

VIOLENCE AGAINST RURAL WOMEN OVER THE AGE OF FIFTY IN CENTRAL SERBIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses violence against rural women over the age of fifty from the point of view of social factors relating to social transition processes, exclusion, poverty and re-traditionalization in Serbia. Attention is paid to types of victimization of elderly village women arising from factors of structural type, but also familial in character: everyday practice in the family and private intimate relations. The analysis (both quantitative and qualitative) is based on the sample of 165 rural women over 50, using the method of triangulation. The analysis rests on the data collected directly in family households of rural women, using methods of observation and interview. The main hypothesis underlying the analysis is the connectedness of changes on the macro, mezzo and micro levels and their influence on changes relating to gender identity.

Keywords: violence, social structure, elderly rural women, rural families, central Serbia.

INTRODUCTION

The research on various forms of violence against rural women older than fifty years of age in Serbia is the result of the need to deal with the current, but insufficiently studied problem of groups that are marginalized on multiple levels. The main goal is to shed light on this problem and contribute to its visibility. The age limit of fifty was determined on the basis of personal experience from encounters with rural women: they stood out from the group of younger rural women due to their increased exclusion and poverty. There are marginalized to the extent that they have become invisible. Their lives and problems were secondary and insignificant to family members. The first part of the paper shows previous studies of this issue in feminist theories and patriarchy - a pillar of discrimination against women. The main concepts and typologies are explained and the structural level within the Serbia society is analyzed. The second section presents the conceptual and analytical framework and methodology on the basis of which the research and analysis was conducted. The third section presents the results of the research - forms of violence, their characteristics and dimensions, and the fourth section contains the discussion and conclusion.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Within the theoretical framework of the analysis, the theoretical and hypothetical basis that mediates between the global and micro level is used, and it includes feminist theories and the patriarchal system.

Feminist theoretical approach

A significant contribution to the topic of discrimination against women was made by feminist discussions on the gender salary gap, but also by discussions on property

inequality between women and men, which the term “gender asset gap” is used for. Difference in ownership of property between men and women is called the gender asset gap [10].

Factors that affect this gender asset gap are found in laws and customs. Inheritance customs set the extent to which women's right to property is recognized. Patrilineal inheritance gives priority to inheritance to male family members and is the most common form of inheritance in Serbian villages. Such forms of inheritance turn women into unpaid labor working on family farms, or force them to become agricultural wage workers. Living on the husband's estate, women have no control over the marital property, which in the event of divorce or widowhood remains in the husband's family.

Patriarchy as a cause of discrimination against women

The terms discrimination, marginalization, as well as the exploitation of women and violence against women, are understood as parts of the same problem - the patriarchy problem [6]. For radical feminists, gender inequality is a product of an autonomous system of patriarchy and represent a primary form of social inequality. The cause of repression against women is found in patriarchy, a complex system of male dominance that prevails in all aspects of social and cultural life. Patriarchy produces and perpetuates abuse and violence against women through structural (through social institutions) and ideological influences (the process of socialization). Family is seen as the main instrument of repression against women, realized through sexual and maternal obligations, as well as a means of male control over female bodies [8]. Radical feminists mostly agree that the basis of patriarchy involves the appropriation of female body and sexuality. Firestone [13] believes that men control the role of women in reproduction and upbringing of children. Since women are biologically capable of having children, they become financially dependent on men in terms of livelihood and protection. This “biological inequality” is socially organized in the nuclear family. The author uses the term “sexual class” to describe the position of women in society. Pamela Abbot et al. point out that this direction has shown that even the most intimate, personal relationships are essentially political – relations of power [1].

All radical feminists point out that male violence against women is the main cause of male supremacy. They further emphasize that domestic violence, rape and sexual harassment are an integral part of the systematic oppression of women. Even everyday interactions - such as non-verbal communication, listening and interrupting conversations, as well as how a woman feels in a public place - contribute to gender inequality [15].

The term violence against rural women over the age of fifty implies the unfavorable position of these women in the public and private sphere, with special emphasis on the family and everyday relationships - private intimate relations. The marginalization of rural women over the age of fifty is understood as a diminution of their value and their work, not paying attention to them, treating their problems as secondary and insignificant. The term “gender” implies a socio-cultural construct of the roles of men and women, as well as the characteristics attributed to “masculinity” and “femininity”. Gender is a biological (pre-socialization) aspect of fertility with which a person is born, gender is part of the identity that is acquired during the process of socialization [1]. Therefore, the problem does not lie in the fact that the differences exist, but rather that gender characteristics are valued differently, and a hierarchy is established between them. The gender regime regulates the relations between men and women, creates individual

expectations and behaviors that are in line with the social context. Limited by gender regimes, men and women have limited opportunities to go outside these boundaries, and it always happens at a certain price. Individual possibilities and freedoms are limited by the general gender pattern. Gender is all the more important if society is more patriarchal, and that is precisely applicable in the micro-sphere, in the sphere of privacy”[5]. Gender differences serve as a basis for social inequality. Research and study of gender inequality discusses the dominance of men over women - in the field of economics, politics, family [15].

Structural level

At the structural level, discrimination against rural women over the age of fifty is based on the great pauperization of rural residents and rural families in the process of transition in Serbia. This is particularly valid for agricultural households and for farmers, who are at the biggest “loss” due to such economic and social circumstances. Research by Rajković[24] about poverty and inequality of the rural population by socio-economic categories, showed that at the beginning of the transition, farmers' households (and rural population) participated in total poverty rate in 1990 with 17%, and in 1994 with 34% , while now their poverty index is 69.8% [24], due to the decrease in wages and other incomes, the absolute decrease in the number of employees in the formal sector (loss of status “peasants-industrial workers”), poor employment opportunity and increased production for one's own needs - natural consumption. They are immensely dissatisfied with their position on the social ladder (70.2%), and most of all with the state that is not protecting them and which does not care about the peasants. The marginalization of the socio-economic position of the peasantry is increasing, which is especially true for elderly households [24]. Thus, elderly households in rural areas are becoming a significant social, but also a moral problem of our society, which sociologists wrote about four decades ago [11]; [19]. Discrimination against villagers, manifested in the field of social and pension insurance, was also emphasized: until November 1981, there were 5% of agricultural workers that had insurance in Serbia, and in 2002 only 6%, while in 2014 it was 7% [22]; [27].

Global social changes that Serbia has gone through in the last thirty years have reflected on changes in gender regimes: after the collapse of socialism, in the conditions of collapsing institutions, deepening economic crisis, insecurity due to wars and deteriorating material standard of the majority of the population, retraditionalization and repatriarchalization trends could be observed[5]; [17]. These trends are characterized by the withdrawal of women from the public sphere, primarily from the formal labor market, into the private sphere, where their resources are used to ensure the survival of the family household, in extremely unfavorable conditions of deteriorating living standards and collapse of social care institutions[5]; [20]. Blagojevic describes this phenomenon as “self-sacrificing micro-matriarchy”, the power of women is relocated and articulated into the private sphere, with intensive use of woman's resources in the household, in order to mitigate the negative effects of the difficult transition[5]. This is also known as the gender regime, as a “system of power, roles, identity, practice and discourse, which regulates relationships between men and women in a certain socio-historical context and is based on extremely asymmetric relations, roles and expectations”[5]; [2].

Women over the age of fifty who live in the countryside are marginalized social groups and have a significantly disadvantaged social position. Their discrimination is multiple and at the same time stems from gender and from belonging to a marginalized group - a

rural family, which rarely or not at all has access to the most important (public) institutions and society resources, due to marginalization and exclusion of villages from the general social flows of Serbian society, which is a consequence of many years of urban-centric policy. Such a policy has polarized the society of Serbia to isolated rural areas and urban space[24].

RESULTS OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

According to research by authors in Serbia[24]; [2][5]; [4], women often live in male-headed households. Patrilinearity is a determinant of discrimination against rural women over the age of fifty, which is associated with the traditional structure of authority in the process of gender socialization.

Education, as the most important factor in changing the social position at the individual level, cannot eliminate the social marginality and social exclusion of rural women over the age of fifty, since they are usually of low level of education and low professional qualification. The more unfavorable educational structure of the female rural population compared to the urban one has been known since before[24]; [4]; [2]; [5]; [3].

Poverty of rural women over the age of fifty is perceived as a key of the main determinant of discrimination. A previous survey of assisting family members showed that the vast majority (91.4%) worked in agriculture, as well as that as many as 44% of these women found themselves in this position due to job loss, and that “this category is characterized by extremely unfavorable position, not only in the economic sense, but also in terms of exercising main social rights (health insurance, pension insurance, availability of social benefits”[3]. With the process of transition and increasing unemployment rate in Serbia, the percentage of women in this category increased from 69.6% in 2005 to 72.3% in 2009[27].

Previous research on social exclusion in rural areas of Serbia[4], showed that in villages (where about 43% of the total population of Serbia lives), the share of active people is lower among women than among men, and the share of unemployed people is higher among women than among men.

Various studies have shown that psychological violence can cause more emotional harm to the victim than physical violence[14]; [16]. Psychological violence is aimed at “one’s experience of oneself” and it can have a profound impact on the way the victim perceives his or her personality, identity, self-confidence and mental health.

Cultural prejudice in favor of men is another dimension of discrimination. Women (and girls) are often exposed to “secondary poverty”[2] in rural households, which rely on the traditional structure of authority with male dominance, because less resources are invested in girls than in male members of the household (sons), due to the lower expectation of them contributing to its material well-being. The “son as the only heir” system [25], according to which female children will end up in “someone else’s house”—that is, since they leave their parents’ house, and the sons stay, leaves deep consequences on the psychological development of a female child in a rural family in Serbia. Research on parenting in rural families in central Serbia[24];[25] showed that the desire for a son is what drives family reproduction in Serbia. After the birth of the desired son, pregnancy is terminated by abortion.

Previous research on domestic violence, conducted on a representative sample of the population of Serbia, in three major regions: Belgrade, Novi Sad and Nis[17; 18] shows that domestic violence is primarily violence against women, that there are active and passive forms of violence, exploitation and discrimination, that it exists in 82.7% of

families in the sample, as well as that it manifests itself as shouting/insulting, beating, denying free movement, and that women offer little resistance. The main perpetrator of domestic violence is the husband/father, with the great influence of the husband's parents. The son is also at the top of the list of perpetrators of violent behavior in the family. Violence is both present in urban and rural areas, and it has been found that an urban married woman offers more resistance compared to a rural one. The most common reason for violence is lack of money, disturbed marital roles, and the dominant factor is patriarchy. The production of violence against women in the family is the main mechanism of the social reproduction of patriarchy.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The subject of this research is the economic, psychological and health violence against rural women over the age of fifty in central Serbia in relation to younger rural women (by age) and in relation to rural men (by gender).

The aim of the research is to analyze various forms of violence against rural women over the age of fifty, with the intention of shedding light on their marginal position and contributing to the better visibility of the problem of violence against these women in Serbian society.

In this research, the term violence against rural women over the age of fifty includes the infliction of increased mental and health injuries and suffering, as well as deprivation of financial means of subsistence and access to social protection, which forces them to accept the status of assisting household members. In accordance with this definition, discrimination against rural women over the age of fifty is operationalized through the following dimensions: economic, psychological and health, with appropriate indicators, which are shown in the following table (Table 1).

Table 1: Violence forms and indicators

Form/dimension of discrimination	Indicators
Economic discrimination	Structure according to the activity of study participants and their husbands in the family household, where the discriminatory structure is as follows: active - employee, persons with personal income, as well as assisting household members in agricultural households Property differences within the family Discrimination within the family division of labor Disproportionate workload
Psychological violence: Inflicting damage on self-perception, self-confidence, experiencing one's own personality	Verbal humiliation, belittling Prohibition, restriction of movement (leaving the house unaccompanied)
Health violence	Poor health Limited access to primary health care

The instrument for data collection contained a structured questionnaire, which had seven parts and based on which a detailed experiential scientific record was formed in 600 rural family households on the social position of villages, rural families and rural women in central Serbia [24]. The questionnaire was filled in by the researchers through direct conversation and observation in the house of the female study participants. The conversation lasted an average of three hours. The research on violence in this paper is a subsample of the project and includes 165 rural women over the age of fifty.

Central Serbia is the name for a part of the territory of the Republic of Serbia, which is located outside the territory of the autonomous provinces: Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija. This name was officially used between 1945 and 2009/2010, when the area of Central Serbia was divided into new statistical regions: Belgrade, Sumadija and Western Serbia and Southern and Eastern Serbia. The following regions were covered by this research: Belgrade, Šumadija, Niš, Zlatibor, Macva and Rasina, twenty-six municipalities / cities and ninety-seven villages (Map No. 1). The area included in the sample covers 20,418 km² or 26.4% of the total territory of the Republic of Serbia and 44% of the total population [26].

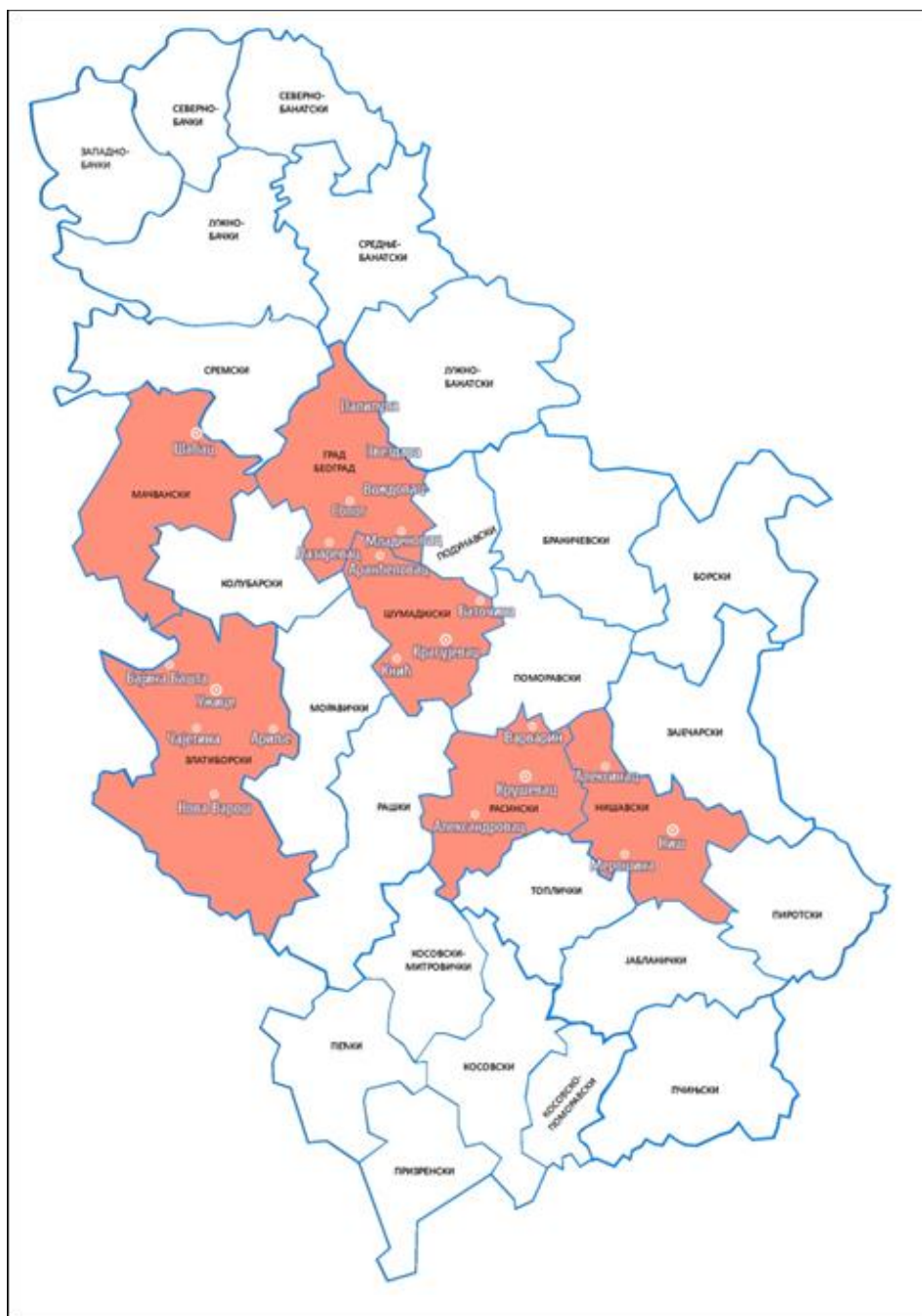


Figure 1: Geographical position of the studied area within the Republic of Serbia

Initial hypotheses

1. Age determines discrimination against older rural women compared to younger ones,
2. Low education level of rural women over the age of fifty is a discriminatory factor in relation to younger women.
3. The low quality of everyday life of rural women over the age of fifty, which is filled with contradictions, alienation and ambiguity.
4. The patriarchal system of relations in society and family affects gender-based violence
5. Health and access to health care services for all rural women is a dimension of violence - the lack of opportunity to protect themselves from disease and health care, the negative consequences of which are most pronounced in rural women over the age of fifty.
6. Gender and generation discrimination of rural women over the age of fifty in the family division of labor.
7. Traditional gender regimes are important causes of gender discrimination in the family, which is reflected in the different attitudes of parents towards sons and daughters in primary socialization. Discrimination of this kind diminishes motivation and encourages isolation and the absence of the idea of opposing patriarchal discipline.
8. Women over the age of fifty are socially excluded on multiple levels and for a long time because they are: low-skilled, living in conditions of severe financial deprivation and removed from wider social networks, with low life chances, which affects their lives and basic rights.

Why rural women older than fifty?

Because of the disregard for and invisibility of these rural women. Because diversity and marginality are their main characteristics. Because their everyday life is different than the life of middle-aged and young rural women and that is why they can be seen as a special group of women. The essential characteristic of everyday life of rural women older than fifty is ambiguity - accepting contradictions, getting used to them, inability to clearly articulate and adequately satisfy their needs, absence of subjectivity in satisfying needs [6]. Practice shows that increased exclusion and poverty of rural women over the age of fifty, increased economic discrimination, psychological violence and health violence, distinguishes them from the group of rural women. Statistics considers women between 51 and 60 of age as middle-aged. However, in this paper, this age group of women is defined as older middle-aged, and women aged 61 and over as older rural women.

Variables: Age was viewed as an independent variable, at two levels: older middle-aged women (51 to 60 years old) and older women (61 and older). The age group of participants aged 61 and over is very heterogeneous and can be observed at four age levels (79 in total): 1. 61 to 65 years of age (20 participants), with an average age of 63.6 years; 2. From 66 to 70 years of age (19 participants), their average age is 67.7 years; 3. 71 to 80 years of age (30 participants), whose average age is 74.3 years and 4. 81 to 90 years of age (10 participants), average age of 84.1 years. Dependent variables are activity, property status, position within the family division of labor, workload, verbal humiliation, belittling, health, access to primary health care.

Method used for data collection: examination using interviews. Data analysis methods: Statistical data analysis was done on quantitative data, using the SPSS program. Qualitative data were analyzed in their relation to theories and earlier research.

Research time frame: The analysis is based on data collected in several phases between 2013 and 2016, as part of an extensive research on the social position of villages, rural families and rural women in central Serbia [24].

The sample was deliberate, quota sample, which includes participants - rural women fifty years of age and older, who live in six districts of central Serbia: Zlatibor, Sumadija, Belgrade, Macva, Nisava and Rasina. The sample included a total of 165 participants, who were divided into two groups: one aged 51 to 60 and the other aged 61 and over (Table 2).

Table 2: Age structure of participants, by districts (areas)

	Zlatibor		Sumadija		Belgrade		Macva		Nisava		Rasina		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1	20	23.3	13	15.1	12	14.0	19	22.1	11	12.8	11	12.7	86	100.0
2	14	17.7	8	10.1	12	15.2	7	8.9	21	26.6	17	21.5	79	100.0
3	34	20.6	21	12.7	24	14.5	26	15.7	32	19.5	28	17.0	165	100.0

Legend: 1. aged 51 to 60; 2. aged 61 and over; 3. Total

The analysis of the education status of the sample shows that the participants had a very unfavorable education status, since in as many as 90.9% of cases they either never attended school, or attended four grades or completed only primary school.

The structure of participants by occupation also points to their discrimination. From the aspect of occupation, the number of female farmers is the largest among the participants in both age groups (81.8%). Nevertheless, as many as 92.4% of participants older than 61 do agriculture, while in the category of those aged 51 to 60 this percentage amounts to 72.1%.

In terms of marital status, only three participants (1.8%) never married, and 98.2% got married once. Among those who got married, 74.5% are still married, 1.8% are divorced, and 28.8% are widows (as many as 38% of participants over the age of 61 are widows). Moreover, 96.9% have children, and among the participants who have children, 39.3% have one child, 43.5% have two children, and 14.1% have three or more children.

Furthermore, 62.4% of participants most often lived in multigenerational, extended family households, while 12.7% lived in a nuclear family. At the same time, there is a large number of elderly households - "unions of the elderly"[7]: every fourth participant, or 24.9% of them, lived alone or with an elderly partner.

Participants most often lived in the conditions of a patrilineal household pattern. Namely, when getting married, women usually move into the husband's household, and live in a house that is owned by him, or owned by his family, which significantly affects the power which family relationships are based on. In this regard, significant differences can be seen in terms of ownership and inheritance rights in conditions of patrilocality between men and women. The patrilocal residence pattern is the most common residence model for our participants (77.6%), followed by matrilocal (15.1%), and the joint ownership of the participant and her husband in 7.3% of families.

RESEARCH RESULTS

In this paper, the research of violence against rural women over the age of fifty is based on three key dimensions: economic, psychological and health.

The Economic Dimension of Discrimination

Economic violence is an important type of discrimination against rural women over the age of fifty because it forms the basis for other forms of violence. Economic violence means denying economic resources to meet the needs of women or preventing them from engaging in economic activities that are important for ensuring their livelihood - inability

to find employment, working on the property without financial compensation. At the operational level, the following were identified as victims of economic discrimination: 1. Those who have limited access to earnings – they do not have permanent sources of income, and at the same time perform all tasks in the family household: structure by activity; 2. Those who have limited access to resources; 3. Those who are overloaded due to division of labor within a family and due to gender asymmetry.

Table 3: Structure by level of activity as an indicator of discrimination.
Structure based on the level of activity of the participants and their partners

		Farmer and assisting household member		Active employee		Supported (lost their job)		Persons with personal income		Total	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
WIVES	51-60	62	72.1	10	11.6	7	8.1	7	8.1	86	100
	61 +	73	92.4	2	2.5	-	-	4	5.1	79	100
HUSBANDS	51-60	29	33.7	18	20.9	3	3.5	36	41.9	86	100
	61 +	40	50.6	2	2.5	-	-	37	46.8	79	100

Participants are most often helping (assisting) household members. Based on the structure by level of activity (Table 3), the participants make up the majority in the category of assisting household members in agricultural households: 72.1% of women between 51 and 60 years of age and 92.4% of women aged 60 and over, with only 11.6% and 2.5% employed. By linking these data with the data on the occupation of the participants' husbands and younger rural women [23], a high degree of economic discrimination of rural women over fifty years of age by sex and age is confirmed: 1. In the age group of participants between 51 and 60 years of age, in 58.1 percent of cases, their husbands are employed outside the household, and with participants aged 61 and more this percentage amounts to 43% of families; 2. Young rural women aged between 18 and 30 are employed in 31.7% of the cases, while middle-aged women aged between 31 and 50 in 40.2% of the cases. In the age group of women aged 61 and more, only every twentieth woman had the right to a pension (persons with personal income), and in the age group of women aged between 51 and 60 - every thirteenth. This is a special social group on the margins of society: working in agriculture, outside the formal and informal "open" labor market, within the private family labor organization, in mostly agricultural households [2]. Our survey participants work in conditions that are not regulated by laws and rules governing the formal labor market. First of all, they do not use machinery, because the machines are operated by men, their job is simple and physically very difficult for a woman; secondly, the participants who are assisting household members do not have a defined salary, vacation, sick leave, social benefits. Due to many problems in the socio-economic position and realization of rights: by working outside the scope of the formal labor market (without a contract) and without monetary compensation, these participants are economically discriminated against. Their husbands - farmers are in a more favorable position because they are the owners of the house and property (in participants aged between 51 and 60, husband is the household owner in 88.5% of cases, and in participants aged 61 and over in 88.6% of cases), and therefore they cannot be assisting household members.

In addition to discrimination by level of activity, within the category of assisting household members, there is also gender inequality by sector of activity within the family household (Table 3). This means that among women over the age of fifty, the following

is observed: lower number of active persons and persons with personal income than it is the case among men, as well as lower number of employees in non-agricultural sectors. Based on the above, we can conclude that: indices of gender segregation by employment sector within the family household and indices of segregation by occupation of partners, prove a high degree of economic discrimination / violence against the respondents.

B) Property inequality as a source of economic discrimination

In our research, this indicator of the economic form of discrimination was operationalized on the basis of data on property inequality between women and men in a household, which the term “gender asset gap” is used for, which is associated with gender inequality. The participants are exposed to extreme property inequality, due to strong customary norms that property should be transferred to male heirs. The patrilineal household pattern, which is the predominant one for our research participants, implies patrilineal inheritance and transfer of property to male family members. Living on the husband's property, women do not have control over marital property, in as many as 88.5% of cases in our sample (146 out of 165), and in the villages of central Serbia in 87.5% of cases [24]. The participants own resources in 9.1% of families, and joint ownership of property occurs with only a 2.4% share. At the level of district subsamples, Zlatibor and Macva stand out, in which the patrilineal household pattern is more pronounced, with a share of 94.8% and 92.0%. In the Nisava district, the household and property ownership coefficient in favor of men is 83%. The land is inherited by the son, and in addition to it he inherits the power over his wife whocomes to his house, his father's house, without property and leaves her fatherland to her brother –and these are the pillars of discrimination/violence.

When man is the only legal owner of all property, it legalizes gender segregation and discrimination against women. The words of the participants best illustrate the models of ownership: “the property is still owned by the father-in-law who died”; “the son inherited everything”; “father and uncle”; “husband and brother-in-law, they were given everything” etc. Such forms of inheritance put women in the position of unpaid family labor on family farms, or force them to become agricultural wage workers.

A) Discrimination within the family division of labor - reproductive labor

Reproductive labor by the survey participants in the household was operationalized on the basis of data on the family division of labor or family everyday life - all-day activities of the participant and her partner. The main assumption we started from in this part of the analysis was that the actual position of a rural woman over fifty years of age in the family division of labor is very difficult, and is characterized by too much workload - sacrifice - limitation, as a long-term pattern of their lives. This allows them to alleviate the consequences of crisis in global society and the state's disregard for the rural areas, that is, the difficult financial situation in their household. They believe sacrifice is their obligation and part of their identity. This is evidenced by the data on the daily “time budget” of the respondents, for all types of activity within the family household. The following types of activity are used: 1. Farm work - agricultural work; 2. Work in the commercial yard; 3. Household area - domestic work, intended for everyday consumption, which does not create value and directly serves to meet the needs of family members - reproductive labor, and 4. paid work or employment. Too much workload was calculated on the basis of data on the daily “time budget” of the participants, according to all types of activity within the family household - the duration of these tasks during the day. Thus, three time-related dimensions by activity type are assumed: a) 1 to 4 hours; b) 5 to 7 hours and c) 8 and more hours.

Table 4: Duration of work per type of activity within the rural family household during the day, based on the age of the women, in%

	Commercial yard			Farm work			Household work		
	18–30	31 - 50	51 i +	18 - 30	31 - 50	51 i +	18 - 30	31 – 50	51 i +
No work	74.4	40.1	26.1	50.4	19.7	17.6	1.7	1.0	3.6
1–4	19.6	38.1	38.8	26.5	27.1	18.1	30.8	46.5	55.8
5– 7	6.0	19.1	26.1	16.2	24.1	28.5	25.6	38.8	32.1
8 i +	-	2.7	9.0	6.9	29.1	35.8	41.9	13.7	8.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: [24] (for rural women aged 18 to 30 and 31 to 50).

The analysis of the participants' answers to the question how much time they spend during the day working in the commercial yard, on the farm (in the field, in the garden, orchard and vineyard), at home - housework, showed the following generational differences that can be seen in Table 4. As many as 74.4% and 50.4% of young women under 30 years of age stated that they do not work in the economic yard and on the farm, respectively. At the same time, women older than 51 took care of animals in 73.9% of cases, worked on the farm in 82.4% and did domestic work in 96.4% of families. Furthermore, the number of hours of work on the farm increases in rural women older than fifty, compared to younger rural women. Thus, of all rural women aged 51 and over (Table 4), 64.3% of them spent five or more hours working on the farm, every second woman aged between 31 and 50 –or 53.2% and every fourth young rural woman, or 23.1%, which confirms the initial hypothesis on discrimination against older rural women compared to younger ones from the aspect of family division of labor. This is also supported by the analysis of the duration of work in the commercial yard: every third woman older than fifty (35.1%) cares about animals for five or more hours during the day, every fifth woman aged between 31 and 50 (21.8%) and only every seventeenth youngwoman (6%). Rural women over the age of fifty are overburdened with the family division of labor given their age, as they selflessly sacrifice themselves for the benefit of the family for the rest of their lives. This is confirmed by the data of the analysis in the age category over 60 (Table 5).

Table 5: Duration of work per type of activity within the rural family household during the day, for women older than 60, in %

	Commercial yard		Farm		Household	
	61 to 70	71 and over	61 to 70	71 and over	61 to 70	71 and over
No work	15.6	-	-	-	9.4	12.5
1 – 4	65.6	71.9	53.1	34.3	56.3	43.8
5 – 7	18.8	28.1	43.8	21.9	34.3	34.3
8 and more	-	-	3.1	43.8	-	9.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Too much workload involving physically demanding work in the field and around animals is present in women older than 60 (Table 5), while older women (71 to 80 years of age and more) are overburdened working within the family household, due to their age. It is especially surprising that almost every other older rural woman worked on the farm for 8 or more hours during the day - 43.8%, and as many as 71.9% of them worked for up to 4 hours in the commercial yard. As for the total number of hours of daily activity, every second participant over sixty years of age and over seventy years of age (45.2%) worked for between 16 and 18 hours a day. This means that as the age of rural women

increases, their discrimination within the family division of labor increases, which does not apply to their husbands: in the age group of 60 and over: every other husband does not work on the farm (50%) or in the economic yard (55.1%). Almost all participants do all the domestic work - 96.4%, while their husbands do not do such work in 85.9% of families. A survey on a sample of rural women of all ages [24] confirmed that the time budget per day was 18 hours of work in the household, on the farm and in commercial yard for every third respondent (31.7%) and every fifth husband (20%). Rural men have more leisure time than rural women: every second rural man has leisure time during the day while this applies to every third rural woman [24]. The absence of the freedom of choice of the participants does not leave room for the emancipation of men and women and deviation from imposed roles and the tradition of a predetermined position within the family division of labor. Such a high rate of discrimination against rural women over the age of fifty in the field of family division of labor is explained by the patriarchal system of family relations and the high degree of exploitation of women's potential for the purposes of family welfare, under the conditions of poverty and reduction of social rights for rural women and their families.

The Psychological Dimension of Discrimination

We have operationalized this form of discrimination/violence through three types of data: 1. the traditional structure of authority in the participants' family of origin; 2. different attitude of parents towards children of different gender during primary socialization; 3. the practice of belittling female children by parents. We assumed that psychological violence is very painful for the victim, because it leaves lifelong scars to her personality, it affects self-perception, self-confidence, and personal experience.

A) The traditional structure of authority in the participants' family of origin

The psychological discrimination of the participants started at birth. The participants came from families with a traditional structure of authority and traditional socialization, by learning gender roles in as many as 80.6% of cases (133 out of 165), which, on the one hand, implies the self-will of men, i.e., male kinship network, and on the other hand, the subordination of woman to man.

Qualitative research data indicate that the traditional patterns of authority in the family are manifested in obedience to the elder not only by the woman, but also by other family members; however, the elder often behaves differently depending on the person he talks to—he can seem as a kind and pleasant person towards people outside the family, while they show a completely opposite behavior towards the family members: “we obeyed and endured our father's behaviour, he was nice when around other people, and acted as a beast in the house”; “father made decisions, his word was law, we never confronted him”; “It's always as the father says, and then as the husband says, and you are a slave forever”[3,] came to the same results.

B) Parents expectations and gender-stereotyped parenting – focus on male descendants

Traditional patterns of authority in the family implied a significant difference in the attitudes and expectations of parents towards children of different gender, that is, the focus was on male descendants. Such a cultural pattern ensures the prolongation and duration of patriarchy: rigid traditional gender socialization [21];[22]. We asked the survey participants the following question: “Did the parents raise the male and female children differently?” They confirmed discrimination by parents in almost 2/3 of cases: out of a total of 125 answers to this question, in 82 (65.6%) of families there was a difference in raising children – more attention was paid to sons (The results of the research

on parenting in rural families from the previous period are fully compatible with these data, [24]; [25]. The rigidity of traditional gender socialization is illustrated by the answers of the participants: “female child will eventually go to someone else's house, and that's it“, as well as the fact that the son is a desired and privileged child: “they condoned our brother's behaviour, he was their God, he did not have to do anything, and my sister and I did everything, he was the center of everything, he was their sunshine, they kept saying that”; “There was a great difference in their behaviour, man was considered as superior, while woman was seen as great misery”; “They sent their sons to school, while they married us early so that they wouldn't spend money on us, we would end up in someone else's house, they tell you that from the start“; “Female children are not seen as their children“, etc. The participants are aware of the injustice inflicted on them, but they are in a situation to come to terms with the expectations and demands of the patriarchal environment and their family. This is reflected in their adopted value systems: 1. The first group of adopted values involves a high degree of satisfaction with the family of origin - subjective feeling of integration within the family, which is associated with ambiguity - acceptance of contradictions, getting used to them. Our survey participants do not understand that the family itself includes ambiguity too. There is love and rivalry, trust and distrust, use and abuse [18]. 2. The second group of values adopted by the participants implies that they accepted different norms of behavior in life and in the family compared to those used for men, which is especially reflected in their attitude towards reproductive and educational labor in the family – women approve of the exclusion of men: “I would be ashamed if he worked around the house ... it's not something a man should do after all“. Lack of choice makes passive behavior necessary: “that was the best you could get and that's it“, but at the same time functional in solving many issues of their daily life, and it especially allowed for easier survival in the family of origin, and even later, throughout life. The patriarchal protection of family members formed a matrix which conveniently included the model of the identity of rural women, following the personal example of mothers, grandmothers and all other rural women. Traditional gender regimes are important causes of discrimination against women – our survey participants.

B) Belittling as a form of discrimination in the family of origin

This form of discrimination was analyzed on the example of two types of families from the participants' childhood: families with children of different gender and families with girls only. In families with children of different gender: 1. “the son is above everything“; 2. “a woman is powerless, she is always in danger outside the house, she needs a companion“; 3. “woman will end up in someone else's house“. In the age group of participants from 51 to 60 years of age, the disparagement of a female child by the parents was manifested in 62.5% of families, and in the group of older women (61 years of age and more) in 71.2% of cases. Previous research, which referred to rural women of all ages [24], showed that the disparagement of female children by their parents was manifested in 57.5% of families. A specific form of psychological violence and undermining the psychological position of a female child through belittling is confirmed by the following statements of the participants: “they would tell me - he is a man, he can do whatever he wants, and you have to be careful, you can make mistakes“; “You'll end up in someone else's house, nobody wants to invest in something that is someone else's“; “What do you know, you are a woman“; “you are stupid“; “Shut up and work around the house“.

In families with only female children: a) parents were dissatisfied and unhappy that they did not get a son, and the participants said the following: “they regretted not having a son, they told us that they had no motivation to work, that they did not have meaning in life“;

b) parents told their daughters that they constantly needed a supervisor, because they were not able to judge for themselves: “they forbade us to go out, they controlled us”; “They said that we were constantly in danger, that we could not go anywhere since we had no brother” and so on. The participants passively endured and made peace with such different attitudes of their parents towards sons and daughters, and came to terms with the “inevitable” (“natural”) female destiny [21]; [22], and primarily perceive and accept it as a kind of necessary life of a “woman” [12], adapt to it and do not challenge and confront brothers in the rigid patriarchal upbringing system: “mother loved him the most and she told us that, and so did we, the two sisters - we loved him and gave him everything, because of our mother ... he got used to getting everything”. That is why they accept different norms of behavior in life and in the family than those that are set for men. They “find their ways in values, attitudes and experience of themselves through which it is possible and tolerable to live in inequality”[12].

The Health Dimension of Violence

We operationalized the health dimension of violence in this research by analyzing: 1. The health status of the participants, 2. Limited access to primary health care.

A) Health status and limited access to primary health care. Access to health services has been reduced for rural women over the age of fifty, due to their exclusion from the social division of labor –that is, they are seen as assisting household members. Due to the inadequate employment position, participants often do not have the opportunity to exercise even basic social rights, so more than half of them did not have access to health insurance through a valid health insurance card: in the age group 51 to 60 years of age - in 55.8% of cases (48 of a total of 86); and in participants aged 61 and over 58.2% percent (46 out of 79 participants). In as many as 94% of cases, the participants stated that their head of household does not pay pension insurance in their name. They qualified for treatment at the expense of the state only in the case of incurable disease. Unprotected in case of injuries and disability, and left without financial support in old age, in addition to poor health - are the main causes of their discrimination. If we look at the data on the health status of the participants, we can see that every other woman in our sample had very poor health status (46.7%, or 77 out of 165), and in the subsample of women aged 61 and over, as many as 58.2% of participants were with very poor health (46 participants out of a total of 79). “Fair health status, but with serious problems” was applicable for every third participant (53 respondents or 32.1%). Only every fifth respondent was in “good health”, 21.2% (35 out of 165). The statements of the participants confirm the severity of their health discrimination: “I have a neurological condition”; “I take insulin”; “I suffer from rheumatism”; “I have angina pectoris and I do all the work in the house and outside the house”; “I have epilepsy and I do wage work”; “I go to dialysis, and when I come back home, I bake bread, clean and cook lunch”, etc.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

A common element of economic, psychological and health violence against rural women over the age of fifty in Serbian society includes three pillars, which are related to: 1. Objective indicators of discrimination, 2. Patriarchal regimes, and 3. Subjective elements: restoration of patriarchy. Objective indicators of discrimination against rural women over the age of fifty are related to the structural level: economic changes at the global, state level, the consequences of which are seen in everyday life. Objective indicators refer to the area of work of these women and their activity in the family household. It has been

proven that the position of rural women over the age of fifty within the family division of labor is characterized by too much workload - sacrifice - limitation. Families of these rural women is the source of their constant exhaustion. The prevailing patriarchal regimes in rural families in central Serbia are being further strengthened intensively, which is a consequence of the change in the position of rural areas during the transition period and the difficult position of villages, rural families and rural women. Discrimination against rural women over the age of fifty is influenced by the legacy of traditional patriarchal values, transitional changes: the increasing marginalization of villages and agriculture, the impoverishment of villages and villagers, patrilineality, inheritance customs. Subjective elements of discrimination refer to the continuous reproduction of patriarchy and its restoration by ideological influences - the process of primary socialization, which has the characteristics of gender socialization: differences in attitudes and expectations of parents towards children of different gender and the focus on male descendants.

The characteristics of violence against rural women over the age of fifty are as follows: prevalence, based on patriarchy and patrilineality, longevity and at the same time unawareness of it, as well as the unawareness of its consequences, poverty of rural women over the age of fifty, impaired health, financial insecurity, exposure to unregulated market laws, commodification and strong deprivation in the exercise of human rights. Moreover, there is no perception of this and thus this problem becomes even more invisible which increases the economic, psychological and health discrimination/violence. The results of the empirical research confirmed the validity of the construct on the basis of which groups of elements and indicators on violence against rural women older than fifty were created. These should encourage decision-makers to take appropriate measures, in line with the international obligations that Serbia has accepted.

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