstva u roditeljstvo: diskursi i prakse – dijadna perspektiva
2. **12.45h-13h Mirjana Bobić i Selena Lazić**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Svakodnevne prakse (bračnih) parova na početku roditeljstva
3. **13h-13.15h Slađana Dragišić Labaš**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Rođenje deteta i kriza partnerstva: prikaz slučaja i partnerska terapija
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2. **16.15h-16.30h Nada Sekulić**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Telo između prirode i kulture: iskustvo rađanja
3. **16.30h-16.45h Biljana Stanković**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Žena kao agent porođaja: telesni, tehnološki i institucionalni aspekti
4. **16.45h-17h Smiljka Tomanović i Milana Ljubičić**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Doživljaj ranog majčinstva u kontekstu podrške majci
5. **17h-17.15h Isidora Jarić**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Pozicioniranje iskustva materinstva unutar socijalne mreže porodičnih odnosa
6. **17.15h-17.30h Dragan Stanojević**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Tranzicija u roditeljstvo i tranzicija partnerstva iz muške perspektive
7. **17.30h-17.45h Marija Radoman**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Iskustvo roditeljstva istopolno orijentisanih žena u Srbiji

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Subota 13.09.2014.

III 10h-11.45h Diskursi

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3. **10.30h-10.45h Dejan Petrović**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Kad bi bila na pustom ostrvu – Analiza diskurса o *attachment parenting-u*

10.45h-11.15h Diskusija

11.15h-12h Kafe pauza

IV Institucionalne prakse

1. **12h-12.15h Ivana Pavlović**, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Roditeljsko odlučivanje
2. **12.15h-12.30h Vesna Šućur Janjetović**, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci: Društvena podrška porodici kroz aktivnosti socijalnog radnika u vaspitno-obrazovnim ustanovama – primjer Republike Srpske
3. **12.30h-12.45h Vesna Miletić Stepanović**, Geografski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu: Roditelji kao akteri u kreiranju javne politike upravljanja osnovnom školom
4. **12.45h-13h Željka Ivković**, Učiteljski fakultet Sveučilišta u Rijeci, **Željko Boneta**, Učiteljski fakultet Sveučilišta u Rijeci i **Sandra Kanjić**, Djecji vrtić Rijeka: „Dijete kao projekt“ vs „daj dite materi“ – Orodjenjenost roditeljske brige odjeci,
5. **13h-13.15h Zorica Mršević**, Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd: Roditelji LGBT dece, podrška i zaštita umesto nasilja i odbacivanja

13.15h-14h Diskusija

14h Završna rasprava i zatvaranje skupa

I

Reprodukција као друштвени, политички и економски ресурс

Marina Blagojević Hjuson¹

Institut za криминолошка и социолошка истраживања, Београд

Transformacija roditeljstva: poluperiferijska perspektiva

У раду ће бити теоретизовани резултати истраживања која се однose на родитељство и партнерство, а која је ауторка спроводила у континуитету у региону у периоду од kraja 80-тих година до данас. Праксе и дискурси везани за родитељство биће тумачени у ključu njenih новијих теоријских поставки које се однose на родне реžime на полуперији. Ауторка ће показати како је раз-развој полуперије утицао на заустављање модернизацијских токова којима је родитељство било захваћено с kraja 80-тих година, резултирјући у хибридном моделу у коме се праксе свакодневног живота у правцу родне jednakosti i reciprocita transformišu brže od дискурса, који је заробљен retrogradном реториком о „ženi majci” i njenoj улоzi u националном пројекту. Из перспективе најновијег истраживања, „Rodni barometar u Srbiji”, може се закључити да је „само/žrtvujući mikro-matrijarhat” (Blagojević, 1994) bio само прелазна фаза ка успостављању egalitarnог модела у коме је privatno omoćavanje žena svojevrsna emancipatorska strategija, која se ostvaruje pre svega u privatnoj, a ne u javnoj sferi. Time se u suštini nastavlja tok који је evidentiran krajem 80-тих. Полуперијска перспектива omogućava да се теоретизује својеврсно „izvrtanje” које је последица раз-развоја, и које функционише у ограниченој периоду, uz истовремено дубље разумевање непрекинутог dubinskog тока transformacije privatnih odnosa na mikro нивоу.

Ključне речи: полуперија, родитељство, само/žrtvujući mikro matrijarhat

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Društveni odnosi moći i ženska reproduktivna samodeterminacija

Ženska reproduktivna samodeterminacija oblikovana je pomoću različitih društvenih interesa u reprodukciji i kulturnog konteksta: politički, vjerski, korporativni, medicinski, itd. interesi društvenih aktera i institucija najčešće ograničavaju autonomiju žena i parova u uspostavljanju reproduktivne samodeterminacije. Za mnoge žene pristup i odnos prema reproduktivnim metodama i tehnikama, kao i pristupima rađanju, utječe na smjer kretanja njihovih života, kao što i reproduktivni pristupi i tehnike duboko utječu na kulturne ideje o ženskosti, majčinstvu i obitelji. Žene imaju iskustva različitih vrsta kontrole nad svojim reproduksijskim sposobnostima, ovisno o njihovim socioekonomskim i kulturnim okolnostima. Društveni i kulturni kontekst – socijalne norme o tome kako i kada postati trudnica, o veličini obitelji, o neplodnosti, o adopciji, o počačaju, o tome kada prestati rađati, o selekciji spola, kao i o tome što tvori zdravu trudnoću, fetus i bebe – sve oblikuje i oblikovano je pomoću društvenih ideologija reprodukcije i institucionalnih odnosa moći, te poduprto društvenim normama patrijarhata. Ženske reproduktivne aktivnosti (začeće, trudnoća i porod) rangirane su po sistemu «kontrole kvalitete» djeteta, pri čemu su žene »dobri« ili »loši« proizvođači, dok stigmatizirajuće socijalne dimenzije reproduktivnih tehnologija podupiru stigmatizirajući reproduktivni moral. Žene-trudnice promatraju se u diskursu »dobrih« i »loših« žena, na temelju »dobrog« i »lošeg« reproduktivnog tijela, po analogija s tradicionalnim ženskim reproduktivnim društvenim ulogama rađanja i podizanja djece. Veća ponuda tehničkih mogućnosti za odluke o rađanju i dominacija eksperata, politike i drugih interesnih aktera otvara mogućnosti izgradnje nove vrste „ženske solidarnosti“, premda su ženska tijela i dalje kontrolirana, usurpirirana i „politički“ oblikovana pomoću različitih tipova odnosa moći ideologija i reproduktivnih tehnologija.

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Apstrakti

Glavni cilj rada je uspostaviti teorijski predložak konceptualne sheme za buduća empirijska istraživanja reproduktivne samodeterminacije žena u kontekstu društvenih odnosa moći te predstaviti preliminarni anketni upitnik i rezultate njegove primjene na prigodnom uzorku studentica Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.

Ključne reči: reprodukcija, rod, moć, patrijarhat

Majda Černič Istenič³

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Nerazvijena konceptualizacija roditeljstva u demografskim istraživanjima

Uprkos centriranosti na ideju da smanjena motivacija za dobijanje dece dovodi do pada nataliteta u „industrijalizovanim zemljama“ u Evropi i širom sveta koju zagovara teorija druge demografske tranzicije (DDT), među demografima nije puno pažnje posvećeno empirijskom istraživanju važnosti rađanja za roditelje. Izbor podataka u demografskim istraživanjima u vezi promena vezanih za značenje koje deca imaju za roditelje se uglavnom odnosi na veoma opšte pokazatelje koji vode samo do ograničenih rezultata. Inspirisana nekim kritikama DDT koje naglašavaju pluralitet različitih faktora koji zaista uzrokuju zajednički trend vrlo niske fertilnosti u Evropi, autorka konfrontira gore navedene prepostavke s nedavno elaboriranim promenama konteksta roditeljstva u savremenim društvima. Ona ujedno nudi i istorijski pregled porekla pojma odgovornog roditeljstva, koji objašnjava poreklo pada nataliteta i motivacije za roditeljstvo koje su prevideli autori teorije DDT, inače preokupirani ideacionim promenama. Aplicirajući rezultate vlastitog istraživanja studije slučaja izvedenog u okviru projekta *Socijalna pozadina niske fertilnosti među fakultetski obrazovanim u Sloveniji (2004-2007)* autorka potvrđuje složenost razumevanja roditeljstva i ukazuje na potrebu precizne kontekstualizacije pojmove koji se često koriste automatski u demografskim istraživanjima.

Ključne reči: demografska istraživanja, teorija druge demografske tranzicije, roditeljstvo

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Kakva 'vrsta' ljudi bi trebalo da reprodukuje slovenačku populaciju?

Rad razmatra različite racionalizacije o 'problematičnoj' demografskoj slici Slovenije tokom posljednje dve decenije (1990-2010). S obzirom na sadržaj i vremenski okvir posmatranog razdoblja, izbor tri dokumenta koja govore o zamišljenoj nacionalnoj populaciji i njenoj regulaciji nisu slučajnost. Ko bi trebalo da se reprodukuje, koliko, i pod kojim 'odgovarajućim' uslovima, temeljna su pitanja za stvaranje slike o nacionalnoj populaciji. Autorka analizira dokumente: *Osnove populacione politike u SR Sloveniji* (1990), stvoren godinu dana pre proglašenja suverene države (1991), *Strategija za povećanje fertilitnosti u Sloveniji* (2006) i *Porodični zakon* (2010), koji su pisani u vreme konsolidacije nacionalne države.

Rad polazi od prepostavke da se u posljednjih nekoliko decenija u interpretacijama različitih aktera po pravilu aktiviraju shvatanja i prikazi nacionalne populacije kao biološke kategorije. Analiza dokumenata, koji su nastali pod uticajem politički različito orijentisanih vlada i odnose se na reprodukciju nacionalne populacije, pokazuje da se pojam „obnova populacije” tumači na različite načine od strane različitih političkih aktera. U prvom slučaju, koncepcija se reflektuje u apelu da se reprodukuju 'naši', u drugom, u pozivu za stvaranje svesti i odgovornosti pojedinaca i društva za proizvodnju potomstva kroz delovanje „pravih porodičnih vrednosti”. U trećem slučaju oni koji bi takođe mogli doprineti obnovi nacionalnog tela su i homoseksualno orijentisani parovi. Konačno, paralelna analiza nacionalne štampe pokazuje da javni odgovor na predložene dokumente dokazuje da demografija ostaje 'sklizak' teren nauke i politike.

Ključne reči: demografija, populaciona politika

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Porodice u Srbiji kao faktor regionalnog ekonomskog razvoja

U radu se proverava hipoteza da dominirajući tipovi porodica različito deluju na ekonomski razvoj regiona u kojima se pojavljuju. Iako porodična struktura nije osnovni uzrok ekonomskih promena, ona može usloviti specifične reakcije regiona na talase promena prouzrokovane širim društvenim faktorima. Rad se bavi analizom tipova porodica i broja članova u Srbiji na osnovu podataka popisa iz 2011. godine. U kontekstu proveravanja hipoteze rada, posebna pažnja se posvećuje proučavanju regionalnih razlika u strukturama bračnih i vanbračnih parova bez dece, bračnih i vanbračnih parova sa decom, kao i samohranih roditelja, kao i drugim ekonomskim pokazateljima razvijenosti regiona.

Ključne reči: ekonomske promene, regionalni razvoj, tipovi porodica

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II
Iskustva

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Partnerstvo i rađanje

**Mirjana Bobić⁶ i Milena Stanojević:
Prelaz iz (bračnog) partnerstva u roditeljstvo**
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

Prelaz iz braka u roditeljstvo: diskursi i prakse – dijadna perspektiva

Rad je proizašao iz zasnovane teorije (“grounded theory”) na osnovu intervjua i posmatranja 30 parova (60 muškaraca i žena), u okviru istraživanja Politike roditeljstva, iz 2013./14. koje je sproveo Institut za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu. Primjenjeni metodološki individualizam imao je cilj da uspostavi konceptualizaciju različitih modela odnosa parova u kritičkoj tački prelaza iz faze konjugalne dijade u roditeljstvo. Prvo smo detaljno proučile celokupnu empirijsku evidenciju, koja nam je ukazala na svu raznovrsnost strategija parova tokom njihove transformacije. Potom su se izdvojila tri para, kao specifična, i na izvestan način, tipična, zbog naročitog odnosa prema porodičnoj krizi koja prati ovu transformaciju. Dodelili smo im simboličke nazive koji koncizno ukazuju na njihov dominantan bihevioralni model: „konformisti”, „stratezi”, i „defetisti”. Kod sva tri para poklapaju se objektivna sociološka merila i njihove subjektivne definicije životne situacije, tako da oni pripadaju ili srednjem ili nižem srednjem sloju.

Različito od većine domaćih studija slučaja, ovde su sve tri životne priče analizirane integralno. U tekstu se postepeno i celovito kroz tumačenje njihovih narativa, razotkrivaju životni događaji i socijalno biografski konteksti. Prethodni uvid u celinu prikupljene empirijske evidencije omogućio nam konstrukciju jedinica analize – semantičke šeme (nodovi) i njene uže poddimenzije (kodovi), koje smo potom ispunjavali konketnim sadržajem iz životne situacije tri

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para. Interpretaciju svakog pojedinačnog para prati i komparativna analiza sličnosti i razlika u njihovim osećanjima, delanjima i akcionom potencijalu. Osnovna ideja nam je bila da pokažemo u kojoj meri parovi kritički preispituju sebe, svoga partnera, brak, životnu situaciju, kakav je njihov odnos prema sadašnjosti i budućnosti, da li postavljaju jasne ciljeve u smislu napredovanja i kakve su im u tom smislu eventualne strategije. Na taj način želete smo da procenimo u kojoj meri parovi uspevaju da uspostave kontrolu nad sobom i socijalnim okruženjem, kao i da planiraju svoje biografije. Smatrali smo da time partneri zapravo otkrivaju i svoje lične i grupne kapacitete za pregovaranjem i promenom, odnosno aktivnijom socijalnom integracijom u stalno menjajućem okruženju, što je, čini se, zakasnela, ali nužna individualna strategija, kada je reč o globalnoj, drugoj modernizaciji.

Ključne reči: zasnovana teorija, tačka prelaza, kontrola, koncepcionalizacija, tri slučaja

Mirjana Bobić⁷ i Selena Lazić

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Prakse u svakodnevnom životu bračnih parova na početku roditeljstva

U radu se prezentuje deo rezultata dubinskih intervjuja sa 30 parova (60 muškaraca i žena) iz Beograda, realizovanih pod pokroviteljstvom ISI FF, koji se nalaze u početnoj fazi roditeljstva. 'Snow ball' uzorak je obuhvatio populaciju od 18-55 godina, podeljenu u tri starosne grupe (18-29), (30-39) i (40-55) i tri obrazovna nivoa od nižeg, preko srednjeg do višeg. Konkretno, u ovom radu želeli smo da ispitamo prakse u svakodnevici para sa tek rođenim detetom, a u vezi sa 10 vrsta poslova nege o bebi i u domaćinstvu. Mada se rezultati intervjuja ne mogu uopštavati, potvrđuje se očuvana patrijarhalna matrica, odnosno model ženskog samožrtvovanja (Blagojević, 1997, 2012), posebno među nižeobrazovanim i starijim parovima. Ali među parovima srednjeg obrazovanja i mlađima primećuje se pomak u pravcu većeg zajedništva, odnosno uključivanja muškaraca, doduše više kao ispomoć ženama, nego samostalno. Ovi nalazi se time uklapaju u druga, sroдna istraživanja u Srbiji, tokom 2000tih, odnosno ilustruju njihove objašnjenja, vezana za repatrijarhalizaciju i retradicionalizaciju rodnih režima na semiperiferiji svetskog kapitalizma u fazi produžene transformacije i ekonomske recesije (Milović, et, al, 2010). Taj kontekst na drugoj strani, međutim, očigledno podstiče rodnu egalitarnost na mikronivou, koju podržava i kriза maskuliniteta (Blagojević, 2012, 2013), izazvana masivnim gubicima većine muškaraca u javnoj sferi

Ključne reči: prakse na početku roditeljstva, intervjuji, muškarci i žene, zajedništvo

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Rođenje deteta i kriza partnerstva: prikaz slučaja i partnerska terapija

Razumevanje društvenih i porodičnih trendova, omogućava porodičnim terapeutima bolji uvid u promjenjene porodične, partnerske i odnose između roditelja i dece, u čemu mogu da pomognu sociologija porodice, demografija i socijalna psihologija. Pažnja pri observaciji porodice treba da se usmeri na životni ciklus porodice, tip porodice i obrasce funkcionalisanja. Treba imati u vidu da ulaskom u brak svaki partner unosi obrasce iz svojih porodica porekla, individualna osećanja, očekivanja i potrebe. Svaka promena u porodici je značajna, a posebno ona koja predstavlja prelaz iz jedne u drugu fazu životnog ciklusa. Jedna od njih je i rođenje prvog deteta. Upravo je ovo prelazna tačka koja prouzrokuje stres.

Rodenje deteta može da dovede do problema u porodičnoj organizaciji, što se najčešće odražava na partnerske odnose. Sukobi nastaju oko preuzimanja odgovornosti i teškoća funkcionalisanja u roditeljskoj ulozi. Iskustva iz prakse ukazuju da krizu partnerstva mogu imati i mladi kao i nešto stariji partneri.

U ovom radu biće prikazane dve *partnerske priče* primenom kvalitativne analize. U pitanju su roditelji, starosti preko 35 godina, u prvom braku, visokog obrazovanja, sa jednim detetom. Porodice se nalaze u fazi životnog ciklusa, koju po često citiranim autorima (Duvall, Hill, 1984), nazivamo – porodica sa malim detetom (od 3 do 5 godina). Oba para dolaze na terapiju sa problemima oko podele obaveza i preuzimanja uloge oca. Iz ovoga sledi kriza partnerstva. Biće prikazan terapijski proces, tehnike korišćenje u radu sa partnerima i ishod terapije.

Ključne reči: kriza partnerstva, bračna terapija, studija slučaja

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Instrumentalizacija dece kao obrazac porodičnog života

Tema rada je složeno pitanje analize reprodukcione prakse na teritoriji centralne Srbije. U toj reprodukcionoj praksi preferencija za sina je apsolutna. Polazi se od referentnih teorijskih stanovišta: patrijarhalnog sistema odnosa u porodici i u društvu i feminističkog stanovišta niskog kvaliteta svakidašnjeg života i nepovoljnog položaja žena. Analizira se politika roditeljstva sa individualno-partnerskog odnosa, iz perspektive instrumentalizacije dece žene i muškarca, koje su determinisane „instrumentalnim ne/motivom za roditeljstvo” – „spoljnim pritiscima” na ženu: pritisak muža i njegovih roditelja da rodi sina jedinca naslednika. Analiza se bazira na empirijskoj evidenciji, koja je dobijena kombinovanom primenom anketnog ispitivanja, intervjuja i posmatranja, u više vremenskih perioda: prvi put u 1994. i u 1995. godini, a zatim u periodu od 2001. do 2006. godine, polazeći od nestandardnih obrazaca roditeljske prakse.

Instrumentalizacija dece, kao oblik reprodukcionog obrasca u centralnoj Srbiji, moguća je usled niskog kvaliteta svakidašnjeg života i niske individualne i društvene svesti, što doprinosi dugotrajnom održavanju niskih reproduktivnih normi, putem abortusa. Snižavanje fertiliteta na našim prostorima je izraz prinude opštih kolektivnih normi ustaljenih na nivou obaveznog rođenja muškog deteta i fetišizacije novca i materijalnih dobara.

Ključne reči: porodice, reproduktivna norma, analiza podataka, Srbija

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Društveni identiteti žena i muškaraca i roditeljstvo

Doris Jerak¹⁰, magistra socijalnog rada,
Marijana Krolo, magistra socijalne politike i
Nevena Jerak, doktorandica sociologije na Filozofskom fakultetu
u Zagrebu

Fertilitetna motivacija studentica socijalnog rada u Hrvatskoj obzirom na različita obilježja i stavove

Demografske promjene u obiteljskoj slici Hrvatske upućuju na smanjenje fertiliteta, manji broj sklopljenih brakova, sve veći broj razvođa, porast dobi pri ulasku u brak i rađanju djece, porast jednoroditeljskih obitelji, što je uvjetovano suvremenim društvenim procesima. U radu se preispituje fertilitetna motivacija mlađih u okviru pluralizacije obiteljskih oblika i ostalih trendova koji utječu na fertilitetno ponašanje i motivaciju za rađanjem djece.

Cilj ovog rada jest utvrditi razlike u fertilitetnoj motivaciji studentica obzirom na njihova socio-demografska obilježja, obilježja obitelji u kojoj su odrasle, religioznost te stavove vezane za roditeljstvo. Istraživanje je provedeno među studenticama četvrte godine Studijskog centra socijalni rad u Zagrebu. Podaci su prikupljeni anketnim upitnikom, nakon čega je uslijedila statistička obrada uz pomoć različitih tehnika na uzorku od 55 studentica u dobi od 22 do 29 godina. Rezultati su pokazali da studentice iz ruralnih sredina žele imati manji broj djece u odnosu na sudionice iz gradova, a usporedno s prvim porodom majki u kasnijoj životnoj dobi slijedi kasniji prvi porod studentica. Studentice koje imaju jače izraženu religioznost izrazile su želju za većim brojem djece, te žele ranije roditi prvo dijete. Paralelno sa željom studentica za imanjem djece u budućnosti, dolazi do izražaja utjecaj postmodernog društva koji se očituje kroz željeni manji broj djece i odgodu rađanja prvog djeteta za kasniju životnu dob.

Ključne riječi: fertilitetna motivacija, studentice, socio-demografska obilježja, obilježja obitelji, religioznost

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Telo između prirode i kulture: iskustvo rađanja

Tekst se bavi problemom socijalne konstrukcije telesnih praksi i telesnih iskustava koja se inače smatraju više prirodnim nego socijalnim fenomenima. Analiza socijalne konstrukcije ženskog telesnog iskustva u ovom kontekstu naročito je interesantna, jer se inače rod u kulturi i društvu naglašeno naturalizuje, a veliki deo ženskog iskustva, vezan npr. za materinstvo, emocionalnost, psihološke karakteristike, seksualnost itd. objašnjava se još uvek pod snažnim uticajem predstava o distinkтивno „ženskoj prirodi“.

Polazeći od teorijskih postavki Džudit Batler i grupe autorki koje su se bavile pitanjima urođnjavanja tela, analizirana su iskustva rađanja trideset žena, sa posebnim osvrtom na socijalni okvir u kome se ovaj događaj konstituiše kao jedan od ključnih momenata rituala prelaza u životnom ciklusu žene, da bi se pokazalo kako se kroz specifičan socijalni okvir u kome se ovaj događaj dešava definišu i konstruišu materinstvo, seksualnost i telesni integritet žene .

Istraživanje je sprovedeno u okviru šireg istraživanja „Politike roditeljstva“ Instituta za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog Fakulteta, a rezultati istraživanja prezentuju iskustva žena na teritoriji Beograda.

Ključne reči: telo, rađanje, priroda, kultura

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Žena kao agent porođaja: telesni, tehnološki i institucionalni aspekti

Porođaj predstavlja specifičnu tačku susreta prirode i kulture. To je *biološki* događaj u kome su glavni akteri *društvena* bića, *prirodni* proces kome je kroz naučno-tehnološko prevođenje dat poseban *kulturni* status. Ova kompleksna priroda porođaja postavlja stručni izazov pred agensnost žene koja se porađa. Sajedne strane, tok dramatičnih telesnih promena koji je u najvećoj meri izvan njene kontrole predstavlja pretnju za njenu otelovljenu subjektivnost. Žena koja je tokom uobičajenog funkcionalisanja neposredno i neproblematično identifikovana sa svojom telesnošću suočenaje na porođaju sa problemima integracije, prevazilaženja i očuvanja agensnosti. Sa druge strane, to što je u savremenom društvu porođaj postao objekt medicinskih znanja, praksi i tehnika po pravilu podrazumeva njegovo redukovanje na medicinski vođen fiziološki proces koji se ne oslanja na subjektivnu uključenost žene u bilo kom relevantnom smislu.

Postavlja se pitanje da li i kako žena preuzima aktivnu ulogu na porođaju i na koji način ona uspeva da bude agent procesa koji joj se dešava i koji je u današnjim okolnostima pre svega tehnološki posredovan i spoljašnje regulisan? Pretpostaviću da je uspostavljanje i održavanje agensnosti tokom porođaja kompleksan proces koji se oslanja na interakciju između konstantno promenljivog otelovljenog iskustva i medicinskih znanja i tehnika koje su ženama na raspolaganju u konkretnim okolnostima. Na osnovu analize porođajnih narativa pokušaću da pratim kako je agensnost žene posredovana, ko-konstruisana ili suspendovana različitim akterima koji su prisutni u lokalnom akušerskom kontekstu koji sa sobom nosi niz institucionalnih specifičnosti.

Ključne reči: žene, porođaj, iskustvo, medicina

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Doživljaj ranog majčinstva u kontekstu podrške majci

Predmet analize su narativi dvanaest tridesetogodišnjih majki koji se tiču tranzicije u roditeljstvo: trudnoće, rađanja i najranijeg perioda majčinstva. Centralno analitičko pitanje je tumačenje subjektivnog osećanja mlade majke u odnosu na doživljaj podrške i zadovoljstvo njome. Doživljaj ranog majčinstva se oblikuje u sadejstvu individualnih iskustava trudnoće, rađanja i podrške, sa jedne strane i socijalnog konstrukta prikazivanja materinstva (*displaying motherhood*), sa druge. Tumačenje treba da pokaže na koji način reakcija supruga i najbližih na trudnoću, njihova podrška i konkretna pomoć oko novorođenčeta, majčina očekivanja od podrške i zadovoljstvo njihovim ispunjenjem oblikuju njen doživljaj ranog majčinstva. Tumači se na koji način tip podrške i očekivanja: tradicionalno – moderni tip, čije je težište na ekspresivnim ulogama ženskih srodnika (majke, svekrve, sestre, zaove) ili savremeni – postmoderni tip, čije je težište na suprugu (u okviru trenda ka recipročnosti roditeljstva), utiču na konotaciju narativa o ranom majčinstvu, koja može biti (društveno legitimno) pozitivna, (individualistički) objektivna ili negativna. Tumačenje narativa je i u kontekstu majčinog zadovoljstva očinskom ulogom supruga i zadovoljstva partnerskim odnosom.

Ključne reči: trudnoća, porođaj, materinstvo

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Pozicioniranje iskustva materinstva unutar socijalne mreže porodičnih odnosa

Iskustvo materinstva predstavlja jedno od simbolički najznačajnijih iskustava u životima žena. Ono je unutar života žene zanačajno iz više različitih razloga. S jedne strane ono predstavlja jedno od najličnijih i najintimnijih iskustava putem koga žene otkrivaju nove granice odnosa sa samima sobom i vlastitom telesnošću, dok sa druge strane ono predstavlja socijalni konstrukt kroz koji se prelамaju različiti odnosi moći unutar društva i kulture čiji smo deo reoblikujući njihove odnose sa drugima. Zbog ove unutrašnje protivrečnosti, za iskustvo materinstva se može reći da na izvestan način transformiše živote žena koje prolaze kroz njega preoblikujući granice unutar mentalne geografija njihovih predašnjih života. Na osnovu empirijskog materijala prikupljenog u okviru projekta Politike roditeljstva Instituta za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta iz Beograda, ovaj rad rekonstruiše na koji način unutar svojih narativa žene različitog obrazovanja i socijalnog porekla pozicioniraju sopstvena iskustva vezana za materinstvo, i eventualne promene vezane za sopstvenu poziciju unutar socijalne mreže porodičnih odnosa.

Ključne reči: materinstvo, porodica, samožrtvujući mikro-matrijarhat

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Tranzicija u roditeljstvo i tranzicija partnerstva iz muške perspektive

Predmet rada je tranzicija u roditeljstvo očeva u Srbiji i oblici promena partnerskih odnosa tokom tog procesa, na osnovu 12 intervjuja sa očevima (koji imaju 30 godina) svih obrazovnih nivoa. Prilikom tranzicije u roditeljstvo partneri/supružnici dobijaju nove uloge i ovaj proces zahteva višestruka prilagođavanja u prvom redu roditeljskim ulogama ali i pronalaženje novog balansa u odnosu između njih. Istraživanja ukazuju da je ovaj period bremenit (potencijalnim) konfliktima i da opada zadovoljstvo brakom kod oba supružnika. Cilj ovog rada je dvostruk: 1. da ispita načine na koji muškarci postaju očevi, odnosno koje su njihove roditeljske prakse, kakvi su njihovi odnosi koji su povezani sa roditeljsvom i na koji način njihovi stavovi oblikuju njihovo delanje i aspiracije; 2. da prepozna obrasce odnosa sa suprugom i ispita do kakvih je promena došlo sa dolaskom deteta i kako su se oni kao par prilagodili novoj situaciji. Osnovni koncepcionalni okviri kroz koji se analiziraju pomenuti proces i odnosi jesu *tranzicija u roditeljstvo* (odnosno tranzicija u očinstvo) i *maskulinitet* – očinski aspekt rodnog identiteta muškaraca.

Ključne reči: tranzicija u očinstvo, tranzicija partnerstva, maskulinitet.

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Iskustvo roditeljstva istopolno orientisanih žena u Srbiji¹⁷

Danas mnoge lezbejke, gejevi, biseksualne i transrodne osobe (LGBT) imaju decu i žive u istopolnim porodicama. Pitanje legalizacije istopolno orientisanih partnerstava u mnogim zemljama na Zapadu je postignuto ali oko pitanja usvajanja dece od strane LGBT osoba i dalje postoje brojne kontraverze i otpori od strane konzervativnih struha. U Srbiji, njihov položaj je još teži a institucionalna diskriminacija i osuda društva su izraženi. Cilj ovog istraživanja jeste da osvetli problem odgajanja dece od strane osoba drugačije seksualne orientacije u Srbiji na primeru tri slučaja žena koje su majke i žive kao „lezbejke”. Ovaj problem do sada nije istraživan u domaćoj sociologiji, a na osnovu dobijenih podataka smatram da predstavlja važan doprinos razumevanju pitanja roditeljstva tj. redefinisanju značenja roditeljstva koje se do sada kod nas proučava isključivo na osnovu iskustava heteroseksualnih osoba. Metodologija istraživanja je uključivala prikupljanje podataka metodom životnih priča i dubinski intervju. Uzorak čine tri ispitanice preko 30 godina, srednjeg i višeg obrazovanja. Svaka od njih ima po jedno dete a u dva slučaja deca su rođena u prethodnim heteroseksualnim vezama.

Pitanja kojima će se baviti jesu:

- Pitanje vidljivosti istopolno orientisanih žena koje su majke i način na koji ta vidljivost utiče na njihov život i shvatanje sopstva;
- konflikt koji postoji između, s jedne strane „homoseksualnog” identiteta i želje za roditeljstvom i, sa druge, zahteva društva i konteksta Srbije u kome je to gotovo neostvarivo;
- uticaj roditeljstva na partnerske odnose kod ispitanica;
- opis iskustava roditeljstva ispitanica i način na koji ispitanice sagledavaju svoju situaciju materinstva – da li je ona za njih „prirodna uloga”, političko pitanje, društveno uslovljena itd.

Ključne reči: homoseksualnost, *coming out*, iskustvo, majčinstvo, identitet, diskriminacija, roditeljstvo i kontekst Srbije.

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¹⁷ U izlaganju će biti predstavljen deo rezultata istraživanja koje sprovodim u okviru rada na doktorskoj tezi „Homoseksualne zajednice u Beogradu”.

III
Diskursi

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**Religijski diskursi o abortusu u Srbiji na prelazu vekova:
kontinuiteti i promene**

Srpska pravoslavna crkva na različite načine učestvuje u raspravama o abortusu još od početka devedesetih godina. Interesantno je da se u religijskim diskursima pitanju abortusa konzistentno pristupa pre svega kao demografskom problem, a tek na drugom mestu se postavlja pitanje svetosti i nepovredivosti života. U ovom tekstu se na osnovu analze zvaničnih dokumenata Srpske pravoslavne crkve (Božićne i Uskršnje poslanice kao i saopštenja sa sednica Sinoda) ukazuje na postepenu radikalizaciju zvaničnog stava prema abortusu i njegovom pravnom status do koje je došlo za proteklih dvadesetak godina. Nametanje osećanja krivice zbog odgovrnosti prema kolektivu predstavlja konstantno obeležje religijskih diskursa o abortusu. Do promene je, međutim, došlo u fokusu, retorici i adresantu ovih diskursa. Fokus je prebačen sa žena na roditelje; retorika se od oštrog prekora transformisala u saosećajnu grdnju a porodica je zamenila naciju kao adresanta ovih diskursa. U tekstu se i promene i konstante u religijskim diskursima o abortusu posmatraju i interpretiraju u kontekstu širih društvenih i političkih procesa pri čemu se posebna pažnja usmerava na odnose između crkve i države.

Ključne reči: srpska pravoslavna crkva, abortus

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Politike očinstva i post-jugoslovenski kulturni prostor

Dinamika otac-sin odnosa oduvek je imala vrlo važno mesto u književnim opusima jugoslovenskih pisaca: ne samo zbog svog intimnog, porodičnog i psihološkog potencijala već i zbog ideološkog i društvenoj značaja koji ovaj ambivalentni odnos ima u tradicionalno maskulizovanoj kulturi regiona. *Posle 2000. godine u savremenoj postjugoslovenskoj književnoj produkciji iznova se prikazuje* i preispituje dinamika otac-sin odnosa (*Ultramarin* srpskog pisci Milet Prodanovića, 2010; *Otac* hrvatskog pisci Miljenka Jergovića, 2010; *Jugoslavija, moja dežela* slovenačkog pisci Gorana Vojinovića, 2012). Preispitivanje i nove reprezentacije politike očinstva vezane su za hibridno poimanje romana kao dominantnog književnog žanra ali, pre svega, za re-konstituisanje očinskih figura kao figura ideološke i etičke (ne) odgovornosti posj Jugoslovenskog kulturnog prostora. U radu se nove politike očinstva i njihova reprezentacija razmatraju u kontekstu suočavanja sa zajedničkom društvenom i ratnom traumom raspada Jugoslavije, s jedne, i u kontekstu kulture sećanja/zaborava koja se na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije uspostavlja, sa druge strane.

Ključne reči: očinstvo, maskulinitet, post-jugoslovenski kulturni prostor, književnost

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Kad bi bila na pustom ostrvu – Analiza diskursa o attachment parenting-u

Attachment parenting, kao specifična forma roditeljstva, se zasniva na tri prakse: dojenju deteta dokle god to ono želi, držanje deteta uz majčino telo što je moguće više i zajedničko spavanje roditelja i deteta u istom krevetu. Ovaj tekst će pokušati da pokaže da pomenuti vid roditeljstva ponovo smešta ženu u porodičnu sferu uz nešto modifikovanu tradicionalnu rodnu podelu rada. Muškarac zarađuje, dok žena rada i podiže decu, dok se jedina modifikacija odnosi na to da muškarac, pored finansijske, ženi pruža i emocionalnu podršku. Samo očinstvo se svodi na puku „podršku dojenju”, dok je žena poistovjećena sa telom koje neguje dete. U fokusu analize će se naći, pre svega, sajt pedijatra Vilijama Sirsa askdrsears.com, kao i video zapise njegovih gostovanja na američkoj televiziji koja su usledila nakon objavlјivanja broja *Time* magazina u kome se našao tekst povodom dvadesetogodišnjice objavlјivanja knjige prvog izdanja knjige *The Baby Book* gde su postavljene osnove attachment parenting-a. Na naslovnoj stranici ovog magazina se tom prilikom našla fotografija dvadesetšestogodišnje manekenke Džejmi Lin Gramet kako doji svog trogodišnjeg sina, što je navedeni vid roditeljstva pozicioniralo u žiju interesovanja najpre američke, a potom i svetske javnosti. U Srbiji attachment parenting promoviše udruženje *Roditelj*, čineći ovu temu relevantnom i u domaćem kontekstu. Sama analiza diskursa vodiće se zahtevom koji je Fuko postavio u *Arheologiji znanja* da analiza diskursa pored deskripcije treba pružiti i objašnjenje zašto se određeni diskurs, sa svim svojim specifičnostima, javlja u određenom trenutku i na određenom prostoru, a ne bilo koji drugi.

Ključne reči: attachment parenting, teorija vezivanja, diskurs, roditeljstvo, rod, rodne uloge

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IV
Institucionalne prakse

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Roditeljsko odlučivanje

Rad razmatra modele donošenja odluka vezanih za pitanja zdravstvene zaštite dece, konkretno vakcinacije. Pod roditeljskim odlukama podrazumevamo odluke u vezi sa detetom/decom koje su neizostavni deo roditeljskog iskustva. Kada su roditelji donosioci odluke, lična odgovornost za odluku ili posledice te odluke predstavlja faktor koji nameće drugaćiji pristup odlučivanju, posebno kada je u pitanju odlučivanje o zdravlju dece. Takve odluke imaju i dodatni pritisak društvene ispravnosti, s obzirom na to da postoje snažne, što formalne/institucionalne, što neformalne, norme o tome kako roditelj treba da postupi. U planiranom radu biće razmatrani različiti varijeteti mogućih odluka koje roditelji donose u uslovima određene neizvesnosti (rizika) proistekle iz različitih strukturalnih ograničenja, institucionalnog konteksta, javnog diskursa i ličnih preferencija pojedinačnih aktera. Rad teorijski razmatra potencijalnu sklonost roditelja rizičnom odlučivanju i kognitivnoj pristrasnosti. Imajući u vidu prisutnost dva pristupa vakcinaciji (normativno-medicinski i iskustveno-laički) u društvu, informacije kojima roditelji treba da raspolažu prilikom donošenja odluka o vakcinisanju dece su snažno kontradiktorne. Osvetljavanje ovih aspekata u procesu roditeljskog odlučivanja može doprineti razumevanju kako procesa odlučivanja uopšte, tako i načinu na koji roditeljstvo oblikuje odlučivanje.

Ključne reči: roditelji, deca, institucionalni kontekst

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Društvena podrška porodici kroz aktivnosti socijalnog radnika u vaspitno-obrazovnim ustanovama – primjer Republike Srpske

Svjedoci smo sveprisutne ugroženosti djece savremenim socijalnim problemima koji nerijetko utiču na svakodnevno funkcionisanje porodice, te direktno i na razvojni proces djece. Primjena najznačajnijih svjetskih dokumenata o djeci i praksi treba da znače povećanje stepena sigurnosti djece i porodica, poboljšanje rada institucionalnog sistema, osnaživanje i poboljšanje profesionalnog socijalnog rada i njegovog uvodenja u vaspitno-obrazovne ustanove, aktiviranje svih potencijala društva i dr. Vrijednujući potrebe djece i značaj djece za društvo, mnoge zemlje su uvele profesionalni socijalni rad u škole još početkom prošlog vijeka. U Republici Srpskoj, profesionalni socijalni rad uveden je u vaspitno-obrazovni sistem 2008. godine.

U radu je predstavljena uloga socijalnog radnika u školi, koji se u ukvиру svojih radnih zadataka, bavi i pitanjima koja utiču na sigurnost i dobrobit djece, njihovu sposobnost da uče, kao i mogućnostima njihovih porodica da se nose sa različitim aspektima svakodnevnog života. U radu sa učenikom, i njegovom porodicom, socijalni radnik u školi pomaže djetetu da razvije dobre vještine u odnosima sa drugima i da se osjeća dobro u vezi sa sobom, te radi sa porodicom na razvoju roditeljskih vještina. U slučajevima porodica u kojima su poremećeni porodični odnosi, saradnja između socijalnog radnika u školi i Centra za socijalni rad ima veoma važnu ulogu u ispunjavanju zadataka iz oblasti socijalne i dječije zaštite, uključujući i unapređenje kvaliteta života djece čiji je razvoj ometen. Slučajevi porodica u kojima su poremećeni porodični odnosi dosta su složeni, a dinamika zanemarivanja i zlostavljanja djece često uključuje interakciju između izrazite roditeljske nezrelosti, emocionalnih teškoća, bolesti zavisnosti, stambenih i materijalnih teškoća i sl.

Ključne riječi: djeca, poremećeni porodični odnosi, socijalni rad, socijalni radnik u školi

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Roditelji kao akteri u kreiranju javne politike upravljanja osnovnom školom

Cilj rada je analiza načina rada i uticaja Saveta roditelja u osnovnim školama na upravljanje osnovnom školom kao javnom institucijom.

Rad polazi od hipoteze da Savet roditelja nije aktivan kreator javne politike u oblasti osnovnog obrazovanja. Uloga Saveta roditelja je marginalizovana, nedovoljno moćna da bi se ostvario značajan utivaj na donošenje važnih odluka u ovoj javnoj instituciji. Na taj način, roditelji su isključeni iz kreiranja javnog interesa i koncipiranja društvenog razvoja.

Time se proizvode dve vrste rizika: sa jedne strane, proizvode se rizici u javnoj sferi: dolazi do urušavanja kapaciteta civilnog društva i javnog delovanja, kao i položaja roditelja kao društvene grupe u javnoj sferi, čime se roditeljstvu oduzima atribut građanstva. Takođe, dolazi do neracionalnog trošenja i zluopotrebe javnih novčanih sredstava i neletimnog korišćenja zgrada u javnom vlasništvu, čime se pojačava siromaštvo i ometa socijalni razvoj.

Sa druge strane, dolazi do dodatnog opterećivanja privatne potrošiće sfere i roditeljstva, u smislu privatizacije razvojnih interesa i aktivnosti koje bi dovele do unapređenja osnovnog obrazovanja dece. S obzirom da se roditeljstvo u porodici većinski odvija kao materinstvo, to dovodi do pojačanog trošenja ljudskih resursa žena. Proizvodi se komodifikacija osnovnih obrazovnih usluga, čime su roditelji primorani da dodatno kupuju obrazovne usluge na tržištu. Tim dolazi do rasta porodičnih troškova za usluge osnovnog obrazovanja, do dodatnog osiromašenja već osiromašenih domaćinstava i do narušavanja principa jednakih šansi za svu decu osnovno školskog uzrasta.

Izvor podataka je empirijsko anketno istraživanje stavova i prakse članova Saveta roditelja iz 2014. u dve škole u Srbiji: jedne u Beogradu i jedne u Kruševcu.

Ključne reči: civilno društvo, javna politika, javne službe, komodifikacija osnovnih obrazovnih usluga, osnovne škole, Savet roditelja

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„Dijete kao projekt“ vs „daj dite materi“: Orodnjenost roditeljske brige odjeci

Rad nastoji povezati dva teorijska koncepta: „dijete kao projekt“ i rodnu podjelu rada oko brige za dijete. Iako su ovi koncepti usko povezani i isprepleteni te se može činiti da nije moguće govoriti jednom bez drugog, dojam je da se u istraživanjima gdje se oni pokušavaju spojiti, moderni koncept „djeteta kao projekta“ pojavljuje u teorijsko-interpretativnoj funkciji istraživanja, ali se operacionalizacija zaustavlja u određivanju onih aktivnosti koje spadaju u tradicionalniju konstrukciju djetinjstva, sada već klasično izraženu dihotomijom njege djeteta naspramigre i zabave s djetetom. U radu senastoji proširiti takav dihotomi model onim praksama koje bi predstavljalje investiranje roditelja u dijete te provjeriti jesu li i koliko takve prakse orodnjene. U tu svrhu, 2013. provedeno je anketno istraživanje s roditeljima (N=261) čija djeca pohađaju vrtiće na području grada Rijeke. S obzirom da se radi o roditeljima djece rane i predškolske dobi, treća dimenzija našeg teorijskog modela bila je usmjerena na odgojno-obrazovne aktivnosti roditelja tipičnih za tu dječju dob kao okosnici „projektnog“ pristupa djetinjstvu. Konstruiran je instrument Likertova tipa od 15 čestica kojima smo obuhvatili sve tri dimenzije. Provedbom faktorske analize pod komponentnim modelom ekstrahirana su tri faktora koja su potvrdila početni trodimenzionalni teorijski model. Analiza je pokazala da su poslovi oko njege djeteta još uvijek dominantno majčinske aktivnosti, dok su igra i zabava s djetetom, kao i aktivnosti usmjerene na postavljanje dobrih odgojno-obrazovnih temelja u domeni oba roditelja. Čini se, barem prema našem uzorku, da je investiranje roditelja u dijete u većoj mjeri zajednička praksa oba roditelja.

Ključne reči: roditelji, deca, obrazovanje, predškolsko obrazovanje

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Roditelji LGBT dece, podrška i zaštita umesto nasilja i odbacivanja

U Srbiji roditelji i ostali odrasli članovi porodica LGBT dece i omladine po saznanju o njihovoj seksualnoj orijentaciji i rodnom identitetu ne retko pribegavaju nasilnim metodama "prevaspitavanja". Ono se kreće od ograničavanja slobode kretanja, raznih vidova psihičkih pritisaka, prinudnog "lečenja", do fizičkog nasilja i izbacivanja iz roditeljskog doma. Skoro polovina (49%) LGBT osoba je postala svesna svoje seksualnosti pre petnaeste godine, kada su naročito ranjivi i zavisni, pogotovo u ekonomskom smislu. Odbacivanje od strane roditeljske porodice u situaciji velike nezaposlenosti i ekonomske krize za mlade LGBT osobe predstavlja direktni put u beskućništvo, prostituciju, kriminal, drogu. Na to se nadovezuje vršnjačko nasilje u školi jer ih vršnjaci kada primete njihovo odudaranje od „normalne“, žigošu, izlažu podsmehu, uvredama, vršnjačkom nasilju. Rezultat toga su najčešće izolacija, depresija, slabo samopoštovanje, viktimiranost, prevremeno prekidanje i napuštanje školovanja. Dva do tri puta češće od bilo koje druge grupe LGBT omladina pokušava samoubistvo. Samoubistva gej / lezbejske omladine čine 30% samoubistava među mladima. Stopa samoubistava među LGBT omladinom je veća od stope samoubistava među starijim od 75 i bolesnim od neizlečivih bolesti. Zbog svega toga, umesto nasilja i odbacivanja, LGBT deci je mnogo pre potrebna roditeljska podrška u procesu formiranja svog identiteta i porodična zaštita od homofobičnog ambijenta. Umesto da produkuju socijalne slučajeve, kriminalce, narkomane i/ili seks radnice/ke roditeljima je potrebna podrška i edukacija da razumeju posebnost i značaj svoje roditeljske uloge u podizanju svoje LGBT dece kao vrednih i korisnih članova društva.

Ključne reči: roditelji LGBT dece i omladine, nasilje, odbacivanje, beskućništvo, kriminalitet, podrška, zaštita

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Conference

***Politics of Parenthood:
Experiences, Discourses and
Institutional Practices***

Belgrade, 12th and 13th September 2014

Politics of Parenthood: Experiences, Discourses and Institutional Practices

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Čika Ljubina Street

No18-20, Belgrade

12th and 13th September 2014, first floor, room 108

*We dedicate this conference to the memory
of professor Andelka Milić
(1942.-2014.)*

Conference Program

Friday 12th September 2014

9.15-9.45h Registration of the participants

9.45h-10.00h Conference opening and welcome speech

I 10h-12h Reproduction as Social, Political and Economic Resource

1. **10h-10.15h Marina Blagojević Hjuson**, Institute for criminological and sociological researches, Belgrade: Transformation of Parenthood: The Semiperipheral Perspective

2. **10.15h-10.30h Branka Galić, Ksenija Klasnić and Ivana Jurković Kuruc**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb: The social relations of power and women's reproductive self-determination

3. **10.30h-10.45h Majda Černič Istenič**, Sociomedical Institute ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana: Undeveloped conceptualisation of parenthood in demographic research

4. **10.45h-11h Duška Knežević Hočvar**, Sociomedical Institute ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, Slovenia: What 'Kind' of People Should Reproduce the Slovenian Population?

5. **11.15h-11.30h Valentina Sokolovska**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad: Families in Serbia as a Factor of Regional Economic Development

11.30-12h Discussion

12h-12.30 Coffee break

II Experiences

- A. **12.30h-14h** Partnership and Childbirth
1. **12.30h-12.45h Mirjana Bobić and Milena Stanojević**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade: Transition from marriage into parenthood: discourses and practice – dyadic perspective
 2. **12.45h-13h Mirjana Bobić and Selena Lazić**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade: Everyday practice of marital couples in their early parenthood
 3. **13h-13.15h Sladjana Dragišić Labaš** Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade and Clinic for Mental Disorders "Dr Laza Lazarević", Belgrade: Childbirth and marital crisis: case study and couple therapy
 4. **13.15h-13.30h Ljubica Rajković** Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade: Instrumentalization of Children as a Family Life Pattern
- 13.30h-14h** Discussion
- 14h-16h** Pause
- A. **16h-18.15h Social Identities of Women and Men and Parenthood**
1. **16h-16.15h Doris Jerak, Marijana Krolo and Nevena Jerak**: Fertility motivation of students of social work in Croatia given the different characteristics and attitudes
 2. **16.15h-16.30h Nada Sekulić**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade: Body between nature and culture: experience of giving birth
 3. **16.30h-16.45h Biljana Stanković** Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade: Woman as agent of childbirth: bodily, technological and institutional aspects
 4. **16.45h-17h Smiljka Tomanović and Milana Ljubičić**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade: Early motherhood experience in context of support to the mother
 5. **17h-17.15h Isidora Jarić**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade: Positioning the experience of motherhood within the social network of family relationships
 6. **17.15h-17.30h Dragan Stanojević**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade: Transition to fatherhood and transition of partnership from men's perspective
 7. **17.30h-17.45h Marija Radoman**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade: Parenting of homosexual women in Serbia

17.45h-18.15h Discussion

Saturday 13th September 2014

III 10h- 11.45h Discourses

1. **10h-10.15h Rada Drezgić**, Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade and Faculty of Music, University of Arts, Belgrade: Continuities and transitions in religious discourses on abortion in Serbia at the turn of the centuries
2. **10.15h-10.30h Tatjana Rosić** Faculty of Media and Communication, Singidunum University, Belgrade: Policies of Paternity and Post-Yugoslav Cultural Space
3. **10.30h-10.45h Dejan Petrović**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade: If you were on a desert island – Analysis of the attachment parenting discourse

10.45h-11.15h Discussion

11.15h-12h Coffee break

IV Institutional practices

1. **12h-12.15h Ivana Pavlović**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade: Parental decision-making
 2. **12.15h-12.30h Vesna Šućur Janjetović**, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Banja Luka: Social Support to Families through the activities of School Social Worker – case of Republic of Srpska
 3. **12.30h-12.45h Vesna Miletić Stepanović**, Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade: Parents as Actors in the Creation of Public Policy for Primary School Management
 4. **12.45h-13h Željka Ivković**, Faculty of Teacher Education, University of Rijeka, **Željko Boneta**, Faculty of Teacher Education, University of Rijeka and **Sandra Kanjić**, Kindergarten Rijeka: "Child as a project" vs "give child to mother": Gendered parental childcare
 5. **13h-13.15h Zorica Mršević**, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade: Parents of LGBT children, support and protection instead of violence and rejection
- 13.15h-14h Discussion**
- 14h Final discussion and Conference closing**

I

Reproduction as Social, Political and Economic Resource

Marina Blagojević Hjuson¹

Institute for criminological and sociological researches, Belgrade

Transformation of Parenthood: The Semiperipheral Perspective

This paper builts on a body of empirical research done by the author, from the late 80-ies on, related to parenthood and gender, in the region of the Western Balkans. The aim of the paper is to offer theoretical framework for understanding the change in the fields of partnership and parenthood. Practices and discourses related to the parenthood, will be discussed in the light of author's new theoretical insights connected to the development of gender regimes at the semiperiphery. The author will show how the process of de-development has blocked the process of modernization of parenthood which was spreading throughout 80-ies, and how instead, a hybrid model of parenthood and partnership emerged. The major characteristic of this new hybrid model is that practices of equality are developing faster than the discourses on equality, which can be explained only by taking into the consideration deeper structural characteristics of the gender regimes at the semi-periphery. Discourses on gender are still highly captured by the rhetoric of "woman as a mother of a Nation" and her role in an overall national project. However, from the perspective of the newest complex empirical research, dealing with gender equality on everyday life level (Gender Barometer in Serbia, UN Women, 2013) it could be concluded, twenty years afterwards, that "self/sacrificing micro-matriarchy" (Blagojević, 1994) is only a transitional phase in establishment of egalitarian model in a private sphere, and in fact a specific emancipatory strategy which enabled gender equality first to be established in the private and than in the public sphere. That is in fact showing that the trends which were empirically recorded at the end of 80-ies are being continued, regardless of the transitional hardships. The semiperipheral perspective enables

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Abstracts

theoretization of this “twist”, where the emancipation in the private sphere is strengthening the emancipation in the public sphere, which is in many ways opposite process in comparison to the modernization process, including socialist project as modernization project. The semiperipheral perspective offers understanding of the “twist”, as a consequence of the process of de-development, while at the same time exists continuous, deep, structural change towards equality on a micro level and in a family.

Key words: semiperiphery, parenthood, self/sacrificing micro-matriarchy

Abstracts

Branka Galic², Ksenija Klasnic and Ivana Jurkovic Kuruc
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The Social Relations of Power and Women's Reproductive Self-determination

Women's reproductive self-determination is shaped by different social interests in reproduction and cultural context: political, religious, corporate, medical, etc.. Interests of social actors and institutions usually limit the autonomy of women and couples in the establishment of reproductive self-determination. For many women approach and attitude towards reproductive methods and techniques, and approaches to childbirth, affects the direction of their lives, such as the reproductive approaches and techniques profoundly affect cultural ideas about womanhood, motherhood and family. Women have experience of different types of control over their reproductive abilities, depending on their socio-economic and cultural circumstances. Social and cultural context – social norms about how and when to become pregnant, the family size, infertility, about adoption, about abortion, about when to stop emerge, the selection of gender, as well as what constitutes a healthy pregnancy, the fetus and the baby – all shape and are shaped by social ideologies of reproduction and institutional relations of power, and supported by the social norms of patriarchy. Women's reproductive activities (conception, pregnancy and childbirth) were ranked according to the system of "quality control" of the child, women are the "good" or "bad" producers, while stigmatizing social dimensions of reproductive technology support stigmatizing reproductive morality. Women – pregnant women are examined in discourse "good" and "bad" women, on the basis of "good" and "bad" reproductive bodies, by analogy with the traditional female reproductive social roles of childbearing and childrearing. The higher offer technical possibilities for decisions about birth and dominance of experts, policymakers and other stakeholders' opens the possibility of building a new kind of "women's solidarity," although the female body is still controlled, usurped and "politically" formed by different types of power relations and ideology of reproductive technologies.

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Abstracts

The main objective of this paper is to establish a theoretical conceptual schema template for future empirical studies of reproductive self-determination of women in the context of social power relations and present a preliminary questionnaire and the results of its application to a convenience sample of female students at the University of Zagreb.

Key words: reproduction, gender, power, patriarchy

Abstracts

Majda Černič Istenič³

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Undeveloped Conceptualisation of Parenthood in Demographic Research

In spite of centrality of the idea of decreasing motivation of having children leading to low fertility in ‘industrialised countries’ in Europe and also worldwide assumed by the theory of second demographic transition (SDT) not much attention has yet been given to the empirical investigation of the importance of children to parents among demographers. The selection of evidence in demographic research concerning changing meanings of children to parents pertains mostly to very general indicators that might lead to limited strength of results. Inspired by some critiques of SDT that emphasised the plurality of different factors that cause the otherwise common trend of very low fertility in Europe the author confronts the abovementioned assumption with recent elaborations on the changing context of parenthood in contemporary societies and the overview of historical roots of the notions of responsible parenthood that explain the background of low fertility motivations that were overlooked by the ideational authors of SDT theory. Applying the results of own case study research derived from the project *Social background of low fertility in university-educated in Slovenia* (2004–2007) the author confirms the complexity of understandings of parenting and indicate the need towards precise contextualisation of notions used so automatically in demographic research.

Key words: demographic research, theory of second demographic transition, parenthood

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What ‘Kind’ of People Should Reproduce the Slovenian Population?

This paper discusses various rationalizations of the ‘problematic’ demographic picture in Slovenia in the last two decades (1990–2010). Considering the content and time period observed, the selection of three documents on imagining the national population and its regulation is not a coincidence. Who should reproduce, how many, and in what ‘proper’ conditions are underlying questions for creating an image of national population. The authoress analyses The Basis of Population Policy in SR Slovenia (1990), created a year before the proclamation of a sovereign state (1991), while the Strategy for Increasing Fertility in Slovenia (2006) and the Family Code (2010) were written in the time of the nation-state consolidation.

The hypothesis asserts that in the last decades under consideration various actors as a rule activate understandings and representations of national population as a biological category. The analysis of the documents, which in the climate of politically divergently oriented governments refer to the reproduction of the national population, shows that the term ‘population renewal’ is not uniformly conceived and understood by its proponents. In the first case, the conception mirrors in the appeal of reproducing the ‘ours’, in the second, in the call for creating awareness and responsibility of individuals and a society to produce the offspring through the ‘proper family values’, and in the third case, those who might contribute to the renewal of the national body were ‘also’ homosexually oriented couples. Finally, the parallel analysis of the national press shows that public response to the proposed documents proves that demography remains a ‘slippery slope’ of science and politics.

Key words: demography, population policy

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Abstracts

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Families in Serbia as a Factor of Regional Economic Development

This paper tests the hypothesis that the dominant types of families differently affect economic development of the region in which they appear. Although family structure is not the main cause of economic changes, it can bring about specific reactions of the region to the waves of changes caused by wider social factors. The paper analyses the types of families and the number of family members in Serbia on the basis of 2011 Census. In the context of testing the hypothesis of the paper, special attention is dedicated to studying regional differences in structures of married and cohabitating couples without children, married and cohabitating couples with children, single parents, and other economic indicators of the region development.

Key words: economic changes, regional development, types of families

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II
Experiences

Partnership and Childbirth

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Transition from Marriage into Parenthood: Discourses and Practice – Dyadic Perspective

This paper stems from grounded theory approach, applied on interviews and observations of 30 couples (60 men and women) from Belgrade. The field research has been a part of a wider one named Policy of Parenthood, carried out in 2013/14, by the Institute for sociological research of the Faculty of Philosophy. We applied methodological individualism, aimed at conceptualizing of various behavioral patterns of couples undergoing major transition from marriage into parenthood. We first undertook in depth analysis of all couples, who represent a variety of coping strategies throughout transformation. We have then selected three couples, as specific and in a way typical, in terms of their 'crisis management' following family transition. Couples were given specific labels conveying clear meanings as of their prevalent behavioral modes: 'conformists', 'strategists' and 'defeatists'. According to objective sociological measures intertwining with couples' subjective assesses they all belonged to either middle or lower middle strata.

In this paper, unlike vast majority of domestic studies, the three cases were interpreted as a whole, thus gradually and integrally developing their life events and social biographical contexts. The prior insight into the overall evidence enabled us to construct semantic units (nodes) and subordinated codes, latter ones fulfilled with concrete meanings conveyed by interviewees. Interpretation of each and every couple is followed by a comparative discussion of similarities and differentiation of their sentiments, behaviors and action poten-

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Abstracts

tials. Our main idea was to demonstrate as to what extent individuals and couples critically reflect upon themselves, their spouse and partnership, life course, what is their reference toward current and future state of art. We also searched whether they clearly posit any specific goals for future in terms of personal and social advancement and if so, which strategies do they intend to enact. Our fieldwork was also undertaken with the goal to assess ability of a couple to establish a control over itself and social setting. We deemed it as a way by which partners and individuals disclose their personal capacity for negotiation and change, i.e. active social integration in ever changing environment, which is, supposedly, belated but necessary individual strategy for globally running second modernization.

Key words: grounded theory, turning point, conceptualization, three couples, control

Abstracts

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Everyday Practice of Marital Couples in Their Early Parenthood

The paper demonstrates a part of analysis of interviews, carried out among 30 couples in their early parenthood (60 men and women) in Belgrade, under the auspices of the Institute for sociological research of the Faculty of Philosophy. "Snow ball" sample was created among the population aged 18-55, divided into three age groups (18-29, 30-39, 40-55) and education strata (lower, middle, tertiary). This paper tackles the performance of 10 tasks in everyday life related to both care of a newcomer and housework. Although our results are not representative for wider population, they approve for a prevailing of a pattern of patriarchy, i.e. a model of women's self sacrifice (Blagojević, 1997, 2012). This seems to be particularly evident with lower educated and elderly couples. Nonetheless when it comes to younger as well as couples with higher human capital, it seems that gender egalitarianism is more widespread, although men's participation in everyday duties takes a form of an assistance to women rather than overtaking. Our results are therefore in line with other major researches conducted in Serbia throughout 2000s. These elaborate on re-traditionalization and re-patriarchalization of gender regimes at a semiperipheral society undergoing long term transformation and economic recession (Milić, et al, 2010). Such setting however brings about strengthening of gender cooperation at a micro level, which is partly boosted by 'masculinity crises' (Blagojević – Hughson, 2012, 2013). Males' strategy of escape into privacy could also be understood due to their low performance and massive losses suffered in a public sphere.

Key words: practice in early parenthood, interviews, men and women, collaboration

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Abstracts

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Childbirth and Marital Crisis: Case Study and Couple Therapy

Understanding of social and family dynamics, taking into account viewpoints of sociology of family, social psychology and demography, can provide a better insight into various family, couple and parent-child relationships. Close observation should be focused on the family's life cycle, its type and patterns of group functioning. One should always take into consideration that when entering into a marriage each partner brings patterns from his/her family of origin, individual feelings/emotions, expectations and needs. Every change within a family is significant, especially the one that marks a passage from one into another, that is a different phase of a life cycle. Such one is definitely a birth of the first child. This exactly is the point that causes high level of stress within a couple.

Childbirth usually brings challenges to family organization, which is often reflected onto the couple. The possible conflicts are usually related to issues of responsibility and the difficulties of adaptation to a parental role. Research experience shows that couples' crisis is common with younger as well as with older partners.

In this study we will present two case studies, where we deployed a qualitative method. The stories describe two couples above 35 years old, in their first marriage, both with tertiary education and one child. These families are at the stage of the life cycle often cited as 'family with a small child' (Duvall, Hill, 1984). Both couples that joined therapy were experiencing conflicts related to a division of tasks and responsibilities as well as to an acceptance of a father's role. We will demonstrate the therapeutic process, techniques that were employed in working with partners in crisis as well as the outcomes of a treatment.

Key words: couple crisis, marital therapy, case study

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Abstracts

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Instrumentalization of Children as a Family Life Pattern

The paper deals with a complex question of the reproduction practice on the territory of Central Serbia. Namely, within it, the preference for a son is absolute. The investigation starts from referential theoretical assumptions: patriarchal family and social relations in contrast with the feminist assumption of the poor quality of everyday life and unfavourable position of women. Parenting policy is analyzed from the perspective of individual-partnership relation, entailing instrumentalization of children, women and men determined by “instrumental (non)motive for parenthood”; “external pressure” put on the woman by the husband and his family to bear a son, a sole heir. The analysis rests on the empirical evidence collected through a survey, an interview and observation over several time periods: in 1994 and 1995 and then from 2001 to 2006, starting from non-standard patterns of parenting practice.

Instrumentalization of children as a form of reproduction pattern in Central Serbia is made possible by poor standards of living together with poor individual and social consciousness, all contributing to persisting occurrence of low grade reproductive norms manifested by abortion. In these parts, lower fertility is the result of the force of general collective norms requiring the birth of a male child together with fetishism concerning money and material goods.

Key words: families, reproductive norm, data analysis, Serbia

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Social Identities of Women and Men and Parenthood

Doris Jerak¹⁰, Marijana Krolo and Nevena Jerak

Fertility Motivation of Students of Social Work in Croatia Given the Different Characteristics and Attitudes

Demographic changes in a family picture of Croatia indicate a decrease in fertility, a small number of marriages, the increasing number of divorces, the increase in the great entry into marriage and procreation of children, the increase in single-parent families, which is influenced by contemporary social processes. This paper examines fertility motivation of young people within the pluralization of family forms and other trends that affect fertility behavior and motivation or childbearing.

The aim of this paper is to determine differences in female students' fertility motivation regarding to their socio-demographic characteristics, characteristics of their primary families, religiosity, and attitudes related to parenting. The research was conducted among female student population in the fourth year of Department of Social Work in Zagreb. Data were collected by questionnaire, followed by statistical analysis using different techniques on a sample of 55 female students aged between 22 to 29. The results showed that students from rural areas want to have fewer children compared to participants from cities, and comparatively with the first childbirth of mothers later in life, followed by a later first childbirth of female students. Students who have more intense religiosity expressed a desire for more children, and they want to give birth to their first child earlier. In parallel with the desire for female students to have children in the future, comes to the fore the influence of postmodern society, which is reflected in the preferred fewer children and delay the birth of their first child in later age.

Key words: fertility motivation, female students, socio-demographic characteristics, characteristics of families, religiosity

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Abstracts

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Body Between Nature and Culture: Experience of Giving Birth

The paper deals with the problem of social construction of corporeal experiences that are usually considered more natural than social phenomena. Analyses of the social construction of women's bodily experience and the social perception of female body are particularly interesting, because gender is often considered natural characteristic relating to body instead of social and cultural construction of its meaning. A large part of female experience is naturalized, such as motherhood, emotionality, psychological characteristics, female sexuality, and explained using the notion of distinctive "female nature" connected somehow to female body and its natural capacities.

Starting from the theoretical assumptions of Judith Butler and of the group of authors who have dealt with the problems of body engendering, the author analyses experience of giving birth among 30 women, focusing on the social framework in which this event becomes one of the key points (ritual of passage) in the female life cycle. The author puts forward how the social context related to this event generates the meaning of motherhood, sexuality and body integrity of woman.

The research was conducted in the framework of the broader research "Politics of parenthood" at ISI FF. The results of the research present the experiences of women in Belgrade.

Key words: body, childbirth, nature, culture

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Woman as Agent of Childbirth: Bodily, Technological and Institutional Aspects

Childbirth represents a specific meeting point between nature and culture. It is a *biological* event in which the main actors are *social* beings, a *natural* process which has been given a special *cultural* status through the process of scientific-technological translation. The complex nature of childbirth also raises twofold challenge to agency of woman in labour. On the one hand, the flow of dramatic bodily changes that is mostly beyond her control represents a threat to her embodied subjectivity. A woman who is during her every day functioning identified with her corporeality in a direct and unproblematic manner is suddenly faced with problems of integration, overcoming and maintaining agency during childbirth. On the other hand, the fact that labour is turned into an object of medical knowledge, practices and techniques in contemporary society usually implies its reduction to medically guided physiological process that does not rely on women's subjective involvement in any relevant way.

This brings up the question of whether and how a woman adopts an active role in childbirth and how she manages to be an agent of the process that is happening to her and that is, in present-day circumstances, primarily technologically mediated and externally regulated? I will assume that the establishment and maintenance of agency during childbirth is a complex process which relies on the interaction between the constantly changing embodied experience and medical knowledge and techniques that are available to women in particular circumstances. Based on the analysis of the birth narratives, I'll try to follow how the agency of woman is mediated, co-constructed or suspended by different actors present in local obstetrical context which bears a number of institutional specificities.

Key words: women, childbirth, experience, medicine

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Abstracts

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Early Motherhood Experience in Context of Support to the Mother

Subject of the analysis are the narratives of twelve thirty-year-old mothers concerning transition to parenthood: pregnancy, birth, and the earliest period of motherhood. Analytical focus is on interpretation of feelings of young mother that are related to her perception of support and her satisfaction with it. Early motherhood experience is formed in interplay of individual experience with pregnancy, birth and support, on one hand, and social construct of *displaying motherhood*, on the other hand. Interpretation should reveal the ways that experience of early motherhood is formed by reaction to pregnancy by the partner and significant others, their actual support and help with the newborn, as well as with mother's expectations for support and satisfaction with their fulfillment. The interpretation is concerned with the ways that pattern of support and related expectations: traditional – modern, which relies on expressive roles of female relatives (mother, mother-in-law, sister, sister-in-law), or contemporary – postmodern pattern, with focus on partner (within reciprocity of parenthood), influence the connotation of early motherhood narratives, which could be (social legitimate) positive, (individualistic) objective or negative. Interpretation of narratives is also within the context of mother's satisfaction with partners role as a father and satisfaction with partner relations.

Key words: pregnancy, birth, motherhood

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Abstracts

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Positioning the Experience of Motherhood Within the Social Network of Family Relationships

The experience of motherhood is one of the most important experiences in women's lives on symbolic sense. Inside a woman's life it is important for a number of different reasons. On the one hand it is one of the most intimate experiences through which women discover new frontiers of the relations with themselves and their own bodies. On the other hand it is a social construct through which different power relations that exist within the society and culture they belong to refract, and reshape their relations with others. Because of this internal contradiction, it can be said that the experience of motherhood, in certain way, transform the lives of women who are passing through it, in a way that it is reshaping the frontiers of mental geographies of their previous lives. On the basis of the empirical data collected within the project of Institute for Social Researches, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade: *Politics of Parenthood*, this paper reconstructs the structure of the narratives, of women interviewees with different educational and social backgrounds, related to the way in which they position their own experiences of motherhood, and changes that these experiences produce related to their position within the social network of family relationships.

Key words: motherhood, family, self-sacrificing micro-matriarchy

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Abstracts

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Transition to Fatherhood and Transition of Partnership from Men's Perspective

Subject of this presentation is transition to fatherhood in Serbia and changes in partnership relations during that process. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with twelve thirty years old, married fathers, from all educational strata. During transition to parenthood partners enter into new roles and this process demands their multiple adaptation to parental and partner roles. Research indicates that this period is fraught of (potential) conflicts, leading to the decline in marital satisfaction. The aim of this presentation is twofold: 1. to investigate how men become fathers, their parental practices, relations, attitudes and aspirations 2. to recognize patterns of partnership and different adaptation to new roles. We have found transition to parenthood (transition to fatherhood) and masculinity (paternity as a part of the male adult identity) as useful theoretical concepts in explaining fathers' adaptation to new roles.

Key words: transition to fatherhood, transition of partnership, masculinity

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Parenting of Homosexual Women in Serbia¹⁷

Today many lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people (LGBT) have children and live in same-sex families. The regulation of same-sex partnerships has been legislatively arranged in many western countries. Still, issue of adoption of children by LGBT people is still attached to numerous controversies and resistance from conservative parts of the society. In Serbia, position of LGBT is even more difficult and institutional discrimination and social stereotypes are very much prominent. The aim of this study is to highlight the problem of raising children by persons of different sexual orientation in Serbia on the example of three cases of women who are mothers and live as "lesbians". This problem hasn't been studied in domestic sociology and I believe this can be an important contribution to understanding of the issues of parenting that redefines the meaning of parenting that so far has been based solely on the experiences of heterosexual persons. The research methodology included the collection of data using life stories and in-depth interviews. The sample consists of three women over 30 years old, secondary and higher education. Each of them has one child and two cases include children born in previous heterosexual relationships.

The issues that I deal with are:

- The issue of visibility of homosexuals women who are mothers and the way in which the visibility impacts their life and understanding of the self;
- conflict that exists between, on the one hand "homosexual" identity and the desire for parenthood, and, on the other, the demands of society and the Serbian context in which it is almost impossible;
- the impact of parenthood on partnerships;
- description of the experience of parenting women and the way in which respondents perceive their situation of motherhood

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¹⁷ The presentation is on the results of the research conducted within the work on the doctoral thesis "Homosexual community in Belgrade."

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– whether it is for them, “natural role” political issue, socially construction etc.

Key words: homosexuality, *coming out*, the experience of motherhood, identity, discrimination, parenting and context of Serbia

III
Discourses

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**Continuities and Transitions in Religious Discourses on Abortion
in Serbia at the Turn of the Centuries**

Since the early 1990s, the Serbian Orthodox Church has been addressing the abortion issue in various ways. Abortion has been consistently framed as a demographic issue and only in the second place as the sanctity of life issue. This paper focuses on the treatment of abortion in the official documents like Christmas and Easter messages and statements from the Synod's meetings to show a gradual radicalization of the SPC's stand on abortion and its legal status in Serbia during the last twenty years. It is argued that while collective blame and guilt have been constant features of religious discourses on abortion their focus, rhetoric and the addressee have changed over time. The focus has shifted from women to parents; the rhetoric from harsh reprimand to compassionate scolding; while the family has become the main addressee to replace the nation. This paper situates and interprets both the continuities and transitions in the official Church discourses on abortion within the broader social and political processes in Serbia focusing particularly on the Church-state relationships.

Key words: Serbian Orthodox Church, abortion

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Abstracts

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Policies of Paternity and Post-Yugoslav Cultural Space

The dynamics of the father-son relationship has always had a very important place in the literary work of Yugoslav writers, not only because of its intimate, family and psychological resources but because of the ideological and social importance which this ambivalent relationship has had in traditionally masculinist culture of the region. In the contemporary post-Yugoslav literary production the dynamics of the father-son relationship has been re-displayed and re-examined since 2000 (*Ultramarine* by Serbian writer Mileta Prodanovića, 2010; *Father* by Croatian writer Miljenko Jergović, 2010; *Jugoslavia, My Country* by Slovenian writer Goran Vojinović, 2012). Rethinking and new representations of fatherhood policies relate to the hybrid conception of the novel as the dominant literary genre but, above all, to the re-constitution of the paternal figure as a figure of ideological and ethical (ir)responsibility in post-Yugoslav cultural space. The paper discusses new representation of the policy of fatherhood in the context of dealing with the gathered social trauma of war and the breakup of Yugoslavia as well as in the context of regional culture of memory / forgetting established in the former Yugoslavia.

Key words: fatherhood, masculinity, post-Yugoslav cultural space, literature

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If You Were on a Desert Island – Analysis of the Attachment Parenting Discourse

Attachment parenting, as a specific form of parenting, is based on three practices: breastfeeding of a child for as long as it wants, holding child close to the mother's body as much as possible and co-sleeping of parents and child. This article will attempt to show that mentioned type of parenting positions the woman back in the family sphere with a slightly modified traditional gender division of labor. The man earns money, while woman gives birth to children and raises them, and the only modification relates to the fact that man, in addition to financial, provides emotional support to woman. Fatherhood is reduced to a mere "breastfeeding support", while woman is identified with the body that nurtures a child. The focus of the analysis is, first of all, on the site of pediatrician William Sears askdrsears.com, as well as video material of his appearances on American television that followed Time magazine article dedicated to twentieth anniversary of the publication of the first edition of his book *The Baby Book* where he set up the basics of attachment parenting. On the cover of above mentioned magazine was twenty six year old model Jamie Lynn Gramet's photograph showing her three year old son being breastfed. This magazine cover positioned attachment parenting in the center of U.S. and world public attention. Attachment parenting in Serbia is promoted by association *Roditelj*, making this issue relevant to domestic context. Discourse analysis is lead by a demand made by Foucault in Archeology of Knowledge that, in addition to description, discourse analysis should provide an explanation of why a particular discourse, with all its specificities, occurs at a particular time and in a particular area, rather than any other.

Key words: attachment parenting, attachment theory, discourse, parenthood, gender, gender roles

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IV
Institutional practices

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Parental Decision-Making

This paper deals with models of parental decision-making concerning children health care, specifically children vaccination. By parental decisions I assume decisions concerning child/children, that are an essential part of the parental experience. When parents are decision-makers, personal responsibility for the decisions, or consequences of these decisions, is a factor that influence a process of decision-making, especially when it comes to issues related to children's health. Those decisions are affected by additional pressure of social correctness, due to the fact that there are strong, both formal/institutional and informal norms about how parents should act. In this paper I plan to show different varieties of potential decisions that parents make under specific conditions of uncertainty (risk) arising from various structural constraints, institutional context, public discourse and personal preferences of individual actors. The paper theoretically discusses possible parental inclination towards risky choices and cognitive biases. Taking into account the presence of two approaches to vaccination ("normativ-medical" and "experience-laymen") in the society, information that parents are supposed to have when making decisions about vaccination of their children are strongly contradictory. Clarifying these aspects of parental decision-making process can contribute to better understanding of the decision-making process in general, as well as it can show us how the experience of parenthood shapes the decision making.

Key words: parents, children, institutional context

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Abstracts

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Social Support to Families through the Activities of School Social Worker – Case of Republic of Srpska

Today we are witnessing overall endangering of children due to modern social problems that influence everyday life and functioning of families, and therefore have a direct impact on children's' development process. Implementation of most significant world documents on child protection, in practice means improvement of social safety for children and families, improvement of institutional systems,, empowerment and improvement of social work and its' introduction into the education systems, activating all social resources etc. Valuing the needs of children and the importance for every society, many developed countries have introduced school social workers at the beginning of last century. Professional social work has been introduced in the Republic of Srpska in 2008.

This paper presents the role of School Social Worker, which among other issues, deals with issues that concern social protection and wellbeing of children, their abilities to learn, as well as family capacities in dealing with different aspects of everyday life. School Social Worker is dealing with issues that involve children safety and wellbeing, their learning capabilities, as well as with abilities of their families to deal with different aspects of their daily lives. Working with children/pupil, and family, school social worker helps the child to deveop good "people skills" and to feel good about themselves, as well as she/he works with family on development of parental skills. In cases of families with dysfunctional family relations, the cooperation between school social worker and Social Welfare Centers is crucial in fulfilling of tasks in the field of social and child welfare, including the improvement of children life quality.

Key words: children, dysfunctional family relations, social work, school social worker

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Abstracts

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Parents as Actors in the Creation of Public Policy for Primary School Management

The paper analyses the operation and the influence exerted by Parents' Councils in primary schools on managing schools as public institutions.

The work starts with the hypothesis that Parents' Council is not an active creator of public policy in the area of primary education. Its role has been marginalized, leaving it without sufficient power to exert any noteworthy influence on decision making of any significance in this public institution. In this manner, parents have been excluded from the creation of public interest and building the conception of social development.

This brings about two kinds of risk: the first are the risks in the public sphere, namely, capacities of the civil society and public action become compromised, as well as the position of parents as a social group within the public sphere, therefore stripping parenthood of its attribute of citizenship. It also fosters inappropriate spending and the misuse of public funds, together with the illegitimate use of buildings in public ownership, which exacerbates poverty and further undermines social development.

On the other hand, this places additional burden on the private family sphere and parenting, in terms of privatization of developmental interests and activities that could give rise to the advancement of primary education of children. As parenting within the family for the most part operates as motherhood, the situation leads to the increased spending of human resources of women. It produces commodification of basic educational services, forcing parents to buy additional educational services at the market. This pushes up family spending on primary education, leads to additional impoverishment of an already impoverished household and undermines the principle of equal opportunity for all primary school aged children.

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The source of information is empirical survey poll of attitudes and practices of members of Parents' Councils in 2014 in two schools in Serbia: one in Belgrade and one in Kruševac.

Key terms: civil society, public policy, public services, commodification of basic educational services, primary schools, Parents' Council

Abstracts

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“Child as a Project” vs “Give Child to Mother”: Gendered Parental Childcare

The paper tries to connect two theoretical concepts: “child as a project” and gender division of household work involving childcare. Although these concepts are tightly interrelated and intertwined and it might seem that it is not possible to talk about the one without the other, the impression is that in research where they are trying to be connected, the modern concept of “child as a project” appears in theoretical-interpretative function of research, but the operationalization is stopped in determining those activities which belong to more traditional construction of childhood, now already classically expressed by dichotomy of childcare in opposition to play and fun with child. This paper tends to broaden such dichotomous model by practices that would represent parental investment in child and verify if and how much these practices are gendered. For this purpose, we conducted survey in 2013. with parents (N=261) whose children attend kindergartens in the area of city of Rijeka. Since our research involved parents of children of early and preschool age, the third dimension of our theoretical model was directed into educational activities of parents typical of that child age as a backbone of “project” approach to childhood. An instrument of Likert type was constructed containing 15 items by which we covered all three dimensions. Factor analysis under the component model extracted three factors confirming the starting three-dimensional theoretical model. Analysis showed that the activities of child care are still dominantly maternal activities, while play and fun with child, as well as activities directed into setting the good educational foundation, are the domain of both parents. It seems, at least according to our sample, that the parental investment in child is more of a common practice of both parents.

Key words: parents, children, education, preschool education

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Parents of LGBT Children, Support and Protection instead of Violence and Rejection

Parents of LGBT children and youth in Serbia after realizing their children sexual orientation and gender identity, often use violent methods in try to reeducate them. They use various ways, from mental pressure, limiting freedom of movement, compulsory medical treatments, to open psychical violence and expulsion from parental homes. Almost half (49%) of the LGBT people, have coming out becoming aware of own sexuality, before age of 15, when they are particularly vulnerable and dependent, particularly economic wise. Rejection of parental family in situation of high unemployment rate and economic crisis for young LGBTs is the direct way in homelessness, prostitution, criminal activities and drugs. Family violence is followed by peer violence in schools when their classmates realize their differences. Family and school pressures both result in isolation, depression, low self esteem, premature school drop out. Two to three times more often when compared with any other vulnerable groups, the LGBT youths try to commit suicide. LGBT youths suicides make 30% of all youth hood suicides.. Suicide rate of the LGBT youths is higher than the suicide rate among older than 75 and those sick of incurable illnesses. Because of all said, instead of violence and rejection, LGBT children much more need parental support in process of their coming out and forming identity, and parental protection against homophobic social environment. Instead to produce criminals, social cases, drug addicts, sex workers and other social problems, LGBT children parents need support and education to enable them to understand particular characteristics of their parental roles in bringing up their LGBT children to become worthy members of society.

Key words: parents of LGBT children and youths, violence, rejection, homelessness, criminals, support, protection

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