

Gender (In)equality in Child-Rearing and Housework between Mothers and Fathers – Children’s Perspective

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Abstract

Gender (in)equality between mothers and fathers is observed in their involvement in child-rearing and housework. Despite both international and Croatian national documents promoting gender equality in various segments of society, there is still research showing that mothers are disadvantaged in comparison to fathers. The aim of the research is to establish the pupils’ assessment of the involvement of mothers and fathers in child-rearing and housework. The research was conducted by surveying 290 primary school pupils in Osijek-Baranja County in the Republic of Croatia. Research findings have shown that mothers are more involved in child-rearing and housework than fathers. Fathers are more involved in child-rearing and housework in urban areas, whereas mothers are equally involved in child-rearing and housework regardless of whether they live in urban or rural areas. There is also a difference in the involvement of fathers depending on whether they have a daughter or a son; fathers are more involved in problem-solving and the extracurricular activities of sons than daughters.

Key words: children; child-rearing; housework; involvement; parents; urban-rural.

Introduction

Gender equality is an important human rights issue and United Nations Women (2001, p. 1) define it as referring to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration – recognizing the

diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a 'women's issue' but should concern and fully engage men as well as women. There are a number of international and national development strategy documents promoting gender equality. Nevertheless, gender inequality is still a global issue; therefore, continuous effort at the international, national and local level is required in order to promote gender equality. The Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025 (European Commission, 2020) is one of the strategic documents of the European Commission which emphasizes that the task of the European Union is to promote equality between women and men in all its activities. Gender equality is considered to be one of the core values, a fundamental right, the main principle and a reflection of the identity of the European Union. No country has achieved full gender equality; therefore, targeted measures under the Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025, such as good quality and accessible organized care services, will seek to achieve a gender-equal Europe. Galić (2011, p. 9) believes that gender equality should be established in the Republic of Croatia, i.e. the Republic of Croatia should strive to become a society that accepts gender equality and respect the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (United Nations General Assembly, 1981), the National Policy for the Promotion of Gender Equality 2006-2010, the Gender Equality Act, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly, 1989), as well as other European and national development and strategic anti-discrimination documents. Tešija and Herceg (2010) agree that gender equality requires the inclusion of both women and men, and particularly emphasize the importance of the role of teachers in democratic citizenship education. In addition to state and public institutions, the family plays an important role in co-creating identity because the attitudes acquired in childhood are intense, consistent, central, and resistant to change (Pennington, 1997). Cerjan-Letica (2003) believes that the balanced inclusion of men and women in family life and the labor market are key to achieving gender equality.

Parenting is a dynamic process that should derive from mutual negotiations between the parents (Glass, 1998; Greenstein, 1996), and international and national projects are the ones whose activities should improve the balance between personal and professional life so that mothers and fathers are equally involved in child-rearing and household labour. Dommermuth et al. (2015) conclude that equality and fairness in the division of child-rearing and household labour is also related to the number of children, i.e. in the cases reflecting equality between parents, there are more children in the family. Therefore, it can be concluded that a fairer distribution of household labour and child care could also improve the demographic situation of a particular country.

The issue of gender (in)equality is perceived through the prism of the traditional attitudes that are reflected in the role of father and mother in the unequal position of men and women in the family, especially when it comes to parenting roles where most of the caring and child-rearing, as well as household labour are performed by

women. Baranović and Leinert Novosel (2011) emphasize that equality between women and men in the family has not been achieved yet because women still do most of the household labour and care for children, despite being employed. This is so regardless of whether they live in the city or in the countryside and whether they are highly educated. However, women and men increasingly manage family money together, and jointly make important family decisions, especially among middle and highly educated young people. Yet, middle and highly educated younger people notice that caring for children should not only fall upon women, especially since they are more aware of the women's need for career advancement. Such practice, Baranović and Leinert Novosel (2011) conclude, testifies to the type of socialization in the family, and is recognized in the unequal treatment of sons and daughters. Gender discrimination is higher when it comes to parental relationship towards children, meaning in the primary family, and not in the family one creates with a partner, later on in life. Gender discrimination at the expense of women is more prevalent in the countryside, among the least educated people, the elderly, and in the southern regions in the Republic of Croatia. Cultural scripts dictate normative expectations on how to fulfill the roles of a mother, father and worker. The content of the scripts generates greater identity conflict for women than men as they strive to succeed in both roles. This conflict is driven in part by a tighter connection between the role mom and the category women than between dad and the category men, and in part by a greater overlap in the roles of dad and professional than mom and professional (Park & Banchevsky, 2019).

Hindin (2005, p. 299) believes that marital relationship and relationships between parents and children are important for the child's educational achievements. The results show that gender plays a significant role in explaining preferences (women are less likely than men to prefer the male-breadwinner family model) and that socio-structural factors such as age, education level, immigrant condition, religious status and social class influence the preferences of men and women differently. Ultimately, these results are in contrast with Hakim's Preference Theory, which emphasizes individuals' choices over socio-structural factors as determinants of family models, and align with Crompton's and Pfau-Effinger's theories (Moreno-Mínguez et al., 2018, p. 1). Most traditional attitudes are found in many Eastern European countries, whereas Nordic countries are the least traditional countries. At the individual level, those who are highly educated, paid for their work, single, childless, and religiously non-active support the equal division of paid work and unpaid care responsibilities more often than other respondents (Monteiro et al., 2017, p. 513). At the country level, longer paternity leave, a stronger tradition of women's paid work, and less traditional gender roles are related to stronger support for an equal division of paid work and unpaid care. Research results in Spain showed that parents recreate situations they had experienced during childhood, that is, the permanence of parental behavior through generations has been proven, and gender inequality is passed on to new generations (Salin et al., 2018, p. 1).

There are a number of national projects in Croatia that promote gender equality (Gender Equality Office, 2021). In the United States, responsible paternity programs have been funded for many years, including media campaigns that emphasize the importance of fathers' emotional, psychological, physical, and financial ties to their children. Programs include parenting education, responsible decision making, mediation, conflict resolution and coping with stress. In addition to the media campaigns, there are various strategies in the United States supported by public and state institutions, such as social welfare centers, schools, churches, the health care system, as well as the civil sector, aimed at promoting fatherhood and supporting father-child interaction (Solomon-Fears, 2012).

Bearing in mind that most previous studies examined gender equality in the family among adult respondents, this study has sought to establish primary school pupils' assessment of the involvement of their mothers and fathers in child-rearing and housework. It is necessary to investigate the problem of gender inequality from several aspects in order to establish the most reliable picture of parental relationships in Croatian families. Research has shown a strong influence of childhood socialization on attitude development (Pennington, 1997), and by involving children in various activities inside and outside the family, it is possible to educate them for humane gender relations, respect for human rights and thus foster gender equality from early childhood (UNESCO, 2017).

Research goal and hypotheses

The aim of the research is to establish the pupils' assessment of the involvement of mothers and fathers in child-rearing and housework, and the involvement of parents in child care depending on the area of residence and the child's gender.

Research questions:

- RQ1: Is there a difference between mothers and fathers in their involvement in housework and child-rearing?
- RQ 2: Is there a difference in parental involvement with regard to the child's gender?
- RQ 3: Is there a difference between the parents in rural and urban areas in their involvement in housework and child-rearing?

Hypotheses:

- H1: Mothers are more involved in child-rearing and housework than fathers.
- H2: a) There is a difference in child-rearing and the involvement in housework with regard to the gender of the child, in such a way that fathers are more involved in their sons' upbringing.
 - b) No significant difference in mothers' involvement is expected with regard to the gender of the child.
- H3: a) Fathers in urban areas are more involved in child-rearing and housework than fathers in rural areas.
 - b) There is no difference in the involvement of mothers with regard to the place of residence (rural-urban).

Methods

Participants

The research was conducted on a sample of 290 pupils from 10 primary schools in Osijek-Baranja County (5 primary schools in urban areas (54.5 %) and 5 primary schools in rural areas (45.5 %). Of the total number of participants, there were 51.4 % female and 48.6 % male pupils. The age of the pupils ranges from 10 to 15 years ($M = 12.48$).

Instruments

The general data questionnaire consisted of questions that collected data on gender, age, grade, school attendance, household composition, place of residence, number of siblings, and parental educational background and employment status.

The 2018 Parental Involvement Questionnaire - URU18 (Brust Nemet et al., 2021) was designed to examine various everyday parental behaviors. It consists of 18 items and the father sample indicates a four-factor structure (Brust Nemet et al., 2021) covering the following: Housework (1. Cooks; 2. Cleans the house; 3. Irons; 4. Goes grocery shopping; 5. Does the dishes; 6. Does the laundry); Child's school-related duties and obligations (7. Cares about what you do at school; 8. Attends parent-teacher conferences; 9. Attends one-to-one meetings with teachers); Time spent with the child - to what extent they spend quality time with the child (10. Spends quality time with you (walks, movies, biking, board games, etc.); 12. Takes you to extracurricular activities; 13. Encourages you to partake in extracurricular activities); Child care and giving advice when the child has a problem; 11. Notices when you have a problem; 14. Takes care of you when you are sick; 15. Gives you fashion advice; 16. You talk to him when you have a problem; 17. Influences your way of thinking; 18. Takes care of your diet).

The respondents used a five-point Likert-type scale to assess the extent to which they believed that each claim applied to their mother and their father. The Likert scale ranged from 1, meaning "does not apply to my mother/father at all" to 5, meaning "completely applies to my mother/father". The total score on each scale is obtained based on the arithmetic mean of all the questions; the lowest and the highest possible overall score is 1 and 5, respectively. A higher score implies greater parental involvement. Since the factor analysis had previously been conducted on the father sample (Brust Nemet et al., 2021), the same procedure was applied to the mother sample (Table 1). The test measuring sampling adequacy (the KMO test) shows the value of 0.83, which indicates that the sample is adequate. As well as in the father sample, the factor analysis (principal axis factoring) with direct oblimin rotation resulted in a four-factor structure (Table 1): housework, support in school-related activities, spending time with the child, child care and giving advice when the child has a problem. The obtained reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) on the father sample are: child care and giving advice when the child has a problem - $\alpha = .82$, housework - $\alpha = .78$, help with school-related duties and obligations - $\alpha = .79$ and spending time with the child - $\alpha = .70$. In the mother sample: child care and giving advice when the child has a problem - $\alpha = .75$,

housework - $\alpha = .79$, help with school-related duties and obligations - $\alpha = .77$ and spending time with the child - $\alpha = .72$.

Table 1
Factor analysis results (principal axis factoring with direct oblimin rotation)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
1. Cooks		.693		
2. Cleans the house		.760		
3. Irons		.355		
4. Goes grocery shopping		.558		
5. Does the dishes		.695		
6. Does the laundry		.484		
7. Cares about what you do at school			-.415	
8. Attends parent-teacher conferences			-.820	
9. Attends one-to-one meetings with teachers			-.733	
10. Spends quality time with you (walks, movies, biking, board games, etc.)	.359			.331
11. Notices when you have a problem	.765			
12. Takes you to extracurricular activities				.854
13. Encourages you to partake in extracurricular activities				.569
14. Takes care of you when you are sick	.373			
15. Gives you fashion advice	.355			
16. You talk to him when you have a problem	.664			
17. Influences your way of thinking	.479			
18. Takes care of your diet	.553			

Procedure

The research was conducted in ten primary schools in Osijek-Baranja County in April and May 2018. With prior consent of the school principals and pedagogues, ten students of the Faculty of Education, Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, assisted the authors in collecting parental consent for child participation in the research, and subsequently the students also assisted in entering data into the database. The pupils spent 30 minutes filling in the Questionnaire, and the pedagogues gave the questionnaires to the pupils who did not attend the meeting and subsequently handed in the completed questionnaires. The research was anonymous. It was emphasized to the pupils that the individual survey responses were strictly confidential, that they would be known to the researchers only and that the collected data would be used for research purposes. It was also emphasized that the collected data would be reported only in aggregate and presented in a published scientific paper. The pupils were reminded that their participation was voluntary, that they could drop out of the research and ask the researchers about anything that was unclear. After the data were collected, they were prepared and processed by using the SPSS program.

Results

Table 2 presents the descriptive statics.

Table 2

Descriptive statistics of mother and father involvement in child-rearing and housework

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	min	max	Skew	Kutr
Housework_mother	4.71	.50	1	5	-3.80	21.76
School-related duties and obligations_mother	4.38	.68	1	5	-1.89	-.21
Time spent with a child_mother	3.95	1.04	1	5	-.90	.28
Solving problems_mother	4.38	.68	1	5	-1.89	4.65
Housework_father	3.10	.94	1	4	-.08	-.60
School-related duties and obligations_father	3.13	1.24	1	5	.02	-1.28
Time spent with a child_father	3.82	1.11	1	5	-.82	-.21
Solving problems_father	3.72	.95	1	5	-.95	.28

Table 2 indicates that the arithmetic means for the mother sample are higher in all areas of parental involvement, the difference being the largest in the area of housework, and the smallest in spending leisure time with their children.

Before data processing aimed at testing the hypotheses, the conditions for conducting parametric procedures were checked. Since the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test showed that the distributions of all variables deviate significantly from the normal distribution, the indices of kurtosis and skewness were checked. Kline (2010) states that the distribution can be considered normal if the skewness index is less than 3 and the kurtosis index is less than 8. The check has shown that the skewness index for the housework variable (mother) is -3.80 and the kurtosis index is 21.78. Thus, in this case, the precondition of normal distribution has not been met. Therefore, non-parametric statistics were applied to test the hypotheses hereinafter.

To test the first hypothesis, the Wilcoxon signed-rank test for dependent samples was used, which showed that mothers were more involved in housework ($Z = -13.26$, $p < 0.01$) and child care (Z (school) = - 10.85, $p < 0.01$; Z (advice and problem solving) = -9.94, $p < 0.01$), except in the case of participation in extracurricular activities, where there was no difference between mothers and fathers ($Z = -1.49$, $p > 0.05$).

In order to answer the second and the third research questions, descriptive statistics in the context of the area of residence and the gender of the child is presented first.

It is evident in Table 3 that the differences in the arithmetic mean are more pronounced in the father sample than in the mother sample. The conditions for conducting parametric analysis were not met in this case either. The coefficients of skewness for the variable of mother's involvement in household labour in urban and rural areas, and the mother of a male or a female child range from -1.85 to -4.71, and the coefficients of kurtosis range from 3.18 to 28.66. Therefore, non-parametric analysis was used in this case as well. In order to check the differences in maternal and paternal involvement with regard to the gender of the child, the nonparametric Mann-Whitney U Test for independent samples was used (Table 4).

Table 3

Descriptive statistics of mother and father involvement in child-rearing and housework with regard to the area of residence (urban-rural) and the gender of the child

Variables	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
	urban		rural		male		female	
Housework_mother	4.71	.52	4.72	.48	4.69	.59	4.73	.40
School-related duties and obligations_mother	4.42	.66	4.33	.72	4.59	-.79	4.43	.78
Time spent with a child_mother	4.09	.093	3.78	1.15	3.98	1.01	3.92	1.07
Solving problems_mother	4.42	.64	4.32	.72	4.42	.64	4.33	.71
Housework_father	3.29	.90	2.88	.94	3.14	.90	3.06	.97
School-related duties and obligations_father	3.41	1.16	2.77	1.24	3.90	.88	3.52	1.00
Time spent with a child_father	4.03	1.02	3.57	1.17	3.99	1.00	3.67	1.19
Solving problems_father	3.92	.81	3.48	1.04	3.90	.88	3.51	1.00

Table 4

Results of testing for significance of differences in the involvement in child-rearing and housework with regard to the gender of the child

Variables	U	p
Housework_mother	10066.5	.907
School-related duties and obligations_mother	9258	.233
Time spent with a child_mother	9578	.749
Solving problems_mother	9258	.233
Housework_father	8069.5	.612
School-related duties and obligations_father	9227.5	.735
Time spent with a child_father	8020	.046
Solving problems_father	6939.5	.001

There is a significant difference in the involvement of fathers in extracurricular activities and caring for children's problems in such a way that the fathers are more involved in the extracurricular activities of sons than daughters. When it comes to the involvement of mothers, there is no significant difference with respect to the gender of the child. In order to test the third hypothesis, the nonparametric Mann-Whitney U Test for independent samples was used, and the difference in the involvement between mothers and fathers in child-rearing with regard to the residence (rural-urban) was tested. The significance is shown in Table 4.

The results indicate that the fathers in urban areas are more involved in housework and child-rearing (on all subscales), while mothers in urban areas are more involved in children's extracurricular activities.

Table 4

Results of testing for significance of differences in the involvement in child-rearing and housework in urban and rural areas

Variables	<i>U</i>	<i>p</i>
Housework_mother	9674	.525
School-related duties and obligations_mother	9283	.295
Time spent with a child_mother	8338.5	.042
Solving problems_mother	9283	.295
Housework_father	6166	.000
School-related duties and obligations_father	6567	.000
Time spent with a child_father	7114.5	.001
Solving problems_father	6926.5	.001

Discussion

The aim of the research was to determine the pupils' assessment of the involvement of mothers and fathers in child-rearing and housework, and the differences in the involvement with regard to the child's gender and the area of residence. Bearing in mind the research objective, three research questions were devised. The first research question is: Is there any difference in the involvement in housework and child-rearing between mothers and fathers? It is assumed that mothers would be more involved in housework and child care than fathers. The research has shown that mothers are more involved in housework, child's school-related duties and obligations, and discussing problems. There was no significant difference in the involvement in children's extracurricular activities. Such findings are consistent with previous research.

Leinert Novosel (2018) believes that gender equality is greater outside the home than at home because more than ever women take care of the upbringing and health of children, go to parent-teacher meetings, and husbands and children, more often daughters, only join them in household chores.. The students hope that in twenty years there will be a complete egalitarianism inside and outside the home, but for now they still perceive Croatian society as moderately traditional. In the research conducted by Galić (2011), the highest agreement was reached with regard to the unequal distribution of household labour - 87 % of Croatian couples surveyed agree that women are still more involved in housework, even when employed. Around three-quarters (74.8 %) of these couples agreed that mothers are primarily responsible for the upbringing of children and child care, and their children's responsibilities and activities, and that a man's career comes before a woman's career (71.6 %). Less inequality is perceived in 47 % of the respondents who believe that the most important decisions in the families are made by men, 41.3 % believe that men are the ones who manage the family money, while about 30 % of the respondents have neutralized both claims, and around one quarter disagree with the claims. It is therefore concluded that today's Croatian society still has a marked inequality in the division of household labour and child-

rearing between partners. Participants agree that these roles are mainly performed by women, regardless of their employment status, and that their career is considered less important, while the husband's career comes first. Same as in the research by Doherty et al. (1998), Kulik and Tsoref (2010) and in the research by Kulik and Sadeh (2015), older fathers were found to be more involved in the domain of play, showing love and care, and less in the domain of education and punishment. In Australia, fathers make a large contribution to family income, partner support, participate in household labour, spend time with children, although still less than the mothers. In this study, the quality of parental relationships was significantly associated with children's outcomes. Mutual parental support was positively associated with desirable socio-emotional outcomes in children. Socio-emotional outcomes were significantly related to both the father's level of education and the father's mental health. Highly educated fathers spent more time reading to children and helping with homework. Fathers who rated their mental health as good talked to their children more often (Baxter & Smart, 2011). Topolčić (2001) also notes that men spend more time at work, whereas women do most of the housework and take more care of the children. In Spain, Cerrato and Cifre (2018) established that traditional gender roles affect the degree of involvement of men and women in household labour. Lucas-Thompson and Goldberg (2015) suggest that men and women should agree on an organizational strategy in the family to reconcile personal and professional obligations on an equal footing, and public and social policies should include activities to facilitate the homogenization of the roles in the family and in the workplace.

Kamenov and Jugović (2011, p. 120), based on the analysis of various research (Hochschild, 1989; Kamenov et al., 2007; Seccombe, 1986) emphasize that women take a "second shift" in the family, despite their employment, and are still in charge of most household labour and upbringing of children.

Women spend more time physically caring for their children than playing with them. In contrast, the time fathers spend with their children is more likely to be in the context of play rather than care. Women continue to bear primary responsibility for family care. There is still unpaid work, housework and child care in particular, and women have less free time in most countries, especially in Italy, which is perceived as a family-oriented country and where men have an average of 21 % more free time than women (6.5 hours) (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000). Similar results were found in the Croatian sample. The findings obtained on the sample of 302 married couples from Croatia and 380 married couples from Serbia confirm the existence of gender differences in the amount of free time in favour of men. Research results (Egorova et al., 2020) indicate that there is a willingness to share parental responsibilities in Russia, but fathers are more focused on children's extracurricular activities than child care. Taking these findings into consideration, it is evident why only the scale of extracurricular activities did not show a difference in favor of mothers.

The second research question is: Is there a difference in parental involvement with regard to the gender of the child? The assumption was that fathers would be more

involved in the upbringing of their sons, whereas it would make no difference in the case of mothers. The research by Egorova et al. (2020) showed that fathers are more actively involved in raising sons than daughters. A difference in the goals and the process of socialization of sons and daughters was also established. The difference proved to be significant in the father sample on the subscales of spending leisure time with the children and problem solving. In the mother sample, there was no difference on any of the subscales. Such results have been anticipated. As previously established, mothers are more involved in caring for their children except when it comes to extracurricular activities. If the child's gender is taken into account, it is to be expected that fathers would be more involved in their sons' extracurricular activities. Parke (1996) states that most fathers show a greater interest in male children and are more inclined to work on the development of their sons' intellectual and physical abilities. Also, fathers are more likely to show closeness and tenderness towards their daughters, and their upbringing is more often focused on developing femininity. Lamb (2002) states that playing with a child, when it comes to fathers, is more physical, associated with movement, sports and skill development, whereas child care activities are predominantly left to the mothers. If we take into account that the sample involves participants who are in the early phase of adolescence, it is to be assumed that boys are more involved in physical, sports and competitive activities (Berk, 2008); therefore, fathers are more likely to be involved in such activities. Fathers exert important influence on the adoption of gender roles in the case of boys because they serve as a role model for their sons, who learn from the father's behavior what type of behavior is appropriate for the male gender. Research has shown (Santrock, 2000) that fathers are more likely than mothers to let a boy know if his behavior is consistent with an appropriate gender stereotype. These findings also explain the differences on the problem-solving subscale. Fathers are more likely to be more interested in their sons' problems and talk to them about their problems more than they do with their daughters. Since the father is the male role model, boys are likely to turn to their father more often for help with their problems than girls.

The third research question is related to the difference in parental involvement in household labour in urban and rural areas. The assumption was that fathers in urban areas would be more involved in household labour and child-rearing than in rural areas. No significant difference was expected in the case of mothers. The results show that fathers in urban areas are more involved in household labour and child-rearing (on all subscales), and mothers in urban areas are more involved in children's extracurricular activities, while there was no significant difference shown in other areas. The results have also been anticipated. Research (Kulik & Sadeh, 2015) conducted in Israel shows that fathers in urban areas are more involved in child care than those living in rural areas. We can assume that parents in rural areas are more traditionally oriented. Research results (Bulanda, 2004) show that maternal traditionalism is not an important predictor of father involvement, but fathers with

less traditional gender attitudes are more involved in child-rearing and spend more time with their children. Therefore, Bulanda (2004) concludes that it is the father's ideology, not the mother's, that influences his involvement in child-rearing. It is to be expected that fathers in urban areas are more educated. Research shows that more educated fathers have more information about a child's developmental needs and feel safer and more motivated to be involved in child care (Monteiro et al., 2017, p. 513). Regarding the greater involvement of mothers in extracurricular activities in urban areas, we can assume that, due to greater involvement of fathers in household labour and child care in different domains (compared to fathers in rural areas), mothers in cities have the opportunity to be more dedicated to spending leisure time with their children. In Bouillet's research (2006), based on the assessment of Croatian citizens over the age of 15, a perception of gender equality was established. Highly educated women, who live in urban areas, are less religious and are not married, and are more vocal in advocating gender equality as well. The paper proposes ensuring the quality of service centers for child and family care, fathers' participation in the use of parental leave, greater participation of women in well-paid jobs and the promotion of gender-aware education in education institutions and families. Mothers who are more educated are more often equal in parenting with fathers, but only in the case of fathers does the increase in the number of working hours reduce the number of hours spent caring for a child.

Limitations and implications

The survey was conducted in Osijek-Baranja County of the Republic of Croatia, thus the question arises whether the data obtained on the involvement of parents in housework and child care can be fully generalized for the rest of the Republic of Croatia. The data were collected from pupils in the 5th to 8th grade of primary school, so the question is whether children can objectively assess the behaviour of their parents, and it is also possible that they might have been giving socially desirable answers.

Despite the above limitations, the results indicate gender inequality; mothers are still more involved in household labour and child care, which is particularly pronounced in rural areas and in the case of parents having a female child. Therefore, it is necessary to design and implement programs aimed at the promotion of gender equality, especially in rural areas. One of the positive examples of promoting gender equality at the local level in Osijek, the Republic of Croatia, is the project *Dad matters, too* implemented by the Children's Creative Center DOKKICA in Osijek (DOKKICA, 2021).

Conclusion

Every state is obliged to ensure equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for every woman and man in order to avoid gender inequality. The existing international and national documents form a solid basis for promoting gender equality; nevertheless, continuous effort is required at all levels of the system (financial, legislative, health,

social, education) in order to influence the relations between women and men in the family. Numerous global factors influence changes in family composition, as well as interpersonal family relationships. A number of studies have proven that the division of household labour and child care is unequal. Various researchers have established that gender ideologies influence men's participation in household labour (Greenstein, 1996; Allen & Hawkins, 1999), i.e. that women traditionally do housework and predominantly care for children in most countries. In this paper, the pupils' perspective of the involvement of mothers and fathers in child-rearing and housework has been determined. Pupils assessed that mothers were more involved in household labour, children's school-related duties and obligations, care and discussing problems with them, while equality was established only in the involvement of mothers and fathers in the child's extracurricular activities. From the children's perspective, fathers are more involved in the upbringing of their sons, and it has been shown that the fathers who live in urban areas are more involved.

The results of the research have confirmed the initial hypotheses and once again proven that it is necessary to work systematically on activities that will promote gender equality from an early age, because even schoolchildren notice gender inequality in their families. In addition to the activities aimed directly at the family, there is a need for continuous effort invested by teachers at all levels of education, as they can affect gender equality in society as a role model and with their numerous teaching and extracurricular activities.

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Rodna (ne)ravnopravnost majke i oca u odgoju i kućanskim poslovima - perspektiva djeteta

Sažetak

Rodna (ne)ravnopravnost majki i očeva uočava se u uključenosti istih u odgoj djece i brigu o kućanskim poslovima. Unatoč međunarodnim i hrvatskim nacionalnim dokumentima koji promiču ravnopravnost spolova u različitim segmentima društva, još uvijek postoje istraživanja koja pokazuju da su majke u neravnopravnom položaju u odnosu na očeve. Cilj je istraživanja utvrditi procjenu učenika o uključenosti majki i očeva u odgoj djeteta i brigu o kućanskim poslovima. Istraživanje je provedeno anketiranjem 290 učenika osnovnih škola Osječko-baranjske županije u Republici Hrvatskoj. Rezultati su istraživanja pokazali da su majke uključene u odgoj i brigu o kućanskim poslovima u odnosu na očeve. Očevi su više uključeni u odgoj djece i kućanske poslove u urbanim područjima, dok su majke podjednako uključene u odgoj djece i kućanske poslove neovisno žive li u urbanom ili ruralnom području. Pokazala se i razlika u uključenosti očeva ovisno o tome imaju li kćer ili sina, očevi su više uključeni u rješavanje problema i slobodne aktivnosti sinova, nego kćeri.

Ključne riječi: briga o kućanstvu; djeca; odgoj; roditelji; uključenost; urbano-ruralno.

Uvod

Rodna ravnopravnost važno je pitanje ljudskih prava, a United Nations Women (2001, str. 1) definira ju kao pitanje koje se odnosi na jednaka prava, odgovornosti i mogućnosti žena i muškaraca, djevojčica i dječaka. Rodna ravnopravnost podrazumijeva uzimanje u obzir interesa, potreba i prioriteta i žena i muškaraca – uvažavajući raznolikost različitih skupina žena i muškaraca. Rodna ravnopravnost nije „žensko pitanje”, već bi trebala biti i u interesu muškaraca, jednako kao i žena te ih u potpunosti uključivati. Postoji niz međunarodnih i nacionalnih razvojno-stategijskih dokumenata koji promiču ravnopravnost spolova, no još uvijek je rodna neravnopravnost globalni problem, stoga je potreban kontinuirani rad na međunarodnim, nacionalnim i lokalnim razinama kako bi se promicala rodna ravnopravnost. Strategija za rodnu ravnopravnost 2020. - 2025. (Europska komisija, 2020) jedan je od strateških dokumenata Europske komisije u kojima se naglašava kako je zadaća Unije u svim njezinim aktivnostima

promicanje ravnopravnosti žena i muškaraca. Rodnu ravnopravnost smatraju jednom od glavnih vrijednosti, temeljnim pravom, glavnim načelom i odrazom identiteta Europske unije. Ni jedna država nije postigla potpunu rodnu ravnopravnost, stoga će se ciljanim mjerama u okviru Strategije za rodnu ravnopravnost 2020. - 2025., kao što su kvalitetne i organizirane pristupačne usluge organizirane skrbi, nastojati ostvariti rodno ravnopravnu Europu. Galić (2011, str. 9) smatra da bi u Hrvatskoj trebalo uspostaviti ravnopravnost spolova, odnosno Republika Hrvatska trebala bi težiti da postane društvo koje prihvaća ravnopravnost spolova, poštujući UN-ovu Konvenciju o uklanjanju svih oblika diskriminacije žena (Opća skupština Ujedinjenih naroda, 1981), Nacionalnu politiku za promicanje ravnopravnosti spolova 2006. - 2010., Zakon o ravnopravnosti spolova, Konvenciju o pravima djeteta (Generalna skupština Ujedinjenih naroda, 1989), kao i druge europske i nacionalne razvojne i strateške dokumente protiv diskriminacije.

Tešija i Herceg (2010) slažu se da rodna ravnopravnost zahtijeva uključenost žena i muškaraca, a posebice ističu važnost uloge nastavnika u obrazovanju za demokratsko građanstvo. Osim državnih i javnih institucija, važnu ulogu u sukreiranju identiteta ima obitelj jer su stavovi stečeni u djetinjstvu intenzivni, konzistentni, središnji i otporni na promjene (Pennington, 1997). Cerjan-Letica (2003) smatra da su uravnotežena uključenost muškaraca i žena u obiteljski život i tržište rada ključni za postizanje rodne ravnopravnosti.

Roditeljstvo je dinamičan proces koji bi trebao proizlaziti iz međusobnih pregovora roditelja (Glass, 1998; Greenstein, 1996), a upravo bi međunarodni i nacionalni projekti svojim aktivnostima trebali poboljšati ravnotežu između privatnoga i poslovnoga kako bi se majke i očevi ravnopravno uključili u odgoj djece i kućanske poslove. Dommermuth, Hohmann-Marriot i Lappegård (2015) zaključuju da je jednakost i pravednost oko podjele odgoja djece i kućanskih poslova povezana i s brojem djece, odnosno u slučajevima ravnopravnosti među roditeljima, u obitelji je više djece. Stoga se može zaključiti kako bi se pravednijom raspodjelom kućanskih poslova i brige o djeci moglo utjecati i na poboljšanje demografske situacije pojedine zemlje.

Pitanje rodne (ne)ravnopravnosti percipira se kroz prizmu tradicionalnih stavova u kojima su žene i muškarci u neravnopravnom položaju, posebno kada je riječ o roditeljskim ulogama u području odgoja djece, kao i kućanskim poslovima koje tradicionalno obavljaju žene. Baranović i Leinert Novosel (2011) ističu da je jednakost žena i muškaraca u obitelji i dalje neujednačena jer žene i dalje rade većinu kućanskih poslova i brinu se o djeci unatoč zaposlenju žena, bilo da žive u urbanoj ili ruralnoj sredini i jesu li visokoobrazovane te unatoč tome što žene i muškarci sve više zajedno upravljaju obiteljskim novcem i zajednički donose važne obiteljske odluke, što se pokazalo posebno među srednjoškolskim i visokoobrazovanim mlađim roditeljima. Ipak mlađi ljudi srednje i visoke stručne spremne primjećuju da briga o djeci ne bi trebala pasti samo na žene, posebno zbog toga što je sve veća potreba žena za napredovanjem u karijeri. Takva praksa, zaključuju Baranović i Leinert Novosel (2011), svjedoči o tipu

socijalizacije u obitelji i prepoznata je u nejednakom postupanju prema sinovima i kćerima, a rodna je diskriminacija veća kada je riječ o roditeljskom odnosu prema djeci, što znači u primarnoj obitelji, a ne u obitelji koju se stvara kasnije u životu s partnerom. Diskriminacija spola na račun žena prisutnija je na selu, među najmanje obrazovanim ljudima, starijim osobama i osobama koje žive u južnim dijelovima Republike Hrvatske. Kulturne norme sugeriraju očekivanja vezana uz ispunjavanje uloge majke, oca i djelatnika. Sadržaj kulturnih normi stvara veći sukob identiteta za žene, nego za muškarce zbog toga što teže uspjehu u obje uloge. Ovaj je sukob djelomično potaknut čvršćom vezom između uloga majke i žene, nego između oca i muškarca, a dijelom i većim preklapanjem uloge oca i djelatnika od majke i djelatnice (Park i Banchevsky, 2019).

Hindin (2005, str. 299) vjeruje da su bračni odnosi i odnosi između roditelja i djece važni za djetetova obrazovna postignuća. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da i spol igra značajnu ulogu u objašnjavanju preferencije (žene imaju manju vjerojatnost od muškaraca da preferiraju obiteljski model muškoga hranitelja) i da sociostrukturni čimbenici kao što su dob, razina obrazovanja, imigrantsko stanje, vjerski status i utjecaj socijalne klase pokazuju sklonosti muškaraca i žena različito. U konačnici, ti su rezultati u suprotnosti s Hakimovom teorijom preferencija, koja naglašava odabir pojedinaca nad sociostrukturnim čimbenicima kao odrednicama obiteljskih modela te se usklađuju s Cromptonovom i Pfau-Effingerovom teorijom (Moreno-Mínguez i sur., 2018, str. 1). Većina tradicionalnih stavova nalazi se u mnogim istočnoeuropskim zemljama, dok su nordijske zemlje najmanje tradicionalne. Na individualnoj razini oni koji su visoko obrazovani, na plaćenom radu, samci, bez djece i vjerski neaktivni, podržavaju jednaku podjelu plaćenoga rada i neplaćene odgovornosti za odgoj i njegovu češće od ostalih ispitanika (Monteiro i sur., 2017, str. 513). Na državnoj razini, duži roditeljski dopust specifičan za oca, jača tradicija plaćenoga rada žena i manje tradicionalne rodne uloge povezani su s jačom potporom zajednice u vidu jednake raspodjele plaćenoga rada i neplaćene skrbi. Rezultati istraživanja u Španjolskoj pokazali su da roditelji ponavljaju situacije koje su proživjeli tijekom djetinjstva, odnosno dokazana je trajnost roditeljskoga ponašanja kroz generacije, a rodna nejednakost prenosi se na nove generacije (Salin i sur., 2018, str. 1).

U Republici Hrvatskoj postoji niz nacionalnih projekata koji promiču ravnopravnost spolova (Ured za ravnopravnost spolova, 2021). U Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama dugi niz godina financiraju se programi odgovornoga očinstva koja uključuju medijske kampanje koje ističu važnost emocionalnih, psiholoških, tjelesnih i financijskih veza očeva s djecom. Programi uključuju obrazovanje za roditeljstvo, odgovorno donošenje odluka, medijacije, rješavanje sukoba, suočavanje sa stresom. Uz medijske kampanje u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama javne i državne ustanove podržavaju i različite strategije kao što su centri za socijalni rad, škole, crkve, zdravstveni sustav, ali i civilni sektor, kako bi se promicalo očinstvo i pružala potpora interakciji oca i djeteta (Solomon-Fears, 2012).

S obzirom na to da je većina dosadašnjih istraživanja ispitivala rodnu ravnopravnost u obitelji među odraslim ispitanicima, u ovom se istraživanju željelo utvrditi procjenu učenika osnovnih škola o uključenosti njihovih majki i očeva u odgoj djeteta i brigu o kućanskim poslovima. Nužno je istražiti problem rodne neravnopravnosti s više aspekata kako bismo utvrdili što pouzdaniju sliku odnosa roditelja u hrvatskim obiteljima. Istraživanja pokazuju snažan utjecaj socijalizacije u djetinjstvu na stavove (Pennington, 1997), a uključivanjem djece u različite aktivnosti unutar i izvan obitelji, moguće ih je odgajati za humane odnose među spolovima, poštivanje ljudskih prava te na taj način od ranoga djetinjstva poticati rodnu ravnopravnost (UNESCO, 2017).

Cilj i hipoteze istraživanja

Cilj je istraživanja utvrditi procjenu učenika o uključenosti majki i očeva u odgoj djeteta i brigu o kućanskim poslovima te uključenost roditelja u brigu o djeci ovisno o području stanovanja i spolu djeteta.

Istraživačka pitanja:

IP1: Postoji li razlika u uključenosti u kućanske poslove i odgoj djece između majki i očeva?

IP2: Postoji li razlika u roditeljskoj uključenosti s obzirom na spol djeteta?

IP3: Postoji li razlika između roditelja u ruralnim i urbanim sredinama u uključenosti u kućanske poslove i odgoj djece?

Hipoteze:

H1: Majke su više uključene u odgoj djece i kućanske poslove u odnosu na očeve.

H2: a) Postoji razlika u odgoju djece i uključenosti u kućanske poslove s obzirom na spol djeteta na način da će očevi biti više uključeni u odgoj sinova.

b) Ne očekuje se značajna razlika u uključenosti majke s obzirom na spol djeteta.

H3: a) Očevi su u gradskim sredinama više uključeni u odgoj i kućanske poslove u odnosu na očeve u ruralnim sredinama.

b) Nema razlike u uključenosti majke s obzirom na mjesto stanovanja (ruralno-urbano).

Metode

Uzorak istraživanja

Uzorak je istraživanja 290 učenika iz 10 osnovnih škola Osječko-baranjske županije (5 osnovnih škola na urbanom području (54,5 %) i 5 osnovnih škola na ruralnom području (45,5 %)). Od ukupnoga broja sudionika 51,4 % bile su učenice i 48,6 % učenici. Dob učenika kreće se od 10 do 15 godina ($M = 12,48$).

Instrumenti istraživanja

Opći dio upitnika sastojao se od pitanja koja su prikupljala podatke o spolu, dobi, razredu, pohađanju škole, sastavu kućanstva, mjestu prebivališta, broju braće i sestara te obrazovnom i radnom statusu roditelja.

Upitnik o roditeljskoj uključenosti za 2018. godinu - URU18 (Brust Nemet i sur., 2021) osmišljen je u svrhu ispitivanja različitih svakodnevnih ponašanja roditelja. Sastoji se od 18 čestica te se na uzorku očeva pokazuje struktura od četiri faktora (Brust Nemet i sur., 2021) koji pokrivaju: Brigu o kućanstvu (1. *Kuha*; 2. *Čisti dom/kuću*; 3. *Glača*; 4. *Odlazi u kupovinu namirnica*; 5. *Pere suđe*; 6. *Brine o čistoći odjeće*); Odgovornosti djeteta u vezi sa školom (7. *Brine se oko tvojih školskih obaveza*; 8. *Odlazi na roditeljske sastanke*; 9. *Odlazi na informacije u školu*); Vrijeme provedeno s djetetom (u kojoj mjeri provode kvalitetno vrijeme s djetetom (10. *Aktivno provodi vrijeme s tobom (šetnja, kino, vožnja biciklom, društvene igre itd.)*); 12. *Vodi te na izvanškolske aktivnosti*; 13. *Potiče te na izvannastavne/ izvanškolske aktivnosti*); Briga o djetetu i davanje savjeta kada dijete ima problema (11. *Primijeti kada imaš problem*; 14. *Njeguje te kad si bolestan/na*; 15. *Savjetuje te u odabiru odjeće*; 16. *Obraćaš mu se kad imaš problema*; 17. *Utječe na tvoj način razmišljanja*; 18. *Brine se o tvojoj prehrani*).

Sudionici su procjenjivali na skali od 5 stupnjeva (Likertovoj skali) u kojoj su mjeri vjerovali da se svaka tvrdnja odnosi na njihovu majku i njihova oca. Likertova skala bila je u rasponu od 1, što znači „uopće se ne odnosi na moju majku/oca” i 5, što znači „potpuno se odnosi na moju majku/oca”. Ukupni rezultat na svakoj ljestvici dobiva se prosječnim vrijednostima svih pitanja; najmanji i najveći mogući ukupan rezultat mogu biti 1, odnosno 5. Viši rezultat podrazumijeva veće sudjelovanje roditelja. S obzirom da je faktorska struktura ranije provedena na uzorku očeva (Brust Nemet i sur., 2021), isti je postupak učinjen za uzorak majki (Tablica 1). Test kojim se mjeri adekvatnost uzorkovanja (KMO test) pokazuje vrijednost 0,83 što ukazuje na to da je uzorak odgovarajući. Faktorska analiza (*principal axis factoring*) s oblimin rotacijom rezultirala je kao i u uzorku očeva, strukturom od četiri faktora (Tablica 1): briga o kućanstvu, podrška u školskim aktivnostima, provođenje vremena s djetetom i briga o djeci te davanje savjeta kada dijete ima problema. Dobiveni koeficijenti pouzdanosti (Cronbachov alfa) na uzorku očeva su: briga o djeci i davanje savjeta kada dijete ima problema - $\alpha = ,82$, briga o kućanstvu - $\alpha = ,78$, pomoć oko školskih dužnosti i obveza - $\alpha = ,79$ i provođenje vremena s djetetom - $\alpha = ,70$. Na uzorku majki briga o djeci i davanje savjeta kada dijete ima problema - $\alpha = ,75$, briga o kućanstvu - $\alpha = ,79$, pomoć oko školskih dužnosti i obveza - $\alpha = ,77$ i provođenje vremena s djetetom - $\alpha = ,72$.

Tablica 1.

Postupak istraživanja

Istraživanje je provedeno u deset osnovnih škola Osječko-baranjske županije tijekom travnja i svibnja 2018. godine. Nakon dopuštenja ravnatelja i pedagoga škola deset je studenata Fakulteta za odgojne i obrazovne znanosti Sveučilišta Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku pomoglo autoricama u prikupljanju suglasnosti roditelja o sudjelovanju njihove djece u istraživanju, a potom su studenti pomogli i u unošenju podataka u bazu podataka. Učenici su Upitnik ispunjavali 30 minuta, a učenicima koji nisu prisustvovali sastanku pedagoga su dali upitnike te su naknadno predali ispunjene

upitnike. Istraživanje je bilo anonimno. Naglašeno je učenicima da su pojedinačni odgovori strogo povjerljivi, da će biti poznati isključivo istraživačima te da će se prikupljeni podatci koristiti u znanstvene svrhe. Naglašeno je i da će prikupljeni podatci biti prikazani zbirno te predstavljeni u objavljenom znanstvenom radu. Učenicima je napomenuto da je njihovo sudjelovanje dobrovoljno, da mogu odustati od istraživanja i pitati istraživače ako imaju nekih nejasnoća. Nakon prikupljenih podataka isti su pripremljeni i obrađeni uz pomoć SPSS programa.

Rezultati

U Tablici 2. prikazana je deskriptivna statistika.

Tablica 2.

Može se uočiti da su aritmetičke sredine za majke više na svim područjima roditeljske uključenosti, s tim da je ta razlika najveća u području obavljanja kućanskih poslova, a najmanja u području provođenja slobodnog vremena.

Prije obrade rezultata u cilju testiranja hipoteza, provjereni su uvjeti za provođenje parametrijske statistike. S obzirom da Kolmogorov-Smirnovljevi test pokazuje značajno odstupanje distribucija od normalne, provjereni su indikatori spljoštenosti (*kurtosis*) i asimetričnosti (*skewness*). Kline (2010) navodi da se distribucija može smatrati normalnom ako je indeks asimetričnosti manji od 3, a spljoštenosti manji od 8. Provjera ovih indikatora pokazuje da je indeks asimetričnosti za varijablu obavljanja kućanskih poslova (majka) iznosi -3,80, a indeks spljoštenosti 21,78, stoga je u ovom slučaju narušen uvjet normalnosti distribucije. Nadalje će se pri testiranju hipoteza provesti neparametrijska statistika.

Za provjeru prve hipoteze korišten je Wilcoxonov test za zavisne uzorke, koji je pokazao da su više majke uključene u kućanske poslove ($Z = -13,26$, $p > 0,01$) i odgoj djece (Z (škola) = $-10,85$, $p < 0,01$; Z (savjeti i briga o problemima) = $-9,94$, $p < 0,01$), osim sudjelovanja u slobodnim aktivnostima, gdje nema razlike između majki i očeva ($Z = -1,49$, $p > 0,05$).

Kako bismo odgovorili na drugo i treće istraživačko pitanje, prvo je prikazana deskriptivna statistika u kontekstu područja stanovanja i spola djeteta.

Tablica 3.

Iz Tablice 3 vidljivo je da su razlike u aritmetičkim sredinama uočljivije na uzorku očeva nego majki. I u ovom su slučaju narušeni uvjeti za provođenje parametrijske analize. Indeksi asimetričnosti za varijablu uključenost majke u kućanske u urbanom te ruralnom području te majka muškoga ili ženskoga djeteta kreću se u rasponu od -1,85 do -4,71, a indeksi spljoštenosti od 3,18 do 28,66. Stoga je, i u ovom slučaju, korištena neparametrijska analiza. U svrhu provjere ima li razlike u uključenosti majki i očeva s obzirom na spol djeteta, proveden je Mann Whitneyev neparametrijski test za nezavisne uzorke (Tablica 4).

Tablica 4.

Značajna razlika postoji u uključenosti očeva u slobodne aktivnosti i brigu o problemima djece na način da su očevi više uključeni u slobodne aktivnosti sinova nego kćeri, dok kod uključenosti majki ne postoji značajna razlika s obzirom na spol djece.

Za provjeru treće hipoteze, također je proveden Mann Whitneyev neparametrijski test za nezavisne uzorke, testirana je razlika u uključenosti majki i očeva u odgoj djece s obzirom na područje stanovanja (ruralno-urbano). Značajnosti su prikazane u Tablici 5.

Tablica 5.

Rezultati pokazuju da su očevi u urbanim sredinama uključeni u kućanske poslove i odgoj djece (na svim podskalama), dok su majke u urbanim sredinama uključene u slobodne aktivnosti djece.

Rasprava

Cilj ovoga istraživanja bio je utvrditi procjenu učenika o uključenosti majki i očeva u odgoj djeteta i brigu o kućanskim poslovima te razlike u uključenosti s obzirom na spol djeteta i područje stanovanja. S obzirom na cilj istraživanja, osmišljena su tri istraživačka pitanja. Prvo istraživačko pitanje glasi: Postoji li razlika u uključenosti u kućanske poslove i odgoj djece između majki i očeva? Pretpostavljeno je da će majke biti više uključene u kućanske poslove i brigu o djeci od očeva. Pokazalo se da su majke uključene više u kućanske poslove, školske obveze djece i njegu te razgovor o problemima. Jedino se nije pokazala značajna razlika u uključenosti u slobodne aktivnosti djece. Ovakvi su nalazi u skladu s prethodnim istraživanjima.

Leinert Novosel (2018) smatra kako je izvan doma veća rodna ravnopravnost, nego u domu jer se više nego ikada žene brinu za odgoj i zdravlje djece, odlaze na roditeljske sastanke, a u kućanskim poslovima samo im se pridružuju muževi i djeca i to češće kćeri. Studenti se nadaju da će za dvadesetak godina biti potpuna egalitarnost u domu i izvan njega, no za sada hrvatsko društvo percipiraju još uvijek umjereno tradicionalno. U svojem je istraživanju Galić (2011) utvrdila da se ispitanici u najvećoj mjeri slažu s tvrdnjom o nejednakoj raspodjeli poslova u kućanstvu – 87 % ispitanih hrvatskih parova slaže se da su žene još uvijek više uključene u kućanske poslove, čak i kad su zaposlene. Otprilike tri četvrtine (74,8 %) ispitanika složilo se da su majke prvenstveno odgovorne za odgoj i brigu o djeci, njihove obveze i aktivnosti te da je karijera muškarca ispred ženine (71,6 %). Manja nejednakost uočena je kod 47 % ispitanika koji smatraju da najvažnije odluke u obitelji donose muškarci, 41,3 % vjeruje da su muškarci ti koji upravljaju obiteljskim novcem, dok je oko 30 % ispitanika neutraliziralo obje tvrdnje, a otprilike se jedna četvrtina ne slaže s tvrdnjama. Stoga je zaključeno da je u današnjem hrvatskom društvu još uvijek izražena nejednakost u raspodjeli kućanskih poslova i odgoja djece među partnerima. Sudionici se slažu da ove uloge uglavnom obavljaju žene, bez obzira na njihov posao te da se njihova karijera smatra manje važnom, dok je suprugova karijera na prvom mjestu. Jednako kao i u istraživanjima Doherty, Kouneski

i Ericson (1998), Kulik i Tsoref (2010) i u istraživanju Kulik i Sadeh (2015) utvrđeno je da su stariji očevi više uključeni u domenu igre, pokazivanja ljubavi i njege, a manje u domenu obrazovanja i kažnjavanja. U Australiji očevi daju velik doprinos obiteljskim prihodima, podršci partnera, sudjeluju u kućanstvu, provode vrijeme s djecom, no još uvijek manje u odnosu na majke. U navedenom se istraživanju kvaliteta odnosa roditelja pokazala značajno povezano s ishodima djece. Međusobna podrška roditelja pozitivno je povezana s pozitivnim socioemocionalnim ishodima kod djece. Socioemocionalni ishodi pokazali su se značajno povezanim i sa stupnjem obrazovanja oca i mentalnim zdravljem oca. Očevi koji su visokoobrazovani više su vremena provodili čitajući djeci i pomažući oko zadaće. Očevi koji su svoje mentalno zdravlje procjenjivali dobrim češće su razgovarali s djecom. (Baxter i Smart, 2011). Topolčić (2001) također uočava da muškarci više vremena provode na poslu, dok žene obavljaju uz posao većinu kućanskih poslova i više brinu o djeci. U Španjolskoj su istraživači Cerrato i Cifre (2018) utvrdili da tradicionalne rodne uloge utječu na stupanj uključenosti muškaraca i žena u kućanske poslove. Lucas-Thompson i Goldberg (2015) predlažu da muškarci i žene u obitelji trebaju dogovoriti organizacijsku strategiju kako bi ravnopravno uskladili privatne i poslovne obaveze, a javne i socijalne politike trebale bi uključiti aktivnosti koje će olakšati homogenizaciju uloga u obitelji i na radnom mjestu.

Na temelju analize različitih istraživanja (Hochschild, 1989, Kamenov, Jelić, Tadinac i Hromatko, 2007; Seccombe, 1986), Kamenov i Jugović (2011, str. 120) ističu da žene preuzimaju „drugu smjenu” u obitelji, unatoč tome što su zaposlene te su još uvijek odgovorne za većinu kućanskih poslova i odgoj djece.

Žene provode više vremena fizički brinući se o djeci nego igrajući se s njima. Suprotno tome, vrijeme koje očevi provode sa svojom djecom vjerojatnije je da će biti u kontekstu igre, a ne brige. Žene i dalje snose primarnu odgovornost za obiteljsku skrb. I dalje ostaje neplaćeni rad, posebno kućanskih poslova i briga o djeci te žene imaju manje slobodnoga vremena u većini zemalja, posebice npr. u Italiji koja se percipira kao obiteljski orijentirana zemlja i u kojoj muškarci u odnosu na žene imaju prosječno 21 % više slobodnoga vremena (6,5 sati) (Bittman i Wajcman, 2000). Slični rezultati pronađeni su i na hrvatskom uzorku. Nalazi prikupljeni na 302 bračna para iz Hrvatske i 380 bračnih parova iz Srbije potvrđuju postojanje rodnih razlika u količini slobodnoga vremena u korist muškaraca (Huić, Kamenov, Jelić, Mihić, I. i Mihić, V., 2013). Rezultati istraživanja (Egorova, Yanak i Ryabinskaya, 2020) pokazuju da postoji spremnost dijeljenja dužnosti među roditeljima u Rusiji, ali su očevi više usmjereni na aktivnosti djece u slobodno vrijeme, nego na brigu o djeci. S obzirom na ove nalaze jasno je zašto se jedino na skali provođenja slobodnoga vremena nije pokazala razlika u korist majki.

Drugo istraživačko pitanje glasi: Postoji li razlika u roditeljskoj uključenosti s obzirom na spol djeteta? Pretpostavljeno je da će očevi biti više uključeni u odgoj sinova, dok kod majki neće biti razlike. Istraživanja Egorova, Yana i Ryabinskaya (2020) pokazalo je da su očevi aktivnije uključeni u odgoj sinova, nego u odgoj

kćeri. Utvrdili su i razliku u ciljevima i procesu socijalizacije sinova i kćeri. Razlika se pokazala značajna na podskalama provođenja slobodnoga vremena s djecom te razgovor o problemima na uzorku očeva. Na uzorku majki, razlike nije bilo ni na jednoj subskali. Ovakvi su rezultati očekivani. Kako je ranije utvrđeno, majke su više uključene u brigu o djeci osim kada su u pitanju slobodne aktivnosti. Ako se uzme u obzir spol djeteta, očekivano je da će očevi biti više uključeni u slobodne aktivnosti sinova. Parke (1996) navodi kako većina očeva pokazuje veći interes za mušku djecu te da su skloniji razvijanju intelektualnih i fizičkih sposobnosti kod sinova. Također, očevi kod kćeri češće iskazuju bliskost i nježnost, a njihov odgoj najčešće je usmjeren na razvijanje ženstvenosti. Lamb (2002) navodi da je igra s djetetom, kada su u pitanju očevi, više fizička, povezana s kretanjem, sportom i razvijanjem vještina, dok se aktivnosti njege djeteta uglavnom prepuštaju majci. Ako uzmemo u obzir da se u uzorku radi o sudionicima koji su u fazi rane adolescencije, može se pretpostaviti da se dječaci više bave fizičkim, sportskim te natjecateljskim aktivnostima (Berk, 2008) pa je vjerojatnije da će se očevi radije uključivati u takve aktivnosti. Očevi imaju važan utjecaj na usvajanje spolnih uloga kod dječaka jer su model sinovima, koji iz ponašanja oca uče koja su ponašanja primjerena za muški spol. Istraživanja pokazuju (Santröck, 2000) da će očevi češće nego majke, dati do znanja dječaku je li njegovo ponašanje skladu s odgovarajućim spolnim stereotipom. Ovi nalazi objašnjavaju i razlike na podskali rješavanja problema. Otac će se vjerojatno više zanimati za probleme sinova te razgovarati s njima o problemima više nego s kćerima. S obzirom na to da otac predstavlja muški model, dječaci će se vjerojatno češće obraćati ocu za pomoć oko problema nego djevojčice.

Treće istraživačko pitanje vezano je uz razlike u uključenosti roditelja u kućanske poslove u urbanim i ruralnim sredinama. Pretpostavljeno je da su očevi u urbanim sredinama više uključeni u kućanske poslove i odgoj djece, nego u ruralnim sredinama. Kod majki se nije očekivala značajna razlika. Rezultati pokazuju da su očevi u urbanim sredinama više uključeni u kućanske poslove i odgoj djece (na svim podskalama), majke su u urbanim sredinama više uključene u slobodne aktivnosti djece, dok se u drugim područjima nije pokazala značajna razlika. Rezultati su, također, očekivani. Istraživanje (Kulik i Sadeh, 2015) u Izraelu pokazalo je da su očevi u urbanim sredinama u odnosu na one koji žive u ruralnim sredinama, više uključeni u brigu o djetetu. Možemo pretpostaviti da su roditelji u ruralnim sredinama više tradicionalno orijentirani. Rezultati istraživanja (Bulanda, 2004) pokazuju da tradicionalizam majke nije važan prediktor očeve uključenosti, no očevi s manje tradicionalnim stavovima o spolu više su uključeni u odgoj svoje djece i provode više vremena s djecom. Stoga Bulanda (2004) zaključuje da očeva ideologija, a ne majčina, utječe na njegovu uključenost u odgoj djece. Očekivano je i da su očevi u urbanim sredinama obrazovaniji. Istraživanja pokazuju da su obrazovaniji očevi u većoj mjeri upoznati s djetetovim razvojnim potrebama i osjećaju se sigurnije te su motiviraniji za uključenost u brigu o djetetu (Monteiro i sur., 2017, str. 513). Što se tiče veće uključenosti majke u slobodne aktivnosti u urbanim

sredinama, možemo pretpostaviti da zbog veće uključenosti očeva u kućanske poslove i brigu o djeci u različitim domenama (u odnosu na očeve u ruralnim sredinama), majke se u gradovima mogu više posvetiti provođenju slobodnoga vremena s djecom. U istraživanju Bouillet (2006), na temelju procjene hrvatskih građana starijih od 15 godina, utvrdila se percepcija o rodnoj ravnopravnosti. Visokoobrazovane žene, u urbanim područjima i manje religiozne koje ne žive u braku, zastupaju izrazitije rodnu ravnopravnost. U radu se predlaže osiguravanje kvalitete uslužnih centara za skrb o djeci i obitelji, participacija očeva u korištenju roditeljskoga dopusta, većim sudjelovanjem žena u dobro plaćenim poslovima i promocijom rodno osviještenoga odgoja u odgojno-obrazovnim institucijama i obitelji. Majke koje su obrazovanije češće su ravnopravne u roditeljstvu s očevima, no povećanjem broja radnih sati samo se kod očeva smanjuje broj sati za brigu o djetetu.

Ograničenja i implikacije

Israživanje je provedeno Osječko-baranjskoj županiji Republike Hrvatske, stoga se postavlja pitanje mogu li se u potpunosti generalizirati podatci dobiveni o uključenosti roditelja u kućanske poslove i brigu o djeci na ostatak Republike Hrvatske. Podatci su prikupljeni od učenika 5.-8. razred, osnovne škole pa je pitanje mogu li djeca sasvim objektivno procijeniti ponašanja svojih roditelja, a također je moguće i davanje socijalno poželjnih odgovora.

Bez obzira na ova ograničenja, rezultati ukazuju na rodnu neravnopravnost, majke su i dalje više uključene u kućanske poslove i brigu o djeci, što je posebno naglašeno u ruralnim područjima te kada roditelji imaju žensko dijete. Dakle, potrebno je osmišljavanje i provođenje programa koji će poticati rodnu ravnopravnost, osobito u ruralnim područjima. Jedan od pozitivnih primjera poticanja rodne ravnopravnosti na lokalnoj razini u Osijeku, Republika Hrvatska, jest i projekt *I tata je važan* koji provodi Dječji kreativni centar DOKKICA u Osijeku (DOKKICA, 2021).

Zaključak

Svaka je država obvezna osigurati jednaka prava, odgovornosti i mogućnosti za svaku ženu i muškarca kako ne bi dolazilo do rodne neravnopravnosti. Postojeći međunarodni i nacionalni dokumenti dobar su temelj za promicanje rodne ravnopravnosti, no potreban je kontinuiran rad na svim razinama sustava (financijski, zakonodavni, zdravstveni, socijalni, odgojno-obrazovni) kako bi se utjecalo i na odnose žena i muškaraca u obitelji. Mnogobrojni globalni činitelji utječu na promjene u sastavu obitelji, kao i na međusobne obiteljske odnose. Podjela poslova vezanih uz kućanstvo i briga o djeci u mnogobrojnim su se istraživanjima pokazali neravnopravno raspoređeni. Različiti istraživači utvrdili su da rodne ideologije utječu na sudjelovanje muškaraca u kućanskim poslovima (Greenstein, 1996; Allen i Hawkins, 1999), odnosno da žene tradicionalno u većini zemalja obavljaju kućanske poslove i većim dijelom brigu o djeci. U ovom radu utvrđena je perspektiva učenika o uključenosti majki i očeva u odgoj i brigu o

kućanskim poslovima. Učenici su procijenili kako su majke više uključene u kućanske poslove, školske obveze djece, njegu i razgovore o problemima, dok se jedino pokazala ravnopravnost u uključenosti majki i očeva u djetetove slobodne aktivnosti. Očevi su iz perspektive djeteta više uključeni u odgoj sinova, a pokazalo se i da su uključeniiji oni očevi koji žive u urbanim sredinama.

Rezultati su istraživanja potvrdili početne pretpostavke i još jednom dokazali kako je potrebno sustavno raditi na aktivnostima koje će poticati rodnu ravnopravnost od najranije dobi jer već i učenici uočavaju rodnu neravnopravnost u svojim obiteljima, a znanstveno je dokazano kako su roditelji model ponašanja svojoj djeci. Uz aktivnosti usmjerene izravno na obitelji, potreban je i kontinuiran rad učitelja i nastavnika na svim odgojno-obrazovnim razinama, koji svojim modelom i brojnim nastavnim i izvannastavnim aktivnostima mogu utjecati na rodnu ravnopravnost u društvu.